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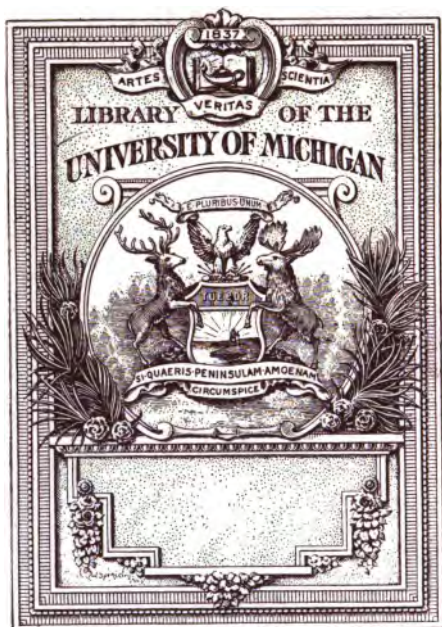
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ST. AUGUSTINE.

It is still our manner "to build the tombs of the prophets and to garnish the sepulchres of the righteous." Our admiration is too often reserved for virtues which are at a safe distance from our vices, for excellence already admitted to be so lofty, that even our consciences scarcely rebuke us that we have not attained to it. Great men, both in church and nation, have so much to fight against and destroy, that their enemies are more numerous than their worshippers; and it is only when their principles have triumphed, when what seemed to their contemporaries novel and dangerous has become trite and necessary, that their worth is discovered and their service rewarded. And then too often the names of those so tardily honoured are used to support and extend the very evils which it was their life's struggle to demolish. Men think to shew their reverence for the iconoclast, by setting up his image and falling down to worship it, and every new reformation will seem, though it will only *seem*, directed against the old reformers themselves.

But in another sense, more to our present purpose, we build the *tombs* of the prophets. The names that are in our church calendars are to us almost always the names of dead men. We not only forget that they are now among the armies in heaven, following on white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean, Him whose vesture is dipped in blood, and whose name is called

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the Word of God; but we forget that they have ever really lived. They are known to us through a cloud of myth and legend, by books and controversies, by some orthodox *ism*, by their connection, at least nominal, with some party of our own days. Of their inward struggles we know little or nothing—their unsaintly boyhood, youth, manhood—their passing from death unto life—their doubts and perplexities. We do not realize that they were men of like passions with ourselves; often worse, and also, thank God, very often better than their dogmas and creeds. Sometimes too that deep hatred, irrational and implacable, the *odium theologicum*, has blackened their reputation, filled their biographies with lies, distorted both their doctrines and their lives. Even *more* than “the evil that they *did* lives after them; the good has been interred with their bones.” It will be our endeavour to give a brief sketch of the life, not only of a saint but of a man—a man whose very face, deeply furrowed and scarred, is a history. “Resolve, gentle but unbending, is expressed in his thin, close-set lips, and his clear, quiet eye: but the calm of his mighty countenance is the calm of a worn-out volcano, over which centuries must pass before the earthquakes be filled with kindly soil, and the cinder-slopes grow gay with grass and flowers.”

His father, Patricius, was a poor freeman of Thagaste in Africa, where Augustine himself was born on Nov. 13th A.D. 354. Almost the best that can be said of Patricius is, that he did his very utmost, and beyond what might have been hoped from his slender means, for the education of his son. He was altogether a heathen until long after Augustine's birth, being admitted a catechumen when the latter was about sixteen years old. A year afterwards he died, having received Christian Baptism. He brought such sorrow to Monnica his wife as might be expected from the marriage of a heathen and a Christian.

“As soon,” says her son, “as she was of marriageable age, being bestowed upon a husband, she served him as her lord, and did her diligence to win him unto Thee (O God), preaching Thee unto him by her conversation, by which Thou ornamentedst her, making her reverently amiable and admirable to her husband. And she so endured the wronging of her bed as never to have any quarrel with her husband thereon. For she looked for Thy mercy upon him, that believing in Thee he might be made chaste. For besides this he was fervid, as in his affections so in his anger; but she had learnt not to resist an angry husband, not in deed only, but not even in word. Only when he was smoothed and tranquil, and in a temper to receive it, she would give an account of her actions if haply he had overhastily taken offence.

“ . . . And when (many matrons), knowing what a choleric hus-

band she endured, marvelled that it had never been heard, nor by any token perceived, that Patricius had beaten his wife, or that there had been any domestic difference between them, even for one day, and confidentially asking the reason, she taught them her practice above mentioned."^a

Assuredly the conduct which needed such brave and noble patience from a true and loving wife was far enough from being commendable. Yet that patience bore its fruit. It won her husband to God and virtue, though at the very end of his life. It could not, however, be to the example of his father that St. Augustine would in after years most fondly and gratefully look back. It was to the holy life, the earnest prayers, the love and tears of Monnica his mother. It was the desire, the work, the reward of her life, that he should be what God's great mercy granted him to become. And *men*, especially immersed as they are in the cares of business in the world or office in the church, should be foremost gratefully and reverently to acknowledge what honor God has put on holy loving mothers. To say nothing of modern examples,^b Neander, in describing the Christian life of this very period, gives four, in which we see godly maternal discipline bringing forth fruit, which has been spread over the whole earth, and will last when "time shall be no longer."

"The pious Nonna by her prayers and the silent influence of the religion which shone through her life, gradually won over to the gospel her husband Gregory, who had belonged to an unchristian sect, and he became a devoted bishop. Their first-born son, whom they had long yearned after, was carried soon after his birth to the altar of the church, where they placed a volume of the gospels in his hands, and dedicated him to the service of the Lord. The example of a pious education and this early consecration, first received from his mother, of which he was often reminded, made a deep impression on the son; and he compares his mother to Hannah, who consecrated Samuel to God. This impression abode with him, while exposed during the years of his youth, which he spent at Athens, to the contagion of the Paganism which there prevailed. This son the distinguished church teacher, Gregory of Nazianzum, says of his mother, that her emotions, when dwelling on the historical facts connected with her faith, overcame all sense of pain from her own sufferings; hence on a festival day, she was never known to be sorrowful, and death surprised her while praying before the altar. The pious Anthusa of Antioch retired from the bustle of the great world to which she belonged by her condition, into the still retreat of domestic life. Having lost her husband at the age of twenty years, from a regard to his memory and a desire to devote herself wholly to the education of her son, she chose to remain a widow; and it was owing in part to this early, pious, and careful education, that the boy

^a Augustin. *Conf.* ix. (ix.) 19. (171 Lib. of Fathers).

^b *Church History*, iii. 308.

became afterwards so well known as the great church teacher, John Chrysostom. Similar was the influence exerted on the education of her son by the mother of Theodoret. In like manner, Monnica, by her submissive, amiable, and gentle spirit, softened the temper of a violently passionate husband; and while she had much to suffer from him, scattered the seeds of Christianity in the young soul of her son Augustine, which, after many stormy passages of life, brought forth their fruit in him abundantly."

Augustine was from his very birth consecrated to God, "sealed with the mark of Christ's Cross and salted with His salt," admitted as a catechumen. His Baptism was long deferred, and in allusion to that delay he gives us some insight into the reasons which seem to have largely operated against the practice of early Baptism.

"I beseech Thee," he says, "I beseech Thee, my God, I would fain know if so Thou willest, for what purpose my Baptism was deferred when I had recovered from a dangerous sickness? Was it for my good that the rein was laid loose upon me, as it were, for me to sin? or was it not laid loose? If not, why does it still echo in our ears on all sides, 'Let him alone, let him do as he will, for he is not yet baptized?' But as to bodily health, no one says, 'Let him be worse wounded for he is not yet healed!' How much better then had I been at once healed; and then by my friends' diligence and by my own, my soul's recovered health had been kept safe in Thy keeping who gavest it. Better truly. But how many and how great waves of temptation seemed to hang over me after my boyhood! These my mother foresaw, and preferred to expose to them the clay whence I might afterwards be moulded than the very cast when made."c

His boyhood seems to have been reckless enough. He was clever and idle. He could not bear application. The elements of arithmetic and grammar he could not endure. He hated Greek, the difficulty of a foreign tongue, dashed as it were with gall all the sweetness of a Grecian fable! His success at school was not therefore the fruit of industry but of natural quickness, and of a taste for that department of learning which was most generally admired. He seems to have been passionately fond of Virgil, and in very early life to have given promise of that rhetorical power, which afterwards did so much service in those long and momentous controversies in which he was engaged. He tells us he was very vain—told many lies—cheated at play—was greedy—stole from his parent's cellar and table—was fond of plays and shows. These sins are not so uncommon but that we may believe he committed them.

His sixteenth year he spent at home in idleness, and not a little dissipation and folly. He slighted his mother's counsels as

^c *Conf. ii. (xi.) 18 (p. 11).*

womanish, seems to have found a strange pleasure in sin for its own sake—"ashamed," as he says, "not to be shameless!"

In his seventeenth year he was sent to Carthage to study eloquence and rhetoric. He associated with some young men called Subverters, who seem to have used their eloquence and rhetoric only for vexation and abuse, and to have lived a most savage and unruly life. Augustine had never a real sympathy with their evil; yet he was ashamed to be without it. He affected to be worse than he really was, delighted with the friendship of those whose doings he did abhor!

The study of rhetoric, especially when very earnest and successful, was full of temptation, to which we may hereafter allude. There may be an art of talking and writing which is very remotely connected with truth, which may be only the art of making the worse appear the better reason. Yet, inasmuch as only truth and righteousness can live, the great masters of rhetoric who have lived will abundantly repay the study of the humble, earnest philosopher, no less or even more than of the vain and empty sophist. Augustine, in the ordinary course of his study, fell on the *Hortensius* of Cicero. His controversy with the Pelagians in his later years, not a little narrowed his views of heathen philosophy, and in his anxious examination of one set of facts he too much overlooked another. Yet, in his Confessions he very frankly acknowledges the benefit he derived from *Hortensius*, and how in no mean degree Cicero was a "school-master to bring him to Christ."

"This book," he says, "altered my affections, and turned my prayers to Thyself, Oh! Lord! and made me have other purposes and desires. Every vain hope at once became worthless to me; and I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began now to arise, that I might return to Thee. For, not to sharpen my tongue . . . did I employ that book; nor did it infuse into me its style, but its matter."^d

The only thing that interfered with his full enjoyment was, that in the *Hortensius* he did not find that name which he had been taught from his very infancy to love. With all his practical indifference, he was never permitted to get free from those sweet and holy bonds which Monnica had twined about him by her instructions and her prayers.

Yet at this time the Scriptures themselves had no real charm for him; they seemed dull and mean after the stateliness of Tully. They would not submit to the proud and suspicious questioning of the rhetorician. Rhetoric and logic are valuable

^d Conf. 32 (iii. 4, 7).

rather for demolition than for construction, rather for discovering error than for confirming the truth; their business is with words, and with those facts which words can adequately express. But those eternal and spiritual facts which words can only hint at and suggest—which can only be as it were “spoken in proverbs”—are beyond the province of logic altogether. When it ventures to examine and criticise them, it can only “darken counsel by words without knowledge.” No one saw this more clearly than, in after years, St. Augustine himself.⁹ He found that we must believe to know, not know to believe; and though he never utterly lost the habits of the rhetorician, which it had been the work of so many years to acquire and strengthen, he sought and gained more and more the spirit of a little child, the simplicity which the sure testimonies of the Lord make wise. At this period of his life, however, he disdained to be a little one. Therefore he fell among men proudly doting, exceeding carnal, and prating, in whose mouths were the snares of the devil, lured with the mixture of the syllables of God’s Name, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, our Comforter. He became a Manichæan.

Any complete account of Manichæism would carry us far beyond our limits, and for that we must refer to other sources (such as, *e.g.*, among the more accessible and yet trustworthy, Neander’s *Church History*, and the notes to the “Confessions” in the *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*). Yet it may be well for us to reflect on the terrible facility with which men fall into heresy when they forsake the light and guidance of God’s Word. St. Augustine,⁹ more than 1400 years ago, gives a short account of eighty-eight different heretical systems, and their number is not more astonishing than the eccentricity and extravagance of some of them. Manes, from whom Manichæism has its name, can scarcely be considered a Christian at all, not even heretical. By birth he was a Persian, was educated in the Zoroastrian religion, and embraced Christianity in his manhood. He pretended to be the promised Paraclete, sent to purify and complete the Apostolic doctrine. His system was the result of an attempt to unite into one whole what he regarded as the best portions of Zoroastrism, Buddhism, and Christianity. We are not to suppose that all bigotry and persecution are to be found in the Catholic Church. While Manes was doubtless corrupting the doctrine of Christ, he was also accused of corrupting the old faith of the Persians. The Magians, after a discussion,

⁸ St. John xvi. 25.

⁹ De hæresibus.

¹⁰ De utilitate credendi.

pronounced him a heretic, and refusing to recant he was flayed alive, and his skin stuffed and hung up before the gates of his city, to terrify his followers. We cannot say, with Mr. Belsham, that "we are conscious of something like a bias in favour of a heretic, whether ancient or modern," but we may well pity the awful fate of Manes, and be thankful that it is not among the many sins of those who have had "a zeal for truth, but not according to knowledge."

Manichæism was an attempt to answer the question, "Whence is evil?"—a question constantly perplexing us, even when we are least conscious of its presence and influence, producing irritation, discontent, irreverence, when it does not generate a system. Yet, the heresy that for many years held captive the soul of Augustine, presented itself most attractively as a rationalism, a demolisher of superstition and credulity, a deliverer from mere authority. In the dust of its negations, its own utter barrenness was concealed, and by its scorn of faith and trust it prevented, for awhile at least, and in many cases altogether, the notice of the fact that it had to these very principles to make its own ultimate appeal. For the alternative was simply this, to trust Manes or the Church: there was no more reason, *primâ facie*, to deride the Holy Scriptures with the one than to reverence them with the other. Moreover, in all cases, the objection that can lie neatly in a sentence may need a volume, almost, perhaps, a library in reply; and what is much more, an humble, earnest spirit to receive the reply. Augustine was, indeed, earnest enough, though not humble. He was lured by the cry of "Truth, Truth," ever in the mouth of the Manichees. Being only in the class of "hearers" (*auditores*), what seemed dim, or even absurd, in their positive teaching, he hoped would be made plain if he should be admitted to the number of the "elect."

We must try to enter into the thought and feeling of Augustine sympathizingly, and with the help of all our knowledge and experience of human character, if we would not grievously misjudge his connexion with the extravagancies of the Manichees. Just as St. Augustine's relation to the Donatist schism and the Pelagian heresy was determined by his own spiritual conflicts, his own bitter experience of the evil nature and unruly will of man; so did his intellectual character, his love of system, and all those abilities and tastes which had made him so successful as a rhetorician, determine his relation, in the first instance, to the Manichæan theory. He was not to be startled by results, unless there could be discovered some flaw in the process which had led to those results. Hence in earnest, yet proud and self-sufficient, search for truth, when his rationalizing teachers proved to

him as he thought, the absurdities and contradictions of the Scriptures themselves, and the doctrines of the Catholic Church, it was a necessity of his intellectual being to go on to the very end of this sad and downward road till he should find whither it should lead him. There are many in our days who think they are wiser than their Bibles, who regard them as little better than "old wives' fables," who are yet not brave enough to say so, or earnest enough to seek a nobler substitute. Augustine became a Manichee because he was hungering and thirsting after truth, and fancied, not unnaturally, that they who had tried so hard to prove that he was drinking out of a muddy cistern, would be the men of all men to lead him to the well of living water. It is not, however, of such as Augustine that we need despair, even in their saddest and wildest wanderings, but rather of those who try to get free from the restraints, not of the old faith merely, but of any faith whatever.

A very brief account of the main positive features of Manichæism will, at least, enable us to see the credulity of unbelief,—the demands made upon the understanding by those who had forsaken Catholic orthodoxy because of its unintelligible mysteries. The questions, we must remember, to be solved are, "What is the origin of evil? what is the end of evil?" The answer of Manichæism to the first is, that evil is unoriginated—that it is eternal, like God. We must not expect a heresy to be always consistent. This co-eternal evil is also described as being itself God. "Manichæus says that there are two natures, one good, the other evil; the good which made the world, the evil of which the world was made." Both of these were material.

"However personally," says Dr. Pusey (in the note to which we have already referred), "they may have attempted at times to speak of God, their belief came to this, that He was a refined material substance, contained in space, which space they endeavoured to extend on all sides but one, infinitely; but still it was but the extension of a corporeal substance, a pure ethereal mass of light, which was by bulk superior to the mass of darkness opposed to it."

On the side on which God was limited, was the kingdom of darkness, "wherein dwelt fiery bodies, pestilent races." Then the land of darkness coveted the holy land of light.

"They say," says Theodoret, "that God was altogether removed from matter, and knew not of it, nor it of him; and that God occupied the north, east, and west, matter the south. Many ages after matter was at variance with itself, and its products with one another; and war having arisen, some pursuing, some pursued, they arrived at the boundaries of light, where seeing the light they were pleased with it, and admired it,

and wished with their whole host to war against and seize it, and mingle their own darkness with the light. Matter, then . . . with the demons and phantoms, and fire and water went against the discovered light. But God, dreading the tumultuous attack . . . deviseth this. Taking a portion of light He used it as a sort of bait and hook for matter, and it eagerly stretching itself upon it swallowed what was sent, and was bound and taken as in a snare. Thence, say they, God was compelled to create the world; but the portions of the world, they say, are not His, but the works of matter; and He created, wishing to quell the strife and harmonize the contending parts, so as gradually to free that part of light which was mingled with matter."

But this light that was used as a bait or hook, was a portion of God Himself—so that God became, as it were, imprisoned in matter—and might be wounded in the mowing of the grass, bruised by the grinding of the corn, disengaged by the digestion of the elect, assimilated by the digestion of swine. Nor was the ultimate redemption of the light by any means perfect—some portions of the divinity were never restored at all.

"And so," says Dr. Pusey, "condemning Catholic truth as irrational because unreasoning, 'they changed the glory of the incorruptible God' into corruptible matter, and 'turning away their ears from the truth, they were turned unto fables,' which they propounded in the name of human reason, 'having (as St. Augustine concisely characterizes them, although almost too shocking to repeat,) for the beginning a war of God, in the middle the defilement of God, in the end the damnation of God.' Or, in another way, God was subject to necessity, or He sent His own nature cruelly to be mangled (in matter), foully to be freed, unjustly to be damned."

And what was the reply of the Rationalist when the absurdities and blasphemies were pressed against his system? Exactly that very reply in scorn of which he had forsaken the Scriptures and the Church. "There are mysteries too deep and large for the human understanding to measure."

So brief and meagre a sketch may very easily have failed to render this very wild system intelligible; but we may, at any rate, comprehend easily enough the character of the consequences which flow from it. It took away all accountability, transferring guilt from the individual man to his evil nature. As the one duty of man was to aid in releasing the divinity from matter, marriage was regarded as fornication, or perhaps from its regularity even worse, for every new birth was a new imprisonment of God. For a similar reason the Manichæan was to abstain from certain kinds of flesh, from building houses, and planting the earth; for agriculture was often affirmed to be worse than usury, to be a succession of murders. Those who bound them-

selves to these rules were the "Elect," and their necessities were supplied by the inferior class called "Hearers." Extremes of error meet oddly enough in almost all heretical systems. The elect were ascetics—but, inasmuch as they had power to free the Deity from its bondage to matter by the food which they took, it became a solemn duty to become gluttons. The imprisoned God cried piteously to them from all the meat and drink that could be offered to them. Hence their religious privileges involved them in horrible indigestions—and little children, given up to their mode of life, had been literally killed with cramming.

We need not linger longer among these absurdities, but the refutation of them (for they had an enormous and mischievous power) occupies a large portion of the writings of St. Augustine. This old foe has appeared with a new face in all ages of the Church, and is not dead even yet. Indeed, they who invented and propagated this system, were men, and we are men—and it is well for "him that thinketh he standeth to take heed lest he fall."

But it may be well at this point to indicate the sort of caution which the history of Manichæism furnishes to those who, in our own day, are harassed and unsettled by the ingenuities of Rationalism. We are beset by men and books, eager to remove the ancient landmarks, to convince us that we should not be in bondage to the Church of Christ, or even to the sacred Scriptures. Their work is mainly destructive. They insist rather upon what they call the absurdities of our creed, than upon any positive excellences of their own. Now, if we were living even in a hovel, and had lived there all our life, we should have something to ask the man who offered to take it neatly down, cart it away to some place where "dry rubbish may be shot," and cover its old site with green turf. We should, probably, like to ask where we were to sleep and find shelter? We should want to know what was to come in the place of what had gone. Now, even if we are tempted to think meanly of Christianity—if objections seem very plausible, even unanswerable—we may surely be allowed instantly to ask for the *positive* substitute. What is to come instead of it. It is, of course, conceivable, that we may feel compelled to reject both the old and the new. But there is, assuredly, not one of the eighty-eight heresies which St. Augustine describes, which does not demonstrate the fact which it sets out with denying—that faith must go before knowledge, not knowledge before faith. Nor is the mere extravagance of a system any sufficient protection for us. It is not likely that we are cleverer than Augustine—it is not likely that we shall find a heresy more absurd than Manichæism. Indeed, to a very con-

siderable extent, extravagance will be a positive attraction. Our conclusions will be all the pleasanter, all the more flattering, because they are startling and unobvious—altogether beyond the reach of the unthinking mass.⁴

For nearly nine years did Augustine continue in this great darkness of Manichæan error, while the prayers of Monnica, his mother, were ascending for him to the presence of God. His life, too, was at this period full of many sins, which he confesses with shame and loathing. His concubine had already borne him a son, while scarcely past his boyhood. How strange and wonderful is that love and wisdom which can bring good even out of our evil, and overrule our waywardness and sin to the glory of God! "Go thy way," said a pious bishop to Monnica, "and God bless thee, for it is not possible that the son of these tears should perish."

The Manichæism of Augustine was to be exposed to trial severer than the acutest logic—the trial of the experience of life. At Thagaste, where he was now a teacher of rhetoric, he had formed a deep and ardent friendship with a young man of his own age and kindred tastes and pursuits, who had grown up with him from childhood, and had been his school-fellow and play-fellow. This youth, of a gentle and receptive disposition, he had led astray into Manichæism, and seemed to exercise over

⁴ "The heretics and unbelievers with whom St. Augustine had to do battle," says the Dean of Westminster (*Essay on St. Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture*, p. 45), "agreed with the modern rationalists, in that they tried Holy Scripture by the subjective standard of their own likings and dislikings, accepting that which squared with their own preconceived opinions, rejecting that which did not. Like them, too, they proceeded to find motives for their rejection, in some contradiction or discrepancy which they professed to detect in the narrative they disallowed, making difficulties where there were none, exaggerating them where such there really were; and under cover of the discrepancies which they had discovered between Scripture and Scripture, excusing themselves from yielding credit to either. Thus, they obliged Augustine to many important discussions on many matters of which the interest can never grow old, and which have an especially lively interest at the present moment; for reading the cavils and objections of Faustus the Manichæan, one seems transported into the present age, so marvellously have they in almost all essential matters, and curiously often in minutest details, anticipated the destructive criticism, as brought to bear against Scripture, of the last sixty years: nor is it otherwise than encouraging to observe that this whole battery of assault has been directed against the Word of God with at least the same confidence of success, and the same boastful announcements, that truth and reason were with the assailants, and that the Church was hopelessly clinging to the exploded and the antiquated, and this by men of a far keener dialectic skill, a far subtler intellectual power, than any who have inherited their mantle; and yet that all has been brought against it in vain. The whole fury of the assault passed away like a noise, like a flood that foams and frets for a brief season round some everlasting foundations, but presently subsides, and shews that it has been unable to displace one stone from its position."

him an almost absolute control. He was suddenly prostrated by a fever. While he lay unconscious, and past all hope of recovery, he was baptized. Augustine, as a Manichæan, only despised what he regarded as a useless and powerless rite, and was confident that his friend's heart and understanding would not be won from its old submissiveness, by any Sacrament of the Church. But, directly or indirectly, the Baptism proved mightier than either the love or fear of man. The sick man was for awhile wondrously refreshed and restored. He would hear no jest or scoff at what had been done to him. He seemed to be a new man, with a force of character to which he had before been an entire stranger. Surely, whatever our views of Baptism, we need find no difficulty in believing that this change was really brought about. To the eye of the *dying* man Manichæism had seemed nothing but a ghastly delusion. He found in it no comfort. It had beguiled his leisure, and been a pleasant exercise of his intellectual subtlety when he had no real conflict in his own soul—no fight with a real enemy—no deep sense of sin and of his own need of redemption. But "there must be wisdom with great Death." How he strips off all disguises, and brings us face to face with those stern realities which we spend half our life in trying to conceal! For the dying sinner there was peace and hope only in the simple childlike faith which he had too easily forsaken. And it may well have been that he found new strength, when he heard that in the unconsciousness and exhaustion of a sickness unto death, there had been named over him the Name of that Father who had never ceased to love his prodigal child, that Son who had come to seek the lost one, and fetch him home, that Holy Ghost who would fill him with all might and purity, and guide him into the whole truth. In that faith he died.

This triumph of Catholic truth did much directly to shake the confidence of Augustine in his Manichæan heresy. But it did far more indirectly. For now he had a *real grief*, and he had to find out whether agony and weariness of heart could be cured by ingenious theories concerning sun and moon, the imprisonment of God in matter, the crucifixion of Christ in every tree. Surely of all teachers, the best, next after the Holy Ghost, is sorrow.

"Knowledge by suffering entereth,
And life is perfected by death."

"At this grief," he says, "my heart was utterly darkened, and whatever I beheld was death. My native country was a torment to me, and my father's house a strange unhappiness, and whatever I had shared with him, wanting him became a distracting torture. Mine eyes sought him

everywhere, but he was not granted them; and I hated all places for that they had not him; nor could they now tell me 'he is coming' as when he was alive and absent. I became a great riddle to myself, and I asked my soul 'why she was so sad, and why she disquieted me sorely,' but she knew not what to answer me."

And, alas! the Manichæan God—no beating human heart could ever rest in him!

"O madness, which knowest not how to love men as men! O foolish man that I then was, enduring impatiently the lot of man! I fretted then, sighed, wept, and was distracted, had neither rest, nor counsel. For I bore about a shattered and bleeding soul, impatient of being borne by me, yet where to repose it I found not. Not in calm groves, not in games and music, nor in fragrant spots, nor in curious banquettings—not (finally) in books or poesy found it repose. All things looked ghastly, yea, the very light; whatsoever was not what he was, was revolting and hateful, except groaning and tears. For in those alone found I a little refreshment. But when my soul was withdrawn from them, a huge load of misery weighed me down. To Thee, O Lord, it ought to have been raised, for Thee to lighten; I knew it; but neither could nor would; the more, since, when I thought of Thee, Thou wert to me not any solid or substantial thing. For thou wert not Thyself, but a mere phantom, and my error was my God. If I offered to discharge my load thereon, that it might rest, it glided through the void, and came rushing down again on me; and I had remained to myself a hapless spot, where I could neither be, nor be from thence. For whither should my heart flee from my heart? Whither should I flee from myself? Whither not follow myself? And yet I fled out of my country; for so should my eyes less look for him, where they were not wont to see him. And thus from Thagaste I came to Carthage."

At Carthage he opened a school of forensic eloquence, and his constant occupation and intercourse with other friends gradually healed his wounds. Yet the Carthaginian students were boisterous and unruly, and he soon sought elsewhere a more dignified treatment. About this period, also, he wrote on "*The fair and fit*," (*De Apto et Pulchro*), two or three books, dedicating them to Hierius, an orator of Rome. At Carthage, too, his Manichæism was to receive a new shock. There came thither the Manichæan bishop Faustus, accounted by his own sect a very oracle of wisdom. To him Augustine had been referred for a solution of all his doubts—those many doubts which were growing daily more numerous and strong. In fact, he was beginning to discover how purely negative and destructive that system was to which he had fled so hopefully for truth and light. His interview with Faustus made him more dissatisfied than ever. He was a sophist, brilliant, but without either earnestness or depth. He had no food for a hungry soul. Even the confession of

ignorance, and the protection of mystery, though in itself commendable, altogether misbecame one whose system affected to impart the absolute certainty of knowledge, and to reduce all things to the level of the human understanding. Augustine was now determined to go no further in Manichæism : its power over him was at an end. He had yet much to learn ; but God was guiding him and fulfilling the words of the pious bishop who had comforted Monnica : " It is not possible that a son of such prayers should be lost."

The riotous conduct of Augustine's pupils at Carthage was the occasion of his removal to Rome. The cause, indeed, was deeper, in the counsel and purpose of God. For so was He answering the prayers of Monnica, though she thought at this time that they were almost unavailing, and wrestled hard to prevent that journey, which was, in fact, a journey to God, and to the peaceful home of His Church. At Rome he was attacked by fever, from which he soon recovered. He was lodging with a Manichee, and did not yet altogether separate himself from the society of such, though his confidence in their system was altogether shaken.

But now he had forsaken, until God should bring him back, the Catholic faith, he was forsaking the Manichean heresy ; and those fearful thoughts came mightily upon him, with which so many have had to do battle. Is there any truth at all ? Is there any eternal foundation on which the spirit of man may rest ? Is there any knowledge deeper than mere opinion ? anything that is lying beneath all that *seems* ? Is not the wisdom of the wise to *doubt* ? Had not the Academics found that endless suspicion was the only philosophy for man ? Oh ! when will the sceptics of all times learn that scepticism is but a weapon of defence, and *implies* the supreme lordship and majesty of truth ? Dreadful, indeed, will be his experience who will try the bottom of that abyss ! But he will find that man's spirit can no more live on doubt and suspicion, than his body can be nourished by "bare imagination of a feast." Why not, too, submit patiently to error if there be no discoverable truth ? The very earnestness of the doubter is a practical denial of his theoretical indifference, for we must not mistake for scepticism the impudent dogmatism of unbelief—it lies between belief and unbelief, it is simply *not* belief.

In this world of shadows, however, where it was impossible even to discover by what substance they had been cast, Augustine could not live. Yet we must be taught both our emptiness and our need,—that we are poor, and yet may be, and are intended to be rich,—that there is a fulness out of which we may all re-

ceive, but that God's treasures are for the humble and meek. We can learn this by no books, only by the discipline of life and the good Spirit of God. Through all this negative training had God been preparing for His own service the son of His handmaid. And now, having found that man cannot live in error, or rest in doubt, he was to be guided home to Him who "is our dwelling-place from one generation to another." He was sent as a teacher of rhetoric to Milan, all the more willingly, because he was disgusted with the meanness and dishonesty of his Roman students.

At Milan Augustine met St. Ambrose, the bishop, of whom he became a diligent and delighted hearer. Yet a perfect cure for his Manichæism and scepticism was to be provided for him independently of Christian teaching. It could scarcely have been otherwise. For those who admit the authority of the Holy Scriptures, they are naturally the last appeal in all controversies or doubt. But for others the Bible is of course considered insufficient. Still that which reveals truth does not create it; and therefore the Scriptures, being true, must be in harmony with facts of the human constitution and condition, which cannot possibly have escaped the notice of all the generations of mankind. The materialism, dualism, pantheism of the Manichees therefore, and the utter emptiness of the Academics, must have been capable of a philosophic as well as a Scriptural refutation. This Augustine was to find, as so many had found before him, in the writings of that Moses who spoke Greek—the writings of Plato. To those who have given no thought or reading to the history of doctrines, it would be almost incredible how far the theology of the Church has been affected by Plato's noble and profound philosophy. There are traces of that philosophy even in the New Testament itself; and there is scarcely one of the more important theological controversies of our own times which can be settled without a direct, or at least an indirect, knowledge of what is identical with Platonism. For the Bible, though standing sublimely above all other books, does not stand apart from them, but connected at every point with the world's thought and life. It will be as dark and meaningless to the man who will not recognize its human side, as to the man who will not recognize its divine.

Of the truth actually to be found in the remains of heathen philosophy we have no space for examples; but the candid acknowledgment which St. Augustine makes of what he found in Plato comes from one whose evidence on this point will be received with less suspicion than the evidence of the Alexandrians.

St. Augustine was once more a catechumen in the Catholic

Church, waiting for further light, when the Latin translation of the "books of the Platonists" fell in his way. He speaks with ardour and gratitude of what he found therein, and with candour of what he did not find. Doubtless what he found was there; and we must remember that there may have been something also which he did not discover.

"Therein I read," says St. Augustine, "not indeed in the very words, but to the very same purpose, enforced by many and divers reasons, that in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; all things were made by him, and without him was nothing made: that which was made by him is life, and the life was the life of men, and the light shineth in the darkness and the darkness comprehendeth it not. And that the soul of man though it bears witness to the light, yet itself is not that light; but the word of God being God, is that true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And that He was in the world, and that the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. *But* that He came to His own and His own received Him not; but as many as received Him to them gave He power to become the sons of God, as many as believed in His name, *this* I read not there.

"Again I read there that God the Word was born not of flesh, nor of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh but of God. *But* that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, I read not there.

"For I traced in those books, that it was many and divers ways said that the Son was in the form of the Father and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, for that naturally He was of the same substance. *But* that he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, and that the death of the cross; wherefore God exalted Him from the dead and gave Him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father; those books have not.

"For that before all times and above all times Thy Only-begotten Son remaineth unchangeably, co-eternal with thee, and that of His fulness souls receive that they may be blessed; and that by participation of wisdom abiding in them, they are renewed so as to be wise, is there. *But* that in due time He died for the ungodly; and that Thou sparedst not Thine only Son but deliveredst Him for us all, is not there.

"For Thou hiddest these things from the wise and revealedst them to babes; that they that labour and are heavy-laden might come unto Him and He refresh them, because He is meek and lowly in heart; and the meek He directeth in judgment, and the gentle He teacheth His ways, beholding our lowliness and trouble, and forgiving all our sins. But such as are lifted up in the lofty walk of some would-be sublimer learning, hear not Him, saying 'Learn of Me for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye

shall find rest to your souls.' Although they knew God, yet they glorify Him not as God, nor are thankful, but wax vain in their thoughts; and their foolish heart is darkened; professing that they were wise, they became fools."ⁱ

It is most desirable that we should deal candidly with such facts and confessions as these. For strange as it may seem, not a few have been trained to believe that the surpassing glory of Scripture can best be proved by showing that all other books are stupid—as if you should show that a man was wonderfully tall by comparing him with dwarfs. Many would fancy they had discovered their Bibles to be worth less because they had found Plato to be worth more—as if the *glory* of the creature was incompatible with the perfection of the Creator. To all such the facts confessed by St. Augustine will be rather startling than welcome. They will be anxious to throw suspicion on these facts, and to prove that God *did* "leave Himself without witness;" and that "the invisible things of Him are not clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made;" and they will spurn from them the refutation of half the heresies and all the "secularism" of our own times, furnished by God's kind providence twenty-two centuries ago in the writings of a Greek philosopher.

But there is a very obvious revival, not altogether without its dangers, of the study of Platonism, and a growing dissatisfaction with what is deemed the grovelling, earthly sensationalism of Locke, and those who have even gone beyond him. Theology, therefore, is recovering more and more its old breadth and depth—we find that after much new wine the old is better—the *very* old. So we may hope to deal more successfully with the enemies of our faith, and perhaps, also to be mercifully saved from the insanity of some of its friends.

Without giving him power to realize its lofty ideals, Platonism was the means of making Augustine more conscious than ever of the inward strife between good and evil, to which the Holy Scriptures bear such constant witness; and we come now to the crisis of his life, his entire and unreserved surrender of himself to God. His sensual habits held him back; he could scarcely tear himself away from that bondage of iniquity.

"One day as he sat in a downcast mood with his bosom friend Alypius, who was engaged in similar struggles, their countryman Pontitianus, a superior officer in the Roman army, and at the same time a zealous Christian, entered the chamber. He was surprised, instead of a classic author, or a Manichæan writer, to see the Epistles of the Apostle Paul lying on the table. He began a religious conversation, and in the course

ⁱ Conf. vii. 9. (118.)

of his remarks took occasion to speak of the Egyptian hermit Anthony, who in literal pursuance of the Saviour's advice to the rich young man, had given up all his property in order to live to the Lord unrestricted and undisturbed in solitude, and there to work out the salvation of his soul. The two friends had as yet heard nothing of the wonderful saint of the desert, the venerable father of Monachism, and just as little of a cloister outside the walls of Milan, under the supervision of Ambrose; and were now charmed and ashamed at the information. . . . Pontitianus left the house. Then the storm in the soul of Augustine broke loose with greater violence, and expressed itself in the features of his countenance, his looks and his gestures, still more than in his words. 'What has happened us?' said he to Alypius. 'What is it? What hast thou heard? The unlearned rise up and lay hold of the kingdom of heaven; and we with our heartless knowledge!—see! how we wallow in flesh and blood!' After he had said this and more in a similar strain, he rushed out with the Epistles of St. Paul in his hand into an adjoining garden, where no one would be likely to interrupt the agitation of his soul until God himself should allay it. For it was, as he said, despair or salvation, death or life. Alypius followed in his footsteps. We removed as far as possible from the house. I groaned in spirit, full of stormy indignation, that I had not entered into covenant and union with Thee, my God; and all my bones cried out 'Whither must thou go?' But it was not possible to go by ship, or waggon, or on foot, as we go to any spot we please. For going thither and coming there is nothing else than to *will* to go thither, and to will with *full* power; not to waver and be tossed to and fro with a divided will, which now rises up and now sinks down in the struggle. He was angry at the perverseness of his will. . . . The huge storm of his misery discharged itself in a flood of tears. He withdrew, even from Alypius, into a retired corner of the garden, under a fig-tree. 'Thou, my Lord,' he cried, 'how long yet? Oh, Lord, how long yet wilt Thou be angry? Remember not the sins of my youth! How long? How long? To-morrow, and again to-morrow? Why not to day? Why not now? Why not in this hour put an end to my shame?' Thus he prayed, supplicated, sighed, wrestled and wept bitterly. They were the birth-pangs of the new life. From afar he saw the Church in the beauty of her holiness. The glorified spirits of the redeemed who had been snatched from the abyss by the all-merciful, and transplanted into a heavenly state of being, beckoned to him. Still more powerful the longing burned within; still more hot and rapidly beat the pulse of desire after the Saviour's embrace: as a weary hunted stag after the fresh water brooks, so panted his heart after the living God, and a draught from the chalice of His grace."

As he lay weeping, groaning, longing, praying, a child's sweet voice from some neighbouring house sounded on his ear, saying: "Take and read." What could this mean, but that he should take God's Sacred Word, and read there the message of his Lord. So he hastened back to the place where he had left the Holy Book. He snatched it up and read: "Let us walk

honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." He told Alypius all. For him also there was a word of encouragement and guidance: "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye." From that hour the hearts of both were fixed. Once more the "Kingdom of heaven was like a merchantman seeking goodly pearls, who, when he has found one pearl of great price, sells all that he has and buys it." So, too, was the word of the Lord by His pious bishop to Monnica fulfilled: "It is not possible that a son of such tears should be lost!"

He now prepared himself for baptism. The great week was drawing nigh, and the joyous Easter tide—holy seasons of the Christian year, celebrated not, as now, with lazy indifference, or treated with utter scorn or contempt. Even in his Manichæism, Augustine's soul had been stirred within him by the crowds which flocked round the altars to die with Christ in Passion-week, and hail His resurrection on the Easter morning. For these holy festivals were witnesses to those actual historical facts which lie at the very foundation of the Gospel, and which all heretics more or less deny. On Easter sabbath he was baptized by St. Ambrose, with his son, Adeodatus, and Alypius. The hymns and Canticles sank deep into his soul. He had found his home at last: "Domine, fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in Te."

And now why should Monnica be any longer "at home in the body and absent from her Lord?" "Her eyes had seen His salvation." Her prayers had been answered, and her son given her again, after deeper sorrow, with a fuller joy. She was on her way with him once more to Africa, and had reached Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, about a day's journey from Rome. They stood at a window looking out on the garden of the house, where they were preparing for their voyage, and talked of the "eternal life."

"We were saying then: 'If to any the tumult of the flesh were hushed, hushed the images of earth, and waters and air, hushed also the poles of heaven; yea, the very soul be hushed to herself, and by not thinking on self surmount self, hushed all dreams and imaginary revelations, every tongue and every sign, and whatsoever exists only in transition, since, if any could hear, all these say: 'We made not ourselves, but He that made us abideth for ever.' If, then, having uttered this, they too should be hushed; having roused only our ears to Him who made them,

and He alone speak, not by them, but by Himself, that we may hear His word, not through any tongue of flesh, nor angel's voice, nor sound of thunder, nor in the dark riddle of a similitude, but might hear whom in these things we love, might hear His very self, without these (as we two now strained ourselves, and in swift thought touched on that Eternal Wisdom which abideth over all), could this be continued on, and other visions of kind far unlike be withdrawn, and this one ravish, and absorb, and wrap up the beholder amid these inward joys, so that life might be for ever like that one moment of understanding which now we sighed after, were not this, 'Enter into thy master's joy?' When we were speaking of these things, and this world, with all its delights, became, as we spake, contemptible to us, my mother said: 'Son, for mine own part, I have no further delight in anything in this life. What I do here any longer, and to what end I am here, I know not; now that my hopes in this world are accomplished. One thing there was, for which I desired to linger for awhile in this life, that I might see thee a Catholic Christian before I died. My God has done this for me more abundantly, that I should now see Thee withal, despising earthly happiness, become his servant; what do I here?' "

Scarce five days after she fell sick of fever. She knew that the end was come. Here she said, "You shall bury your mother!" Her old desire to lie in her own African land had altogether yielded to the will of God. "Lay this body anywhere; let not the care for that anyway disquiet you: this only I would request, that you would remember me at the Lord's altar, wherever you be." Augustine closed her eyes.

"May she rest then in peace with the husband, before and after whom she had never any; whom she obeyed *with patience, bringing forth fruit* unto Thee, that she might win him also unto Thee. And inspire, O Lord my God, inspire Thy servants my brethren, Thy sons my masters, whom with voice, and heart, and pen I serve, that so many as shall read these confessions, may at Thy altar remember Monnica Thy handmaid, with Patricius her sometime husband, by whose bodies Thou broughtest me into this life, how, I know not. May they with devout affection remember my parents in this transitory life, my brethren under Thee our Father, in our Catholic Mother, and my fellow citizens in that eternal Jerusalem, which Thy pilgrim people sigheth after from their Exodus even unto their return thither. That so my mother's last request of me may, through my confessions, more than through my prayers, be through the prayers of many, more abundantly fulfilled to her."

Surely she no longer needs the prayers even of righteous men. But as surely we may without sin remember her at that Holy Communion where we feel, as nowhere else, the unity of God's saints in heaven and earth. We may remember her as we "bless God's holy name for all His servants departed this life in His faith and fear; beseeching Him to give us grace so to follow

their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of His heavenly kingdom." "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord. Even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." St. Augustine, and through him the whole Western Church, is the monument of Monnica.

If we seem to have given a very disproportionate space to this earlier period of St. Augustine's life, the reason is obvious, and we think sufficient. There has been no living man whose system of doctrine and whole course of life has been so deeply and yet so obviously the result of his own religious experience.

We must pass very rapidly over the remaining events of the life of this great and good man. In A.D. 389 he was ordained presbyter at Hippo, of which he was afterwards made bishop. Here he came into conflict with those Donatist schismatics, who were the great plague and curse of the North African Church. The history of this schism is most interesting and instructive. It is the history of the conflict between Catholicism and Separatism, and therefore specially important now, when there is a manifest yearning after Catholicity, more or less wise, in all sections of the Church of Christ. Moreover Donatism was, or became, in part, a reaction against the worldliness which was a result of the public permission and even patronage of the Christian religion. It therefore has points of strong resemblance to the dissent of modern times, and will on that ground, receive in some quarters, very far more sympathy than it in the least deserves. There are not a few who seem to be enamoured of religious differences for their own sakes, who think them productive of a useful rivalry, who suspect all anxiety to produce unity, as if it implied treason to liberty and truth. To all such the party-cries and watchwords of the Donatists will be exceedingly attractive. But in fact the Donatist idea of the church was as far as the Augustinian from modern Plymouth-brother extravagance. No Donatist bishop would have tolerated the ecclesiastical disorder, or at least want of order, which seems by some to be desired. Yet everything worth contending for among the Donatists was already vehemently asserted and ardently desired in the Catholic Church herself. Many better elements had been added, but still Donatism was the fruit and the root of fanaticism, the result of narrow and one-sided interpretations of Scripture, and sustained, not by argument or truth, but by a reckless and unscrupulous ferocity. Church history teaches us that all Puritanism pushed to impracticable extremes, becomes a petty, exasperating, merciless tyranny. The Puritan fathers, who left our own land for greater religious freedom, no sooner found themselves in New England, than they "deemed themselves commissioned like

Joshua to a work of blood." In the short space of fifty years they had swept away from the face of the earth 100,000 human beings by fire and sword, slavery and murder, poor benighted heathens, "owing nothing to Christianity," as an historian says, "but steel, gunpowder, and gin." Donatism, the Puritanism of the fourth century, with all its high-sounding pretensions to holiness and freedom, was just as unscrupulous; the schismatics making up for weakness of argument by the fury of their passions and the deadliness of their weapons.

"The wandering rabble of that faction," says Dr. Trench, in the Essay we have already quoted, "was indeed formidable enough, when in some remote district, men and women, rudely but terribly armed, at first with clubs only, 'Israel's' as they called them, but afterwards with slings and hatchets, lances and swords, and with their cry of *Deo laudes*, which Augustine describes as more dreaded than a lion's roar, they laid wait for in the day, or surrounded by night the house of some member, most often some priest or even bishop of the Catholic Church, pulled it down or burned it over his head, and forcing him thence, or even from the very altar itself, so wounded and beat him that perhaps he presently expired; or after having thus maltreated, dragged him till nearly dead through filthy pools, or pouring quick lime,—and when they found that of that alone their victims sometimes recovered,—lime mingled with vinegar into his eyes, deprived him amid excruciating torments of vision; or in their milder mood, clothing him in some masquerade dress of scorn, paraded him through the neighbouring villages, and after many days hardly let him go; or harnessing him into a mill, compelled him with many stripes to turn it; or when one of them in that insane spirit of self-destruction which possessed them, meeting a Catholic, required him to kill him on threat of his own death if he refused. But those who bore the word for this schism wielded the weapons of their warfare in no such effectual manner. . . . The Ithacan mendicant had hardly such dread of the thews and sinews of Ulysses, and hardly so unwillingly advanced to the conflict, as they do to the calm discussion with Augustine of the points at issue between themselves and the Catholic Church."^k

These were the worthies who had separated from her, because the terms of her communion were not sufficiently strict; because she felt it impossible altogether to separate the tares from the wheat until the harvest.

St. Augustine's conflict with this schism would necessarily have much to do with the elaboration of his church theory—a theory carried, perhaps, into some little extravagance by circumstances, but in the main true and profound. In fact, though the difference between schism and heresy is one with which we are sufficiently familiar, there are very numerous connections

and interlacings between them, and the man who had wandered from the city of God with the Manichees, would be in no mood to renew his travels with Donatists. The experience of Augustine must have led him to regard that craving for an independent private position and judgment, that subordination of order to liberty, which is at the root of all schism, as being at the root of all evil; and, indeed, the Scriptures as clearly reveal a Church with its offices and ministries, as they do the personal responsibility of every man. St. Augustine may seem too sacerdotal, but his error, if he be in error, is the exact opposite of one which is in our own day rapidly gaining favour, and may with great advantage be so far received as to modify it. It is the tendency of a large section of Christians to forget that a *member* implies a *body*, as truly as a *body* implies *members*. They would leave us scarcely anything that could be called church-life, all would be individual, private, personal. This is not Protestantism; it is only the exaggeration, the perversion, the abuse of Protestantism, and it is very far removed from St. Paul's idea of the church as a living organic whole, one body with one Head, one quickening Spirit, one faith, one Baptism. A little clique of people, of whom every one is his own minister, administering the Sacraments at their own convenience, and according to their own fancy, or perhaps dispensing with Sacraments altogether, is, according to St. Augustine, no church at all; and if this great church-father be mistaken we do not see how to avoid being in error with him. And even if he be supposed to have unduly subordinated, in any case, the member to the body, none can charge him with having exalted the body above the Spirit or the Head.

If to any his language should from its loftiness sound strange when he speaks of the Catholic Church, it will be, at the least, equally strange and unpalatable to them when he speaks of Holy Baptism. There are just two remarks which we have to make on this point, and they would be equally true and pertinent if we believed, as we most assuredly do not believe, that Baptism is an empty ceremony, or is not of perpetual obligation in the Christian Church. The first is, that the strongest of St. Augustine's expressions, taken alone, may be paralleled by passages of Scripture taken alone. Whatever we may think of the New Testament *meaning*, it is quite impossible to exceed the force of the New Testament *language* on this subject. That is the first remark. The second is similar. As we do not ascertain the New Testament meaning on baptism by a few passages taken alone, so we must expect to ascertain St. Augustine's doctrine only by comparing what he says on this Sacrament with the

general tenor of his teaching, and with what he says of original sin, of the person and work of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of repentance, and of faith. It is quite ridiculous to say that a father believes Baptism to be, in any offensive sense, sufficient for salvation, when he is constantly leading men to repentance and to faith in the Redeemer. We may add that a little more of this charity and common sense towards some of our modern "Sacramentalists," would save our evangelical leaders from the awkward and not always unmerited reputation of gross ignorance or wilful misrepresentation.

The last of the great controversies in which St. Augustine took a prominent part, was the controversy with the Pelagians and the Semipelagians. Upon this we have not space even to enter. But St. Augustine's views of nature and grace were determined by his own experience. His expressions may have been strong, extreme,—pushed even into positive error. In his anxiety to magnify God's grace he sometimes seems to deny man's free will. But they will not cast the first stone at him who have felt the plague of their own hearts—who, from the lowest hell have cried, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" who have groaned under the "bondage of iniquity" and in the power of darkness. Moreover, St. Augustine had a clear view of the fact that, however in appearance a contradiction, the will is only free when yielded up to God.

"Our wills are ours, we know not how.

Our wills are ours to make them Thine."

In May, 428 A.D., 50,000 Vandal warriors crossed over from Spain to Africa, bringing terror and desolation wherever they came. At length they came and laid siege to Hippo, whose pious bishop was now in the seventy-sixth year of his age. At table he said to his friends, "What I pray God for is, that He will deliver this city from the enemy: or if He has determined otherwise, that He may strengthen his servant for his sufferings; or which I would rather, that He would call me from this world to Himself." This last wish was granted, and in the third month of the siege, on the 28th Aug., 430, he was taken to his rest. "Go thy way, Monnica, and God bless thee, it is not possible for the son of so many tears to be lost."

It was no part of our purpose to give any account of the writings of this great Doctor and Saint; yet we may dwell, for a concluding paragraph, on those *Confessions*, which furnish the key to all that Augustine either wrote or did. Perhaps the flippant falsehood of Byron, that they "make the reader envy

his transgressions," has been more mischievous than would be readily believed, and may have done much to confirm that suspicion of grossness, not only in Augustine, but in almost all the Fathers, which it is sometimes deemed a kind of virtue to cherish. In fact, looking back upon that life of sin and shame, which had once been his, and from which, as he believed, he had been cleansed by the waters of Holy Baptism, he describes it not gently and tenderly, hiding its evil in fair words, but loathingly, and as it was, so that we can only read of it with the disgust which he felt who wrote. "Moderns have an outward purity of language; the ancient Church, with the Bible, a fearless plainness of speech which belongs to inward purity." The *Confessions* are a noble psalm of thanksgiving and praise to God. They are not, therefore, an autobiography, simple and complete. Scarcely anywhere else, indeed, have we such an unveiling of hidden life, such a witnessing to the wondrous discipline by which the Father of a human spirit won it back to himself—yet, this is for the sake, not of narrative, but of praise. And there is still the same high object in every warning and precept: "O magnify THE LORD with me, and let us exalt His name together."

K.

THE LITERATURE OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

At the close of the Septuagint-version of the book of Job, the attempt is made, in a spurious addition to the last words of that book, to identify the names Job and Jobab, and to shew that Jobab, one of the kings of Edom, who is said to have reigned over the Edomites before any king reigned over the children of Israel, is the same with the man who dwelt in the land of Uz, whose name was *יָבֹב* (the persecuted). As Jobab *יָבֹב* (shouting or howling) has a different derivation from Job, and as there is no reason or authority for the spurious passage in the Septuagint, we are led to regard this as one of those fanciful and erroneous views which, professing to add to the truths declared in Scripture, have prevented the truth from being so clearly discerned as before. Names, even when exactly alike, do not always refer to the same persons. Much more is this the case when the names are radically different and only in sound or in appearance somewhat similar. A genealogy, also erroneous in its names, has been given to Job in the same passage, which we must not forget to notice is said to be translated from the Syriac version of the book.

The only passage in the Old Testament Scriptures in which the name of Job is mentioned, apart from the book that has received his name, is that in Ezekiel, where Noah, Daniel and Job are spoken of as men most notable for righteousness. Why Ezekiel should have placed Job last in order, especially when Daniel was a contemporary of his own, seems not easily explicable—if Job really belonged to an age earlier than Abraham, or even to an age earlier than Moses. If Job lived in the era of the Jewish captivity, when the literature of the east was more thoroughly brought under the notice of the wisest and most learned among the Jews than at any other period in their history; and when Daniel (who was greatly distinguished for his knowledge of oriental languages and literature, and who was exalted to the highest office among the rulers and counsellors of those monarchs under whom his countrymen remained in captivity), must have known all that was best among the writings of the “Sons of the East;” then we can understand how Ezekiel came to classify the three notably righteous men as he does, and how, moreover, Daniel himself may have been the authority for adding the book of Job to the number of holy books already in the possession of his countrymen.

There is, now and then, in Daniel a phrase that so exactly resembles what we find in the book of Job, that we cannot help thinking Daniel was familiar with it, and that it was such a book as would have especially suited the king who first elevated Daniel to the high but strange position of a ruler over the enemies of his country. Such phrases are these:

Who can hinder him, who can say unto him what doest thou? (Job). None can stay his hand from working, or say unto him, What doest thou? (Daniel). As the Lord liveth (J.) The angel swore by him that liveth for ever and ever (D.)

In whose hand thy breath is and whose are all thy ways (J.) In whose hand is the soul of every living thing and the breath of all mankind (D.) Meat of desires or bread of desires (translated dainty meat and pleasant bread) occurs in Job and Daniel; as does the phrase, broken or taken away *without hand*, etc.

The latest possible period to which we think the book of Job can reasonably be assigned is the age of Ezekiel and Daniel. If it was a production of that very age, Daniel may have edited the book—if translation from another language was needful—may have translated it, or superintended the translation.

No age was better suited for the admission of that book among the sacred books of the Jews, which tells of Job's captivity to affliction, than the age of the Jewish captivity. No man of *wisdom and dignity* equal to Daniel's had appeared among

the Jewish tribes from the days of David. And although he was prime minister to monarchs to whom his race owed but little allegiance, he must have been always an influential man in the affairs of his fellow-countrymen. The state of the Jews during their captivity has not been recorded save in allusions and scenes of an incidental nature; but Daniel's was the most noble name during the long and heart-breaking exile of God's ancient people; and his was the name that would have sanctioned the reception, on the part of Jews, of a gift like the book of Job from the literature of those formerly despised races among whom their tribes had been scattered by divine wrath.

But if we find that a general consent limits the time in which the book of Job could have been written—at its latest period, to the age of Ezekiel and Daniel; what will be said of the *earliest possible period* at which it could have been written? English critics, that is, British critics, have with few exceptions manifested an extraordinary anxiety to give the book of Job the very earliest place in literature, sacred or profane. One can imagine the difficulty of finding a proper place for a volume on well-filled library-shelves being solved easily and at once by placing it, in the meantime, on the topmost shelf where there may be "room and verge enough" for the purpose, and where it will be out of the way. And, simple as the illustration is, it may to some extent explain the anxiety to place the book of Job in the position of the very earliest composition in the world. It is true enough that the exclamation of the afflicted and comfortless man, "O, that mine adversary had written a book!" would, upon such a supposition, appear very unexpected and uncalled for; but it is astonishing what the high-pressure of dogmatism can put down and overlook, even when professing to be—and it is charitable to hope, at the same time, believing itself to be—calm and unprejudiced. By making the book of Job the earliest in the world, the difficulty is got over of assigning it to any particular age; no questions need to be answered—none need be asked, when once this high place is assigned to it. It is put beyond investigation of every kind. But we cannot always feel this to be a satisfactory way of solving difficulties. On reflection, we find far more ponderous difficulties pressing on the mind, after adopting such a masterly solution, than ever assailed us before.

The dramatic character of the book of Job is proof unexceptionable that there had been many literary efforts, many inspired productions, and writers divinely taught, before that book was written. There is more of an artistic structure about it than at first appears. There are passages in which it is implied that

some exclamations on the part of Job, and evident signs of anger and impatience, had given a certain change to the addresses of his friends—a change not to be accounted for on any other supposition. During the replies of Job it is also as evident that some of his remarks are suggested by expressed or apparent impatience, or by seeming inattention or signs of dissent, on the part of his friends. The book is not mere history, in the form of dialogue. Nor is it mere argument. The most artistic of the Germans has imitated the structure of the poem in some of its sublimest and most dramatic features.

Let us consider some of the dramatic features in this wonderful book. We have *the introduction*, in which appears the Satanic will, rendering an account to God, and endeavouring to undervalue, to counteract, and to distrust all goodness; and in which permission is given, for the glory of the Supreme, to try the upright man.

Then we have *the first act*, in which the picture of Job's prosperity and of his piety, and then the swift footsteps of the successive messengers of evil, seeking the sore-tried but submissive servant of God, are put before us.

Then comes *the second act*, in which the diabolical suggestion of *selfishness and cowardly love of life* is given as the cause of Job's submissive spirit, and additional permission is granted to Satan to tempt him; in which we see his wife also tempting him, and Job's continued patience, after all.

The third act follows, in which his three friends, according to appointment, come to mourn with him and to comfort him. They cannot recognize him, owing to the awful change that sorrow and disease have wrought on his outward man. They weep and rend every one his mantle, and sprinkle dust upon their heads towards heaven. They come and sit down beside him on the ground, and observing the greatness of his grief, they keep a respectful silence for seven days and seven nights.

The fourth act gives us the first speech of Job, in which, be it observed, he signally refutes the diabolical suggestion of Satan as to his selfish value for life. In these first utterances of the agonized sufferer, he undervalues life, earnestly longs for death, and wishes that he had never been born.

Then we have the whole of the unfortunate course of argument to which the key-note is struck by Job when he curses the day of his birth, and expresses not even the faintest hope in God (whatever the afflicted man may have felt lingering in his heart, and may have been ready to express afterwards). This first speech—for which, as for others like it, he afterwards tries

to excuse himself, by saying : " Do ye imagine to reprove words, and the speeches of one that is desperate, which are as wind ?" —gives his friends a very bad opinion of him ; and, it seems so inconsistent with what they had known of him before, that they are tempted by it, and by the rest of his speeches, to think him hypocritical and secretly guilty of greater sins than they knew, and of greater sins than they had ever committed themselves. Believing this theory to be right, they naturally enough associate his fearful afflictions with guilt and hypocrisy. On this view they continue to argue with him. Their want of sympathy (which he does not observe that his own first words in their hearing have occasioned) Job feels most bitterly, and cannot account for. The breach between him and his friends is widened as they proceed. A wild energy, to which his disease and his multiplied sorrows give additional impetus, at last puts to utter silence the most railing of his friends. And, finally, they all are silent, after being reduced to a reiteration of their former arguments.

And now, one who had listened to the speeches of Job and his friends, is introduced to our notice—one whom we might suppose to have been the writer of the book—from the manner in which he uses the pronouns *They* and *I* (Job xxxii. 15—17), as well as from his own genealogy being given according to the custom of the sacred writers, whereas no other genealogy is given in the course of the whole book. Elihu, though younger than the friends of Job, proceeds to shew in what respect they had failed to answer him as they ought. He speaks at great length.

And then a wondrous grandeur is given to the drama ; for Elihu gives place to the great God of heaven, who reasons with the pain-stricken and distracted Job. What a lesson is taught by this sudden and sublime transition ! The wise men fold their mantles round them as the frown gathers on the face of the sky, and the wild swoop of the whirlwind is about to overwhelm all with its hot, fierce breath. But it bears a voice for Job—a voice that shall soon change his mourning into rejoicing ! As earthquake, whirlwind, and fire, in the case of Elijah ; as earthquakes, storm-blast, thunders and lightnings, in the case of David ; so the whirlwind, in the case of Job, was the charioteer that brought his ever-living Redeemer's message, and sent the words of a just Judge, and yet a Saviour, in still, small accents, through his inmost soul.

Is it not so to this day ? We tell men the truth, or try to impress it on ourselves—twice, thrice—a thousand times. It is not in vain. It is of use. But its wisdom, and use, and fre-

quency, are valuable for this end—that the human ear is thus prepared to hear—THE VOICE OF GOD, and to understand the immense difference between the truest human sympathy and love, and the depths of *divine compassion*.

We regard this as one of the most memorable lessons of the book of Job. And, could we give credit to the hypothesis (as we certainly do not), that the whole book is a poem, composed by some inspired one, who invented the names of Job and his companions,—their circumstances,—and their attitude to one another,—as merely advantageous accompaniments, giving greater interest to the truths which he intended to declare; we should yet consider the structure of the poem, at this particular part of it, to be exceedingly grand, and sufficient to prove it the result of divine inspiration.

So thoroughly is Job affected by the grandeur of the descriptions which follow, exhibiting, as they do, the wondrous variety and excellence of the works of God, and the amazing signs of power and wisdom to be found in nature; and passing, as they do, from point to point round the whole circle of creation; and challenging, as they do, in every successive sentence, an answer bearing on the *power that man has*, or rather on the creating, guiding, and preserving power possessed by Job! that the villainess of his conduct in reproaching the Almighty, and All-wise Creator, appears to himself most heinous. But still the divine voice utters its soul-subduing accents in his ear, and while it increases the impression of the power over the wicked which God ever possesses and exercises (though Job had profanely denied this), and tells of the vast strength of some of the strongest of the inferior creatures, it exhibits the frailty of man, the impossibility of his own right hand saving him, and the utter folly of his thinking that he can maintain his position when he opposes God.

The power, wisdom, and benevolence of God, as displayed to the inferior creation, form, in the eyes of Job, the most convincing proofs that the Being who has permitted his great distresses to come upon him, must be a *holy and a merciful God*. The sight of God's holiness reveals in a new light (as it has done in every age of the Church) the wickedness of the creature, who is permitted to see so bright a vision. And the words of Job are: "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes."

Then sacrifice is offered by the friends of Job while he prays for them, that the sin of many of their words may be forgiven. The light of prosperity again shines in and around his

dwelling, and God blesses the latter end of Job more than the beginning.

Whether we speak of the *dramatic character* of the whole composition, or choose some other name by which to designate the action of this noble poem, the coherency of its parts, and the admirable unity of the whole; we would appeal to every student of sacred literature whether, considering the mere structure of the book, it is reasonable to speak of it as the earliest written composition in the world, or which is the same thing, the earliest written book of Scripture.

But besides the external structure of the work, let us examine the sentiments and the style of speaking, and find, if we can, whether any age of sacred literature affords compositions that so much resemble the book of Job as to persuade us that they belong to that age, or to an age previous to that in which Job was written.

Some have gone the length of saying, that there is no book that resembles Job in the slightest degree, and that no comparison can be made between its utterances and those of any other book. We shall see, in the case of at least one other book, whether this be true. It must have struck the least observant readers of Scripture, that various passages in the Proverbs, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, so much resemble passages in Job, that except on the principle of quotation from memory, or unintentional repetition and adaptation, we cannot well account for the resemblance. At the same time, we do not forget that other principle of similarity in thought, by which, independent of all communication with each other, men of different countries and of different ages, give utterance to sentiments remarkably similar to one another. The familiarity of Christians with the book of Psalms, both from the frequency with which they read it, or hear it read, especially on the Lord's-day, and from the peculiar regard which is entertained for it by such as are of a truly devout spirit, may warrant us in comparing that book, in particular, with the book of Job, and in calling attention to the very remarkable resemblance between the two, both in particular expressions, and in the general style of speech and sentiment.

We do not undertake to give the precise passages in which the resemblances occur, simply because our time does not at present admit of it. But this is the less to be regretted, when we reflect that it may be an inducement for others to search after parallel passages to those which occur in Job. Many of the passages we have compared in the Hebrew, and some are identical there, when in the English translation they do not even appear to resemble each other. We shall mention those, how-

ever, that even to the reader of the English translation, fix the attention at once by their similarity. We shall take some sayings that have reference to AFFLICTION, in the first place.

Both in the Book of Psalms and in the Book of Job we read of God making his people a *byword* among their enemies; sending his *arrows* to pierce the heart or spirit; forsaking the *work of his own hands*; *shutting up a man* so that he cannot come forth; *hiding his face* and *hiding himself* from his people; making the *heart soft and like wax*; *taking away man's breath* so that he *dies and returns to his dust*. We read also, in both, of the *tongue cleaving to the roof of the mouth*; of the *bones being pierced* as with a sword; of the *soul being poured out*; of the *life being in the hand*; of *kinsfolk, lovers, and familiar friends keeping far from the afflicted*, and dealing deceitfully with them; of *enemies and terrors* surrounding one *like waters*; of the *soul abhorring meat*; of the *life drawing nigh to the grave*; of being *like an owl* for loneliness; of *eyes failing*; of the *bones being burned*; of man's life being *like a fleeting shadow*, and like a *fading flower*; of *his place knowing or beholding him no more*; of his life vanishing like a passing breath of *wind*; of the *bones cleaving to the skin*; of bones *sticking out* so that they can be told or numbered; of being shut up (delivered) to the ungodly; of grief *consuming or dimming the eye*, and wasting the *limbs*; of *going down to the pit*; of *mourning all the day long and mourning without the sun*; of the *shadow of death* and the *land of darkness*. The Psalmist prays, "Spare me that I may recover strength before I go hence and be no more," and Job entreats, "Let me alone that I may take comfort a little, before I go whence I shall not return." The one says, "Remember how short my time is; wherefore hast thou made all men in vain;" the other, "Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as clay, and wilt thou bring me into dust again?" And both declare the *happiness of the man whom God correcteth or chasteneth*.

We may next observe the similarity of their words and sentiments in reference to THE WICKED.

Like several other expressions—to *forge a lie*, and to be *forgers of lies*—can nowhere be found save in Job and the Psalms. The wicked are said to be *caught in the nets, snares, or pits they lay or dig for others*; they are said to be *clothed with shame*; *enclosed with fat*. The Psalmist says, "The wicked are brought into desolation as in a moment. As a dream when one awaketh, so, O Lord, when thou awakest, thou shalt despise their image." Job testifies, "The triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment. He shall

fly away as a dream, and shall not be found; yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night." In the Psalms we have, "To root out of a tabernacle and bring to the king of terrors;" in Job, "To pluck out of a dwelling-place and root out of the land of the living." Psalms, "I was the song of the drunkards;" Job, "I am the song of the vile." Psalms, "He wandereth abroad for meat, saying, Where is it;" Job, "Let them wander up and down for meat, and grudge if they be not satisfied." Psalms, "To speak against God;" Job, "To multiply words against God." Psalms, "He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath, indignation, and trouble;" Job, "God shall cast the fury of his wrath upon him, and shall rain it upon him." Psalms, "Their widows made no lamentation;" Job, "Their widows shall not weep." In both, of *enemies wishing to eat up one's flesh*; of the wicked, as *chaff before the wind*; of the righteous being glad and iniquity *stopping her mouth*; of *shaking the head at the afflicted*; of *tearing one in their wrath*, and *gnashing on one with their teeth*; of the *arms of the wicked being broken*; of their *triumphing*; of their remembrance *being cut off or perishing from the earth*. Psalms, "I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree, yet he passed away, and, lo! he was not; yea, I sought him, and he could not be found;" Job, "I have seen the foolish taking root, but suddenly I cursed his habitation." Psalms, "He travaileth with iniquity and hath conceived mischief, and bringeth forth falsehood;" Job, "They conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity, and their belly prepareth deceit."

We turn now to expressions that refer to the POWER OF GOD, to HIS FAVOUR FOR HIS OWN. In both, of his *power over the sea (waves)*; of *none being able to deliver out of his hand*; of his *spreading or stretching out the heavens*; of his *endless years*, and of his putting away the *breath of men and turning them to dust*; of his *greatness being unsearchable—earth, sea, heaven, hades*, being *all incapable of measuring it*. Psalms, "He shall break in pieces the oppressor;" Job, "He shall break in pieces mighty men without number." Psalms, "The world is mine and the fulness thereof;" Job, "Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine." Psalms, "Many are thy wonderful works . . . they are more than can be numbered;" Job, "Who doeth great things past finding out, and wonders without number." Psalms, "The redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever;" Job, "Beware lest he take thee away with a stroke that a great ransom cannot deliver thee." Psalms, "Thou broughtest us into the net;" Job, "God hath overthrown me and compassed me with his net." Psalms, "By the word of the Lord

were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth;" Job, "By his spirit he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the crooked serpent." Psalms, "The blast of the breath of thy nostrils;" Job, "By the blast of God they perish, and by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed." Psalms, "He gathereth the waters together as an heap, he layeth up the depth in storehouses;" Job, "He hath compassed the waters with bounds." In both, God is said to *feed the young lions*; and to provide the *young ravens with food, when they cry unto him*; to keep man from going down to the pit—the soul from the lowest hell; to ransom from the power of the grave. In Job and Psalms God is represented as the *light and salvation* of his people; they are said to *delight in him*; he is termed their *Redeemer*; he "giveth songs in the night" (equivalent to passages in the Psalms); he *exacteth less than iniquities deserve*; he is *clothed with majesty*; his people *stretch forth their hands to him*; he suddenly *destroys the prosperous wicked, and abases the proud*; upholds the falling; raises up the bowed down; strengthens the feeble knee; is called *our Maker*; his *teaching* is referred to; he *setteth up on high the lowly and afflicted*; he makes the *righteous glad* when they see his ways; the *fear* of the Lord is *wisdom*; to *depart from evil is understanding*; he fills the mouth with laughter, and the lips or tongue with rejoicing or singing. Psalms, "The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous;" Job, "He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous." Psalms, "The Lord shall cut off all flattering lips;" Job, "I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my maker would soon take me away."

The following phrases, also, may be noted: the pillars of the earth; the wild goats of the crags; to enter into judgment with; thunder—the voice of God; of *God speaking once, yea twice*; of God's words being hid in the heart; of his people being *set in a large room*; of their being hid from the strife of tongues; of steps being straightened or enlarged; and the feet in consequence slipping or being kept from slipping; clean hands; the sins of youth; wisdom compared with gold. Psalms, "In my prosperity I said, I shall never be moved;" Job, "I said, I shall die in my nest." Psalms, "To deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine;" Job, "In famine he shall redeem thee from death, and in war from the power of the words;" life prolonged that one may *see good; departing from evil*; saying things in the heart; winking with the eye; they magnify themselves against me; the light of the living; the poor and needy being delivered when they cried for help; the time *before the hills or mountains were*; of sinning with tongue

or lips; of lying down and taking rest in security and none making afraid; of entreating the face of God (Hebrew); "what is man;" of ancients and ancient men; of safety being far from the wicked.

The last verses of Job v. are remarkably like several verses in Psalm xci.

There is a general resemblance between the seventy-third Psalm and the twenty-first chapter of Job.

In the hundred and seventh Psalm, and twelfth chapter of Job, there are several remarkable resemblances.

But we have cited a sufficient number of passages closely resembling each other, to make our readers examine for themselves into the remarkable similarity of sentiment between the Psalms and Job, in many places where the words will not allow us to cite them as we have cited the passages now gone over, and to lead some perhaps to examine the Prophets and the Proverbs for evidence, as far as evidence can be found, of the probable priority of Job on the one hand, or of the Prophets on the other, as books of Scripture.

We now come to a very interesting part of the subject—to the *references made in the book of Job itself to a previous literature*. (Job viii. 8.) "Enquire," says Bildad the Shuhite, "of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: (for we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow :) shall not they teach thee and tell thee and utter words out of their heart?" "I will shew thee;" says Eliphaz the Temanite; "hear me, and that which I have seen will I declare; which *wise men* have told from their fathers and have not hid it; UNTO WHOM ALONE THE EARTH WAS GIVEN AND NO STRANGER PASSED AMONG THEM." These last words are very remarkable. Traditions or sayings handed down by wise men from their forefathers to succeeding generations are here referred to; but the *search* into those ancient fathers recommended by Bildad, and the declaration by Eliphaz that he had *seen* those traditions, if we may so understand his meaning, imply that they were recorded in books, that is, written down so that they could be read. But, even if it were oral tradition, as far as Job and his friends had been aided by it, whence did it come? Eliphaz pointedly indicates a peculiar nation, one to whom alone the land (translated earth), was given, and no *stranger* passed among them. That word, stranger (אֲרָם), is the term used in the sacred books of the Jews to mark *one who was not an Israelite*. And we know of no nation, except the nation whom God chose and made to dwell separate from other nations, depositing among them, age after age, the seeds of Divine wis-

dom—we cannot even imagine a nation besides the Jewish, to whom the particulars in this description could be applied. If any one shall affirm that it must have been some other nation and not the Jewish to which Eliphaz referred, then, it follows, as an inevitable consequence—a consequence the more inevitable as the style of the Proverbs, of the Psalms, and of the book of Job is considered—that those poetical books of Scripture are all mainly derived from collections of sayings which were current among some other nation than the Jewish!—a most startling proposition, and one which we certainly have no ambition to defend. The style both of thought and of language in those three books, is marked by similarity in a far higher degree than the style of any other books of different writers that we can compare together, within the compass of the Old Testament Scriptures. One is incessantly reminded, when reading Job, of the exact words and sentiments of passages in the Proverbs and Psalms, and in Ecclesiastes. And a reference to the Hebrew text of those books gives even more remarkable coincidences.

Not only do Job's friends refer to passages which are found now in the Psalms, now in the Proverbs, now in Ecclesiastes, and now in the Prophets; but they plainly declare, as we have seen, that they refer to a literature *not their own*, nor of the precise age in which they lived, but rather of a previous age. And Job himself, in the twelfth chapter, shews that he is familiar with the sayings from which Zophar in the eleventh chapter had been deriving much of what he advanced; in fact he gives utterance to sayings both clearer and more emphatic than Zophar's, and upon the same subjects, shewing that not the wicked only are afflicted and that not the good alone are made to prosper outwardly, but that a stranger complexity marks the ways of God in Providence than some of the superficial and random applications of wisdom made by Zophar would lead one to think.

Job especially marks the large scale on which the Almighty plans his works and orders his ways, and the peculiar treatment he sometimes gives to the greatest of the earth—to counsellors, chiefs, judges, princes, kings. And, in doing this, he apparently refers to passages not a few in one of the finest compositions among the Psalms—the 107th—a production bearing every appearance of having been written during the captivity, and rather at an early than at a late period of the seventy years.^a The uses of adversity are manifold. Some of the sweetest songs of earth have been sung under its brooding shadows. This Psalm,

^a It has been set down as a production of the age that followed the captivity: this we dispute.

then, apparently quoted by Job (and he seems to quote from other Psalms besides, and to convey the sentiments of still more, in the course of this as well as other speeches made by him), is quoted to *rival* the quotations of Zophar; for immediately after (Job xiii. 1), the afflicted saint declares, "Lo, mine eye hath seen all this, mine ear hath heard and understood it. What ye know, the same do I know also: I am not inferior unto you:" and he proceeds to speak at one time with serene wisdom, and at another with recklessness and desperation, of himself, his sins, and his sorrows; of the great God his judge, and of the accusations of his friends. And when Eliphaz asks Job's attention to the wise sayings that he is quoting from, Job's answer is, "I have heard many such things; miserable comforters are ye all." His objection is not to the traditional wisdom quoted from, but to the false application made of it by his friends. For, in another place (Job xxiii. 12), he affirms, "I have not gone back from the commandment of his lips; I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food."

Job, then, both knew and valued the sources from which his friends derived a great portion of the sayings they uttered, although he did not approve of the use to which they turned them, nor of the meanings they attached to some of them.

In writing these remarks on the references made in the book of Job to an antecedent literature, we would seek to be delivered from that spirit of dogmatism which has done so much to hinder the cause of truth under pretence of trying to exalt the truth: Nothing makes the progress of a truthful and genial criticism so slow as the barriers put in its way by *the dogmatist*. And were we, on a subject like that before us, to cultivate a spirit of dogmatism, we should feel the subject one that could never be discussed satisfactorily in such a spirit. Many good qualities, much learning and natural ability, may sometimes belong to critics of the school to which we allude. Sometimes they have true reverence for authorities worthy of reverence; but yet when an opinion of their own runs counter to such authorities, however sacred they may be, no hesitation is exhibited in making light of them. Now, rather than enter into argument with the mere dogmatist, however good ground we had for opposing his views, we should prefer to cultivate the virtue of silence; but with the liberal-minded critic, whether finding fault or suggesting to us what we had overlooked, we should desire ever to be on the most friendly terms. And we say this, because it ought to be most strictly laid down and widely understood, that there are some subjects the nature of which, in themselves, and the progress made in examining which is such, that dogmatism or

the assumption of certainty in reference to them is purely *absurd*. A gathering in of probabilities, a more careful and comprehensive study, and a constant attention to facts that cannot be disputed, while other facts are in the course of being discovered, are appropriate in discussing subjects of this kind. But dogmatism, however well meaning, is altogether out of place. And yet the frequent tendency of human nature is, to speak with peculiar certainty of things the uncertainty of which is very evident. It appears more pleasant to say, "It must be so," "It is ascertained to be so," than to say, "It is impossible as yet, with the knowledge available regarding the matter, to say whether it is so or not, but, by progressive search, more knowledge may accrue, and some opinion approaching to a decisive one may be formed."

If the mere dogmatist knew how low a place he must hold as time advances, and how greatly dogmatism hinders the progress of truth, his loud-voiced style and overbearing manner would be modified; and he would learn that the ignorance and pride of man frequently lead him to clothe with certainty and circumstantial detail, things of which he does not choose to confess his uncertainty and ignorance.

We beg therefore, on this subject, to shield ourselves from the mere dogmatist, and to invite the objections of judicious critics to such views as we may seem to have favoured. And may their motto and ours be, *Magna est Veritas et prevalebit*.

If rashness, or a love of new paths, seems to characterize our remarks, we have simply to say that we are of those who love "the old paths," and therefore desire to free them from all needless obstructions, as far as our humble efforts can be of any use.

But to proceed. A series of objections have been made to assigning the book of Job a later period as that of its composition, than the period from Abraham to Moses. These objections we shall now review.

The remarkable want of logic apparent in the various efforts to assign the book of Job to a period earlier than Abraham, or earlier than Moses, at the latest, can be *accounted for only by the impossibility of finding good reasons for attributing it to a period so early*. At one time we are told that Job lived in the patriarchal age, and therefore certain things must be true; at another that because certain customs are noticed in the book, they must be patriarchal customs. Because silence is observed as to some great events that took place, Job, it is asserted, must have lived before those events. Because Job spoke the Hebrew language (?) and was an Arabian (?), he must have lived before the Hebrew ceased to be the language of any of Abraham's posterity. Be-

cause he refers to writings graven on the rocks, therefore he could have been familiar with no other writing. Because he acted (as every good man in every age has done), as a priest in his own family, therefore he must have lived before the days of the Jewish priesthood. Because the book could never have been admitted into the Jewish canon after the Mosaic dispensation (?), therefore it must have been written before that dispensation. Because the Hebrew of Job is archaic (?), the book must be the earliest of all. Because the Hebrew has peculiarities (many of these, be it observed, being peculiarities of the later rather than of the earlier Hebrew), therefore the Hebrew must be archaic. Because Job alludes to a very ancient species of idolatry (which, however, exists to this day), therefore he must have lived at an exceedingly early period of time. Because *judges* are mentioned in the book, it must therefore refer to *patriarchal* times. Because constellations are mentioned, those constellations must have been in a certain position as to the earth. Because they were in this position, therefore the period of time was patriarchal. Because Job's age was lengthened out by God to an extraordinary period, therefore we are to place him in an era when his length of days would not have been in the least degree unusual. Because *Job's* sacrifices are not such as a *Jew* would have offered, therefore they could not have been offered after the Mosaic dispensation began.

Such are the affirmations more or less directly made, in the efforts to surround this book with the marks of an earlier antiquity than any other book in Scripture. Neither the effort itself, nor the means employed, can we regard as hallowed or laudable. How can it be known that Job lived in the patriarchal age, as the age of Abraham and his sons is termed? Sacrifices are no proof of that. Nor, in one who was not a Jew, and who probably lived nearer the mountains of Armenia than the hill of Zion, can the mode of sacrifice be set down as any proof of a patriarchal or of a non-patriarchal age. That his flocks and herds were vast, does not confine him to patriarchal times. Nor are we to suppose that the fact of his sons feasting in one another's houses marks a purely patriarchal age. Have we even the slightest authority for saying that the sons of the patriarchs removed farther from their parents than the daughters did, or set up establishments of their own, at such a distance from their father, king, and priest (as the Jewish patriarch was), that a feast in their houses was not at the same time a feast in their father's house? That Job remembered his sons before the throne of grace was, we trust, no merely patriarchal custom. That his friends came to comfort him was not a patriarchal custom only,

if it was a patriarchal custom. That Job says his wife speaks "as one of the foolish women speaketh;" while Michal, too, accuses David of acting as "shamelessly as one of the vain fellows," does not limit either class to the patriarchal days. The way in which Job's friends approached him has nothing that marks it as patriarchal. We read in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, however, of "the elders of the daughter of Zion, sitting upon the ground and keeping silence," after "casting up dust upon their heads," just as we read in Job, that his friends "sat down with him upon the ground," after they had "sprinkled dust upon their heads toward heaven," and "spake not a word unto him" for seven days and seven nights.

We do not read of the Sabeans in patriarchal times; but we do read of them in the prophets, and also in Job. We do not read of the LAND OF Uz except in Job, in Jeremiah, and in the Lamentations. We do not read of the head being shaved in patriarchal times, yet in his day of grief Job "shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped." There is no mention made of crowns in the patriarchal days, or of robes and diadems; but in Job mention is made of them. Iron and bows of steel are not alluded to in the history of the patriarchs; but we find them in Job. Coral and pearls are not mentioned in the history of the patriarchs; but we find mention made of them in Job. And whatever may result from these things being spoken of or unspoken of, the probabilities are certainly not on the side of a patriarchal age, as far as Job is concerned.

Then, as to the utter silence regarding great events in the history of the Jewish race, we have simply to ask, Was Job one of that race? Does he allude even to events that occurred in the history of the race to which he himself belonged, or in that of his own immediate family, except in the most general terms? *Not events but principles* were what Job and his friends sought after; and if we studiously consider the multiplied references to past experience and ancient tradition in the book, we shall find that a great number of events, some of vast importance, are indubitably pointed at, although the very nature of the argument maintained, and the style of the book, require abstinence from mere narratives and particulars. Still more unsatisfying disputes between Job and his friends might have arisen, had such things been introduced.

But, say some, there is no allusion to the exodus of the Israelites, to the plagues sent on Egypt, to the destruction of Pharaoh, to the manna in the wilderness, and so on. Well! how many of the prophets themselves allude to these events? Do any omit all mention of every one of them? Let those ex-

amine and see who are prone to put vehement assertions in the place of proofs. But, as we have already hinted, far more numerous events are alluded to under the general terms in various chapters of the book of Job, than any one who does not closely study these chapters can imagine.

Some take for granted that a Hebrew wrote the book of Job—a mere assumption; and then argue that a Hebrew, writing after the Exodus and the arrival in Canaan, must have written in such and such a style. Surely this is a useless manner of discussing what no mere assumptions can throw the least light upon. The book of Job is in our hands; let us use it and gather from what it does contain, a certain amount of knowledge; and then we shall be better able to say what it does not contain.

Some again say (what we see no sign of whatsoever,) that it bears evident proofs of having been written in the patriarchal age, and ridicule the idea of any Hebrew writer under the Mosaic dispensation being able to throw himself back into a distant age and foreign land so completely as to disguise his own very peculiar country and time. Such remarks we hold to be inconsistent both with facts and probabilities, which even he who runs may read. It may not have been a Hebrew writer, or it may have been a Hebrew, who wrote the book. Supposing that Elihu wrote it, he seems to have been of Jewish descent, and to have been descended, as we consider, from an ancestor who was in the Messianic line. But though he could perhaps look back to a Jewish ancestor (Ram of the tribe of Judah as we suppose), he may have been the fruit of successive intermarriages with a different race.

Great stress is laid on Job's longevity, under the assumption, all the time, that no extraordinary difference between his life and those of his contemporaries could have been observed. On this part of the subject, we beg to notice a phrase peculiar to Job and Ezra—the phrase *after this*. The usual phrase for *after this*, a phrase which is used in Job iii. 1, is *after*. But, when we are told of the length of Job's life, the phrase is *after*. On referring to the passage in Ezra, the only other passage in which we find it, the meaning is evidently highly idiomatic. After confessing the iniquities of themselves and their fathers, Ezra, who is offering prayer and thanksgiving for those who had come back from the captivity, uses these words; "And now, O our God, what shall we say *after this*? for we have forsaken thy commandments." After this, in such relation, signifies *after all this*, considering thy goodness and our iniquities and ingratitude of former days as well as of recent times. When we apply a similar meaning to the same Hebrew expression in Job—an expression

which savours certainly of the later Hebrew—we have this rendering;—Job lived *after all this*, that is, notwithstanding his griefs of mind and heart, and his oppressively virulent bodily disease, double the ordinary life of man in those days—namely, 140 years. But we have no desire to reduce the years of Job within a narrower boundary than they in reality occupied; and for the use of those who cannot imagine that Providence might have prolonged his span of life so much as was the case, unless he had lived in an age preceding the later patriarchal age (when of course no unusual prolongation was required), we add a note^b here, which we have taken from an edition of *The New Tablet of Memory*, published by the Longmans, in 1838.

The anxiety to thrust the age of Job far back into the remotest antiquity, may have been chiefly occasioned by the flip-pant views of Warburton and others, as to the book being a mere

^b Longevity (remarkable instances of).—The most aged persons of our time, of whom any authentic account is preserved, are—

- Thomas Parr, who attained the age of 152 years.
- Thomas Jenkins, who was 169 years old at his death.
- The Countess of Desmond, who died at the age of upwards of 140 years.
- The Polish shepherd, Demetrius Grabowski, who died lately in Poland, at the same age as Jenkins did.
- Heth Joyce, the nurse of General Washington, who was 162 years old.
- and the three Hungarian peasants, John Rovin, Sarah his wife, and Petratsch Zortan or Czartan, who died at the respective ages of 172, 164, and 185 years.
- in Caery church, near Cardiff, in the county of Glamorgan, William Edwards, who died in the year 1668, is described to have been 168 years old at the time of his death.
- also, in the workhouse of St. Margaret's, Westminster, there is a tablet assigning the same age to a female.
- and in the parish register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, London, it is stated that Thomas Caru died in 1588, at the astonishing age of 207 years.
- According to the census, directed by the Emperor Vespasian, in the year 76 of the Christian era, Pliny says—"There were in the part of Italy, between the Appenines and the Po, 124 individuals of 100 years of age and upwards; viz. 54 of 100 years, 57 of 110, 2 of 125, 4 of 130, 4 of 135 to 137, and 3 of 140."

Between the years 1760 and 1829, of the Christian era, 21 persons, who had attained the age of 130 and upwards, died; of these one was 166 years old. In the same period 39 had attained the age from 120 to 130; 36 had attained the age from 110 to 120; and those who died after the age of 100, and before 110, within the same period, were 54. Of the whole number recorded, 94 were natives of England, 23 of Ireland, and 12 of Russia.—The table for Russia, published 1820, was as follows: 867 had attained an age above 100 years; 301 above 105 years; 143 above 110 years; 78 above 115 years; 41 above 120 years; 14 above 125 years; 7 above 130 years; 4 above 135 years, and one between 140 and 145 years. The Report of the Russian Holy Synod, published in 1827, states, that during the year 1825, 848 men had reached upwards of 100 years of age; of whom 32 had passed their 120th year, and four 130 to 135. In the year 1826, 818 had reached above 100 years; 88 of whom were more than 115 years old; 24 more than 120; 7 above 125, and one 160.—The St. Petersburg papers announced, in 1830, the death of a man 150 years old, at Moscow; and, in 1831, the death of a man in Russia, 165 years old, was reported. No doubt many more persons have died of above 100 years old, without having their names recorded.

allegory. Those views it was fondly supposed could best be put down, by saying that the book was written in an age long antecedent to that in which the persons and circumstances existed, that Warburton represented under the supposed allegory. We excuse the hatred felt to Warburton's hypothesis, but not the means adopted by the critics of our native land, to put that hypothesis down.

Further support is sought for the *primeval* theory, as we may call it, in the names of the persons and places mentioned in Job. Similar names occur in the Scriptures at various periods of Sacred History, and according to the fancy of individual critics, earlier or later periods have been chosen as those when the personages lived who are named in Job.

Job, as we stated in the beginning, has been confounded with the radically different name Jobab. But we have at least two of that name to choose between; Jobab the son of Joktan, who lived three or four generations previous to Abraham, and Jobab, a king of Edom, who reigned before there were kings over the Israelites. Then there is Job (or Jashub), a son of Issachar.

Eliphaz the Temanite is found in an imaginary great grandson of Esau. But we read of no Eliphaz except Esau's first-born; so Dr. Kennicott and others have invented an Eliphaz whom they assign as a son to Teman. Some, however, would lean to Eliphaz the father of Teman, inferring that according to a custom resembling one Dr. Livingstone commemorates in his travels—the calling of a mother by her son's name—the father may have been named after his son, and called Eliphaz the Temanite. Bildad and Zophar occur only in Job. Elihu unfortunately does not occur till the days of David. But Buz occurs and Huz oftener than once. Buzi, again, or Buzite was the father of Ezekiel the prophet. So that if the primeval theory holds by Eliphaz, we can hold by the later names Elihu and Buzi. But all such dependence on men's names is most laborious trifling. Names were, perhaps, as often repeated among Eastern nations as among ourselves. Uz, Teman, and Buz, as the names of countries, however, do not occur at all till the time of Jeremiah; and *the land of Uz*, as we have already stated, is twice mentioned in the prophets as well as once in Job, and never before their time. The Sabeans are in the same predicament, and are not alluded to till the time of the prophets. In the names and places, therefore, the primeval theory can find no refuge whatsoever.

We cannot expect to find in any part of the Pentateuch one ray of light that can guide us to the age or the locality in which Job lived. The book, in itself, and as compared with later com-

positions than the Pentateuch, is the only guide we can safely follow. Much has been said of Arabia being the country in which Job lived. The allusions that occur so often to mountains, ice, snow, and mines, render it desirable to suppose that it was *not* Arabia. Uz may have been a colony or a conquest of Edom; but it seems to have bordered on the land of those Chaldeans who attacked the camels of Job and slew his servants. Probably the Sabeans lived to the south of the land of Uz towards Arabia, while the Chaldeans dwelt to the west. On Colonel Chesney's "Expedition to the Euphrates" he found a well and a stream, together with other localities in the neighbourhood of Orfah and on the road to Diarbekir, which were "consecrated to the memory of Job." This is a very interesting kind of evidence, and of a species not to be so much suspected as the evidence of the monks in Palestine regarding some of the localities there. Dr. Kitto, who was a good judge as to localities in Eastern lands, believed this evidence to be quite satisfactory, and to be in harmony with the indications in the book itself. We are strongly disposed to believe that the site of Job's residence was in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, the breadths of which (Rehoboth) he seemingly alludes to, as narrowed by the ice, and the smaller tributaries of which, as being soon dried up in the summer heat, and the swift ships (or rather boats of reed) gliding along the surface of which, he compares to the rapidity with which his days pass away. The phrase "swift ships," or "ships of desire"^c in English translations of Job, is derived from the root נָשָׂא , to breathe after, to desire. We have not seen the relation traced satisfactorily between this root and נָשָׂא a reed; but we think any one who has observed the breathing, whispering, and sighing of reeds beneath a varying breeze, will adopt our suggestion that the relation between the two words may be thus explained. Skiffs of reed, whether on the Nile, or on the Euphrates, have been noted for their swiftness; but the simple gliding of the river, and the gliding of the skiffs on its surface, and the phrase used by Job, "My days glide *along with* (Heb.) the skiffs of reed," are finely descriptive, without the word *swift* being introduced at all. A train of such vessels disappearing one after another down the windings of the river is exquisitely appropriate to a mind of a poetical caste, as representing the silent gliding away of the days of life upon the stream of time. But, while we decidedly lean to the view that the neighbourhood of the Euphrates is the most probable locality, we would not confine the knowledge of natural history, evinced in the book,

^c Jerome speaks of them as fruit-ships.

to what might be gathered in that neighbourhood; although, perhaps, no other neighbourhood all round can meet half the requirements which this locality meets. Not only the state of high civilization, but of *ability to represent that civilization in words and in written books*, is very strongly suggestive of a later age than the patriarchal, and so is the descriptive power, and the love of nature. For ourselves, we have a firm persuasion that the genuine appreciation of natural scenery was first taught to mankind by divinely inspired men. Does any poet, Greek or Roman, however high his position as a poet, and however bold, simple, and statuesque his little bits of natural scenery, (and how very sparingly they are introduced in the classics!) ever describe the works of God so lovingly and so gracefully, or at times in such a strain of sublimity, as the poets of Scripture do? or as Christian poets who have all had the advantages arising from the universal diffusion of Scriptural ideas in forms and styles innumerable? Well, this gift of God—the appreciation of natural scenery—man was gradually made to understand. Scripture is the original source of the teaching, and ages posterior to that of Abraham had to pass by, before the broad and genial appreciation of natural scenery was entertained as it was in the case of David and of the Jewish prophets. The evident subjective enjoyment of nature which we find in Job, does verily mark a great advance in this respect beyond the patriarchal ages, and believing firmly in the divine inspiration of the book, and in the remarkably direct messages from God which it contains, we believe also that his inspiring will and voice were always harmonized with the circumstances and faculties of the servants to whom and by whom he spake, except in as far as he made them heralds of coming events, the particulars of which they could not understand.

That Job lived in a city and close on some route or line of traffic, his language frequently implies. The notion that he lived in an age previous to the adoption of gold and silver as property, or as a standard of value, is contradicted by the words (Job xxii. 24), “Thou shalt lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks . . . and thou shalt have plenty of silver;” and (Job xxxvi. 19), “Will he esteem thy riches? no, not gold, nor all the forces of might.” Living in a district of this nature, his knowledge would be more comprehensive regarding what others—travellers and merchants—had seen, than if he had dwelt in a less-frequented neighbourhood, and had depended simply on his own observation.

There is, if we might so speak, not only an æsthetic, and mercantile, but also a scientific superiority in the book, to aught

we know or can imagine of patriarchal times. The meteorology of the book; the philosophical caste of thought so frequently manifested, which, associated with its poetry always constitutes a peculiar excellence to cultivated minds; together with the profound speculations as to the works and ways of God—are sufficient proofs to us that the age in which they were put on record was not an earlier age than that of David and the prophets, but rather the age of the captivity. And we cannot forget that *positive quotations from Jewish books are made by Job and by his friends*—quotations, at least, which they formally declare to be made from the wise men of a nation—“*unto whom alone the earth was given, and no stranger passed among them.*”

As we intend to offer some additional remarks in connexion with this subject, we shall not pursue it further at present.

J. L. B.

FREE THEOLOGICAL INQUIRY.*

THERE is a sense in which we are all born free, and yet we are all really and veritably born under law. The condition of our birth is that of our life; on the one hand we are free, more free than any other branch of God's creation; but on the other hand we are more restricted, and more constantly and manifestly under law. Even in those respects in which our freedom is most apparent, we are perhaps under the most powerful restraints. It is so with the freedom of thought, volition and action. Possessing apparently the faculty or ability to think, to will, and to act with all possible freedom, in all these respects we are under the most powerful control. Our thoughts are greatly influenced by early training, our habits of life, external and passing events, etc., and the same is true of our volitions and our actions. There is no man who can rise above the conditions in which he is placed, so as to proclaim his absolute, independent, personal freedom. And supposing this were possible, it is certain that such a liberty would be alike injurious to the individual and to society. Such freedom is therefore both undesirable and impossible. If this is true in relation to the things of time and of the world, it is still more evidently true

* *Free Theological Inquiry the Duty of the Laity.* By a Lay Member of the Church of England. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

of our relation to God. If he speak it is our duty to hear; if he teach it is our duty to learn; if he command it is our duty to obey. We are all under law to him, and it is at our peril to assert our liberty and disobey. The only liberty we have in regard to him is obedience. He holds us accountable for the use of our liberty, and according as we use it well or ill we shall be judged.

These things being premised, it is not difficult to understand the nature and limits of free inquiry in matters of religion. A book comes to us professing to be a revelation from God. It is our duty to examine the evidence by which its claims are supported. This evidence is either external or internal; in either case it is properly objective. There is no such thing as subjective evidence. True, a man makes use of the faculties of his own mind in testing the evidence; and acceptance and faith, or rejection and unbelief, are the result. But no subjective evidence exists, nor any other than objective, which is, we repeat, either internal or external, or both. Internal evidence is direct and immediate, and comes with or arises from the object presented to us. Objective evidence is circumstantial or collateral, and is the concurrent testimony of others. Here then is our proper sphere, and these are the proper limits of free inquiry in such a case. This is our domain in reference to the Bible, and we have liberty, and it is our duty to investigate its internal and external proofs. Not one class to the exclusion of the other, because there may be cases in which the external testimony is less apparent and forcible; and there may be cases in which the internal evidence may seem inconclusive and indistinct. This may arise from various causes, sometimes from the nature of the case, sometimes from some peculiarity or defect in the investigator, and sometimes from the seeming omission of testimony which might have been available.

It is clear that inquiries into the truth and divinity of the doctrines and statements of the Bible need to be conducted with great sobriety and caution. A comparatively superficial and general examination may suffice for ordinary purposes, and may produce a strong and salutary conviction that the Scriptures are divinely inspired, and true both as to fact and doctrine. There may be those to whom this general conviction is quite enough. There may be others who need to go deeper into the matter, and study the evidences of the Bible *seriatim*, and in their minutest details, in order to obtain a full and well grounded conviction. Not a little will depend upon the disposition of a man's mind in entering on this task. There are at least three classes of persons in whom this is apparent. The first have an antecedent objec-

tion and prejudice against a divine revelation, and their study of evidences is not to find proofs, but evasions and difficulties. Such persons generally end where they really began, by rejecting the Bible altogether as an inspired book. Cases are on record in which it has been different; the overwhelming attestations of the divine origin of the Scriptures have wrought conviction, and the infidel has become a devout believer in Christ and his Gospel. Such for example was the experience of the celebrated Soame Jenyns, who "sat down to read the Bible with a view to expose its spurious claims; but in the course of examination his mind was so overpowered with the evidence of its divine origin and authority," that instead of writing against it he produced his view of the Internal Evidences of the Christian Religion. Other instances will probably occur to the reader. The second class of persons above alluded to consists of those who have a general conviction of the truth and excellence of Christianity. In its broad leading features they accept and admire it; but their faith is a timid faith, and they are more ready to detect and stumble at circumstantial difficulties than to remove them. Apparently and professedly of a philosophical turn of mind, they look for reasons and explanations very much in their own intellect. That which commends itself to their judgment they accept; that which seems to them illogical, improbable, unreasonable, or contradictory they refuse. They belong to the eclectic school, and rest quite satisfied that this endless process of selection and elimination does not in the least affect their Christian character. Nay, they regard themselves as a superior order of believers, holding a purer, more rational, and diviner faith than others. They have only picked off the dead leaves of the tree of life, rejected its blighted flowers, thrown away its spoiled fruit, torn up its human buttresses, lopped off its diseased branches, removed its parasites, and so forth! They have only gathered out the wheat from the tares; all the divine wheat they have safely husbanded, but the human tares, and chaff, and stubble they have cast to the four winds! In a word, they have sifted out of the Bible, or learned to distinguish all that is low, corrupt, feeble, and human, from all that is really from God. So vast is their comprehension, and withal so minute their observation, that they can embrace at once the whole circle of divine teaching, and indicate the smallest facts in reference to the Bible. They will tell you the age and author of not merely the books, but of chapters and verses of Scripture, so that you get with absolute certainty the chronology and authorship of that wonderful mosaic. We all know to what an extent this process has been applied to the whole or nearly so of the Old

Testament, and to large portions of the New. It is unnecessary to indicate with what results; we will only refer to the ridiculous abortion called Jashar as a specimen. And then these same investigators have criteria to determine what portions, if any, of particular books are inspired, and how far they are inspired. They can tell us, too, what narratives are false and what true; and of the true, how much is true and how much false or exaggerated. They can inform us what doctrines are true, and which are in any respect false or misstated. Such are some of the triumphs of a school, which, if not numerous, is certainly pretentious, and makes no small noise in the world. There is yet a third class, who not only have a general conviction of the truth and divinity of Christianity, but are anxious to arrive at certainty and precision in regard to its details. If they have a prepossession it is in favour of the Bible as a whole. Their great anxiety, however, is to attain to the knowledge of the truth. From this class have proceeded the greatest and best of critics, commentators, and divines. It is absurd to say or to suppose that they occupy a less advantageous position than others who call themselves independent seekers after truth. And it is ridiculous to imagine that the results attained by men of this stamp are less reliable and positive than those attained by others. For our part we know which we would rather follow, because if in matters of this kind we err, it is better to err on the side of faith than of scepticism. Certain we are that faith has been the parent of many a good deed, scepticism of none. Faith has ever brought forth hope and happiness, love and holy resolution; scepticism has dragged down the soul into its deep dark dungeons, and bound it in the iron chains of despair. Faith is filled with the thought of truth, and is from above; scepticism dreams of falsehood and deceit, and is from beneath. Faith savours of God and holiness; scepticism of Satan and of sin. Let those who will exalt the glories of scepticism, and say he cannot have faith who never doubted; one thing is quite plain, he cannot have faith who always doubts. Is he more free who comes to the study of evidence with the living germs of unbelief within him, or he who has the living germs of faith? It is morally certain that these germs of faith will develop and fructify under the influence of testimony; not so certain is it that the germs of unbelief will be destroyed and eradicated by the same influence. He whose soul is already in a manner preoccupied with doubts and surmises must be more hampered and constrained in his movements than one who is in a manner prepared to receive the truth.

But turning for a moment from these reflections, there is

another circumstance which has struck us in connexion with this subject of free inquiry in religion. Once the authority of the Apostles and of the Scriptures sufficed in matters of religion. Gradually discussion and diversity arose as to the exact sense conveyed by these teachers. To this circumstance we may refer the origin and authority of creeds. In course of time the united authority of creeds and Scriptures was supplemented by that of the great names whom we call *Fathers*. To creeds and fathers was again added ecclesiastical authority, represented by bishops and councils. Hence it came to pass that there were two distinct sources from which men looked for truth—the Scriptures and the Church (the latter comprehending creeds, fathers, councils, bishops, popes, etc.) Before the time of the Reformation the pretensions of the Church had fairly overlaid and obscured the claims of the Scriptures. To such an extent was this carried that it was often asserted that the Scriptures themselves derived their authority from the Church, and constantly said that the Church was their only guardian, witness, and interpreter. Even now this delusion pervades the entire Romish community; that to it is owing the preservation of the Bible in the world, and from it alone can be known what books it includes: a persuasion which is historically untrue, and theologically false. Historically untrue, because the Old Testament was never lost by the Jews; and the entire Scriptures were preserved by the Greek and other separate Churches. Theologically false, because it assumes that the only evidence we have for the divinity of the Bible is the fact of its historical transmission by a Church which almost forgot its existence, and the authority of a Church which finds in it only a fragment of a rule of faith and life.

Prior to the Reformation, for a long period there had been nothing worthy of the name of free inquiry in Europe. He who ventured upon it was denounced as a heretic, and exposed himself to the scaffold or the stake. But, at last, light broke in upon many minds at once, and they arose and asserted this right of individual inquiry in divine things, and demanded for the Bible, exclusively, the right to speak to men in the name of God. Looked at in this light, the Reformation was a repudiation of the supreme sovereign authority of the (Romish) Church, and a reference of that same authority to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. These, and not it, were to be the standard, law, and rule of doctrine and conduct, for the individual and for the Church. Hence, we find all Protestant confessions in harmony with the Sixth Article of the Church of England, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary

to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." Hence, moreover, all Protestant confessions, under every form of church government, give prominence to individual responsibility, and the duty of every man to read and study the Scriptures for himself. In this way it was hoped to shake off the accumulated human additions to religion, and to restore it to its divine original ; to bring back the church of the apostles and apostolic ages, and to reinstate its members in their glorious personal rights and privileges. In the same way, too, it was believed that a foundation would be laid for a purer, stronger, and more intelligent faith, and for a truer and more perfect service of God. The reformers strove to bring the soul nearer to God, and God nearer to the soul, by removing whatever came in the way and intruded itself between man and his Maker. They rightly judged that the abridgement, or rather annihilation of human individual duty and liberty in religion, was an injury to man and a dishonour to the Most High. By this grand movement a great step was gained ; and we all know what a flood of religious light poured in upon the world by the united efforts of many noble minds to expound and declare the truths contained in Holy Scripture.

Happy would it have been for us if the liberty thus won had been found sufficient for all. But having gained this, there have been many who sought a still more ample liberty. Not content with this, they have aspired to shake off, more or less completely, the authority of the Bible itself. Accepting the Scriptures as a good book, and containing the essential truths and rules of religion, they have wished to adopt, in relation to it, the proceedings adopted in regard to the Church organization of the middle ages. It is now common to hear the Bible itself spoken of as abounding in doctrinal and historical errors ; and as being not only not infallible, but very faulty ; not only not fully inspired, but impregnated throughout with a human and defective element. With some, its records are little better than an historical novel. With others, its prophecies are no predictions at all, but either *ex post facto* descriptions, or undesigned verbal coincidences. With others, its miracles are mythical, allegories, or common events, described by men of heated imaginations. With others, its morality is unsound, its doctrine unphilosophical, and its reasoning illogical. With others, its authors did not write what is assigned to them, or they are inaccurate, and inconsistent with each other and themselves. Others again, believe the text of the Bible to be in

so corrupt a state, that it has undergone a complete transformation since it was first written. There are yet others:—but let these suffice to remind us what we have to expect when the Scriptures shall have been modified and altered according to their views, and placed in the position to which they would assign them.

The labour of the reformers was a work of restoration, and made the Scriptures again the supreme law of the Church and of the conscience. But the labour of these men is a work of destruction, and tends only to the exaltation of human reason into the place now given to the Bible. The reformers collected and revered the manifold evidences of the truth and inspiration of the Bible, but these new critics place all evidence in subordination to the arbitrary and purely human rules of their own criticism. The reformers feared to touch a stone of this sacred and venerable edifice, but our modern lights have resolved to take it all to pieces, and to reconstruct it after their own improved plan. We fear, however, that in this process there is danger of leaving out something at least that is divine, and of introducing something that is but human; that, in fact, “gold, silver, and precious stones,” will often be substituted by “wood, hay, and stubble.”

And what, it may be asked, is the reason why free inquiry in theology should involve all this, and involve it now? The reasons assigned are mainly two. *First*, that theology is a progressive science. *Secondly*, that either by progress or development the intellect of one age is in advance of another. There are, then, two movements which require us to take up a new position in relation to the Bible: the movement of science, and the movement of mind.

Let us remember, that the subject-matter of theological science is the Bible. The Bible is a datum from which its inferences are drawn: it furnishes the materials upon which it works. Now science is the proper and systematic analysis, classification, and statement of facts. It may be constantly adding to its facts from within its own proper sphere; in the same way it may be continually correcting its errors. But it can exclude no facts from its own domain, nor can any science borrow from the domain of another. The proper limits of a science are generally well understood. Now, we repeat, that theological science is the science of the Bible. If you remove any portion of this, you reject that which you have no right to reject. If your system is less comprehensive than it, your system must be altered, and not this. If your system comes at any time into collision with it, your system must give way, and

not this. If your system embraces more than it, your system must be contracted, and not this enlarged. Your science may continually vary, but "the word of the Lord endureth for ever." System after system of theology may arise, flourish, and fall, like systems of astronomy, but the Bible remains the same. The fact is, that the Bible is not theological science, and ought not to be confounded with it. The assumed progress of theological science towards perfection, is but the gradual perfecting of a system devised by human ingenuity. That system may be opposed by another equally congruous, and more in accordance with the Bible. All movement is not progress, and the movements of the theological science in this century may not all be in the right direction. Still, we believe in the progress of theology as a science; we believe that, owing to the clearer views entertained upon many passages of Scripture, certain doctrines are better understood, and certain facts better attested, than a century ago. But this leaves the Bible just where we found it, and it remains that no movement in theological science can ever justify the wholesale mutilation and abandonment which is threatened. The progress of theological science has not added an iota to the truth contained in the Scriptures, not a clause to one of its statutes, nor a correction of one of its principles. It can never do more than work upon the materials already prepared to its hand in the Scriptures. We therefore reject the first plea for such a course as has been described.

The second argument is from the movement of mind. It seems to be assumed, that the men of old time were dwarfs and pigmies compared with those of our day. But this is utterly an error. It is quite true that we build upon the foundations of preceding ages, but our intellectual stature is not greater than theirs. Run over the world's biography, and see if every generation has not given signs of mental vigour equal to our own. Consult the extant literature of the world: have you men superior in intellectual development to Isaiah and the prophets, to Plato and the philosophers, or to Homer and the poets? Look at the extant monuments of art and science in Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Italy; do they not denote as much mental power as is enjoyed by the men of our day? If so, the talk about the development of the mind is ridiculous. To claim for human reason more than those men claimed, to give it greater honour, and to proclaim its apotheosis, does nothing, and leaves it where and what it was. We do not say that mind degenerates, nor that it is less capable of discerning and appreciating God's truth than formerly. But we are not aware that any new faculty has been added to it whereby it can intuitively gaze upon that truth

without the help of a divine revelation. We do not think man's mind *better* able now, than formerly, to recognize religious truth when presented to it. There seems to be a level above which man's unaided mind cannot rise, a limit beyond which it cannot go. This level, and that limit, are what they ever were. It is to divine revelation that we owe our knowledge of religious truth. Paul, Peter, and John, were no more able of themselves, alone, to reach that truth than we are, and no less. Divine inspiration taught them what the Scriptures teach us. The difference is one of honour: they received the truth directly, we receive it indirectly. They were taught it immediately by the Spirit of God, we learn from Scriptures given by divine inspiration. Now, if the unaided intellects of the new school can perceive and realize religious truths better than the apostles, with their peculiar advantages, the development must be extraordinary indeed. Thus it appears that these humble, unpretending truth-seekers have hit upon a most monstrous error. They repudiate the infallibility of the Pope and of the Church; they repudiate the infallibility of prophets and apostles; and they claim it for themselves, on the ground of the development of human intellect! If this is their only proof of development, it is to be feared it will turn out to be degeneracy.

We have said nothing to disparage or to discourage free theological inquiry, but we must enter our formal and solemn protest against the boundless assumption of a certain class, who, with a great show of Christian zeal, and under a long array of well-sounding words, go to the overthrow of what is most surely believed among us. We do not condemn all alike, there is too much variety among them to justify indiscriminate censure; with some of them we can sympathize, and we hope well concerning them; but there are others who go a little way themselves, and induce the unwary to go much further. With these we have no sympathy, and we would hold them up to scorn and execration. In the meantime, so far as we are concerned, rather than give up the divine authority of the Scriptures, we would accept again that which the Reformation renounced. This would be better than to loose us from our moorings and turn us adrift, with no chart to guide us to truth and heaven. Is it come to this, that He who sent His Son for our salvation, has so little care of us after all, that we cannot trust the only document which contains an original record of that amazing work of mercy? Is it come to this, that we must not regard those who were eyewitnesses of the life and death of Christ, his first disciples, the founders and fathers of the churches, as truthful and trustworthy? Has God given us in the Bible a patchwork,

a conglomerate, a mosaic, a mixture of good and bad, of true and false, an uncertain guide, an ill-instructed teacher? Have the Jews been deceived from the beginning in believing their Scriptures a safe and sure rule, and has the whole Christian world been similarly in error? If it be said that there are so many imperfections in the Bible, because the world has outgrown it, that truth varies with the age, and the like, we can only reply, that this is not the experience of ourselves, nor of the Christian world generally; and that, if it is a fact, those whom it most concerns are ignorant of it.

We have no reason to apprehend that free inquiry, so long as it is honest, humble, intelligent, and devout, will undermine the foundations of the Bible. That book is at this day more read, followed, honoured, and trusted, by a larger number, in more languages and lands than at any preceding period. The Papist may wish to plunge it in obscurity again, in order to bring back the palmy days of the Church's infallible authority, but his hope is becoming hourly more distant. The religious free-thinker may desire to alter, amend, abridge, and so forth, with a view to elevate human reason into the place of infallible arbiter and judge, but assuredly the majority have not faith enough in human reason to comply with them. There is but one other, and that the more excellent way, to leave the Bible where the apostles left it,—as the rule and law of the Church and of the conscience. To give this place to the Church or to reason, is to make the subject, king. Let the wisdom of the Church instruct us, and its due authority control us, but let us not forget our personal responsibility, and that we shall be judged by the accordance of our faith and life with the Scriptures. And so, also, let us leave to reason its proper work in analyzing, attesting, and appropriating the truths contained in the Bible; but let us never make our reason superior to the Author of that book, lest the light that is in us be darkness.

Those who think we intend, after all, to discourage free inquiry, are referred to the volumes of this Journal, in which they will find abundant evidence that it is the sign and the product of free theological inquiry of the highest order, and on the most sound and enlightened principles.

The previous observations have been called forth by the appearance, from time to time, of publications which seem to us to be of a suspicious or dangerous tendency. One of these, and the most recent we have read, is the anonymous work whose title we have placed at the head of this paper. We do not attach much importance to it individually, but rather as a type of its class. It is very well and soberly written. There are passages

which indicate ability and judgment. The writer is clearly a man of considerable information. And yet he makes the greatest mistakes. His conclusions go far beyond his premises, and his instances frequently betray rather a defective logical faculty, or an ignorance of the laws of evidence, than prove his point. He is no doubt a sincerely religious man, but we imagine he is removing out of his way helps rather than hinderances, by the work he has here done. We are not now going to criticise it, it is too much of a *rechauffée* for that; the same old difficulties, objections, etc., etc., rising again, after being disposed of a hundred times. There is nothing, positively nothing, original in the pith and substance of the book, nothing which has not been said and answered often enough. The only novelty is in the wording, and in certain adjuncts, and the special appeal to the laity. Many of his difficulties would be answerable by not a few of the ingenuous youth of our day, and yet his table of contents looks really ominous.

There are ten sections, and an appendix of extracts. Before we conclude, we give the particulars of this decalogue. 1. Recent increase of Theological Inquiry, and the conclusions to which it has led. 2. Theology is necessarily a progressive science. 3. The record of revelation contained in the Bible is not in all respects infallible. 4. Reasons for the critical study of Theology by the laity. 5. That the four Gospels do not contain an infallible record of Evangelical history. 6. That the Apostolical epistles are not free from error. 7. That the Pentateuch, and other narrative books of the Old Testament, have not always a strictly historical character. 8. Answer to the objection that, in abandoning the plenary inspiration of Scripture, we lose the only fixed standard of belief. 9. Replies to other arguments in behalf of the infallibility of Scripture. 10. Conclusion: What may be done by the clergy and laity to promote the progress of scientific and popular Theology.

Such are the headings of the sections. Some of them look formidable enough, but we apprise such of our readers as may desire to examine, that the strongest part of these sections is their headings; these are as carefully drawn up as a physician's prescriptions or Euclid's propositions, but the proof—we have already intimated that it is a rehabilitation of what has been advanced often enough, but not more often advanced than refuted. It is the semi-novel appearance of this book which induces us now specially to mention it; it is its really not being novel which renders it unnecessary to analyze it. In any case, we believe that the best preservative from such errors, and the best refutation of them, is to be found in those fundamental

principles, and comprehensive suggestions, to a few of which we have devoted the earlier portions of this brief paper. When the mind is well disciplined, and imbued with sound doctrine, in other words, when a man knows himself, he is not likely to abandon those divinely inspired Scriptures, which “are profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work.”

B. H. C.

EXPOSITORY REMARKS ON 1 JOHN v. 4—9.^a

ALTHOUGH scriptural translation is not necessarily connected, to any great extent, with criticism or exposition, its perfection depends on a due attention to both; for it is obvious that, unless the original text is correctly ascertained, and thoroughly understood, it cannot be accurately transfused into another language. In the earliest printed edition of the Greek New Testament, the *Complutensian*, published more than three hundred years ago, the important passage under consideration includes the clause generally known as that relating to *the three heavenly witnesses*; which, after long and vehement contention, is now, by the almost universal consent of competent judges, rejected as an interpolation. A zealous advocate of the opposite opinion has however lately appeared in the person of Dr. Turnbull, whose arguments on the subject were controverted in the last number of this journal by Dr. Tregelles.^b As the entire paragraph is obscure, and probably very little understood, it is the object of the following remarks first, to offer an exposition of it, and secondly, by means of the internal evidence thus furnished, to justify the exclusion of the disputed clause.

In order satisfactorily to expound any portion of Scripture, it is necessary, besides possessing a competent knowledge of the original language, to study the subject analytically, in reference to the writer, the party addressed, and the time, place, occasion, and design of the composition; and then, after reproducing as far as possible in the mind all the circumstances of the case, to interpret the sacred writing in strict accordance with the information thus obtained. In applying this rule to the present

^a Read before the Anglo-Biblical Institute.

^b Joseph Turnbull, Ph. Dr. V.D.M. The seven epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude, and the Revelation, translated from the original Greek, with critical notes, &c., 8vo., London, Bagster and Sons, 1858.

subject, it may be remarked that during the apostolic age, occupying about forty years from the ascension of Christ until a little after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Christian churches planted in various parts of the world were exclusively either Jewish, or Gentile, but never mixed. All the churches addressed in the Pauline epistles, with the exception of that to the Hebrews, were Gentile, and all those addressed in the so-called Catholic epistles were Jewish. The latter, composed by Peter, John, James the son of Alphæus, and his brother Judas Lebbæus, were written at a later period than the former. The three epistles of John are, like his Gospel, anonymous; but their author is repeatedly mentioned in the Apocalypse, and sufficiently identified by the peculiarity of his matter and style, as well as by the testimony of the early Christian fathers. The names of the other sacred writers are inserted in their letters. That these letters, although with proper distinctions universally available, were in the first instance designed for Jewish Christians, is more or less plainly stated by themselves. James writes to the twelve tribes dispersed in various countries; Peter to that portion of them scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia; and Judas Lebbæus to those previously addressed by Peter; while John more indirectly alludes to the bitter hostility evinced towards Jewish Christians by their unbelieving countrymen, under the appellation of *the world*, and to the catastrophe shortly about to befall the nation, on account of its obstinate rejection of the gospel.*

All the epistles thus sent to Hebrew churches intimate alike, that they had suffered severe persecutions on account of their religion, owing to which many of their members had declined in faith or conduct, that some had even apostatized, and that many corrupt teachers had risen up and propagated pernicious errors, both doctrinal and practical. The churches are in consequence earnestly exhorted to hold fast evangelical truth, to reject false doctrines, to cultivate the Christian virtues, to bear with patience the afflictions of the times, and to encourage themselves with the assurance that Christ would shortly appear in glory, to execute judgment on the impenitent people of Israel, and to bestow rewards on his own faithful followers. This great event, which with its appendages terminated the apostolic age of Christianity, furnishes the principal means of ascertaining the time, occasion, and design of the later epistles; all of which must of course have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, in A.D. 70, and

* John xiv. 15—19; xv. 17—25; xvi. 19—33; xvii. 14—16. James i. 1; ii. 21; v. 1—3. 1 Peter i. 1, 2, 18, 19; ii. 9—12; iv. 1—3. 2 Peter iii. 1, 2. 1 John ii. 15—18; iii. 1, 13, 14; v. 4, 5. Jude 17, 18.

most of them before the commencement of the Jewish war, in A.D. 66. If, as is probable, the apostles were at the time of their election nearly of the same age with Christ, those who now survived must have been seventy years old, or upwards; a fact of which there is sufficient internal evidence in their epistles, although without any signs of impaired energy or intelligence. Thus Paul, who at the time of Stephen's martyrdom is called by Luke a young man, styles himself in his letter to Philemon, written during his imprisonment at Rome—"such a one as Paul the aged;" Christ had predicted that Peter in his old age would suffer the death of the cross, but that John would remain alive to witness his master's coming. Peter accordingly tells those whom he addressed; "I think it right, as long as I continue in this tent, to stir you up in the way of remembrance; knowing that my tent will shortly be taken down, as our Lord Jesus Christ has shown me;" while John, on the other hand, exhorts his disciples to fidelity and perseverance, "in order that, when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed to meet him at his coming."

Of this coming, and of many of its attendant events, Christ had repeatedly forewarned the apostles, particularly in his memorable prophecy on the Mount of Olives, privately communicated to them very shortly before his death. In answer to their question, "Tell us, when will these things happen? and what will be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the age?" Jesus replied, "Beware lest any one deceive you. For many will come in my name, saying, I am the Christ; and will deceive many. . . . Ye will be delivered up to affliction, and to death: and on account of my name will be hated by all the Gentiles. Many will then be offended, and will betray one another, and will hate one another. And many false prophets will rise up, and deceive many. And in consequence of the prevalence of iniquity, the love of many will grow cold. Nevertheless, he that endureth to the end will be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom will be proclaimed throughout the whole world as a testimony to all the Gentiles; and the end will come. . . . Should any one then say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or behold he is there; do not believe it. For there will rise up false Christs, and false prophets, who will shew great signs and wonders, so as to deceive, if it were possible, even God's chosen people. Remember, I have forewarned you. Therefore, if they say to you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not thither: behold, he is in the secret chambers; do not believe it. For as the lightning darts forth

John xxi. 17—23; Acts vii. 57, 58; 2 Cor. v. 1—4; Philemon 8, 9; 2 Peter i. 12—15; 1 John ii. 28.

from the east, and shines even to the west, so will the coming of the Son of Man be. And wherever the carcase is, there will the eagles gather together. . . . Now learn a parable from the fig tree; When its bough becomes soft, and puts forth leaves, ye know that the summer is near: in like manner, when ye see all these things taking place, know that the Son of Man is near, even at the door. I assuredly tell you, this generation will not pass away, until all these things have taken place. Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away.”

How well this prophecy serves to determine the date and occasion of the later epistles, addressed to the Hebrew churches, will be readily perceived by collating it with the preceding remarks; and further proof to the same effect will be furnished by the following quotations. The apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, thus exhorts those feeble members among them who, under the pressure of persecution, were half disposed to relinquish their Christian profession. “Do not abandon your confidence, to which a great reward is attached; ye have however need of patience, that after doing the will of God ye may obtain the promised blessing; for within a very little while he that is coming will come, and will not delay.”

In like manner James the less, after reproaching the rich and avaricious Jews for their luxury and cruelty, and for hoarding up treasure in the last days, thus consoles the oppressed and afflicted Christians, to whom he chiefly wrote; “Be patient, therefore, brethren, even till the coming of the Lord. . . . Strengthen your hearts, for the coming of the Lord is at hand. Do not murmur against each other, brethren, lest ye be condemned; behold the judge is standing at the door.”

Peter congratulates the churches whom he addresses, on their being preserved by the power of God through faith unto salvation, about to be revealed in the last time; or, as he otherwise expresses it, the reward to be conferred on them at the revelation of Jesus Christ, who was ready to judge the living and the dead. Attentive students of Scripture will probably perceive that by *the last times, the last days*, and especially *the last hour*, is meant the closing period of the Mosaic dispensation. Peter also predicts in very strong terms, but not stronger than the occasion required: “There were false prophets among the people, as there will be false teachers among you, who will secretly introduce pernicious heresies, and disown the sovereign lord who bought them, thus bringing on themselves speedy destruction; and many will fall

• Matt. xxiv. 3—5, 9—14, 23—28, 32—35; Mark xiv. 3—6, 9—13, 21—23, 28—31; Luke xxi. 7, 8, 12, 16, 17, 27—33.

away, and adopt their licentious practices, owing to whom the way of truth will be reviled." Judas Lebbæus, who wrote at a later period, when this prediction had been fulfilled, follows closely in the track of Peter, to whom he alludes, and whose words he often repeats, as in the following passage.—"There have secretly entered into the churches certain ungodly men whose transgression in this way was long since foretold, who pervert the grace of God to licentiousness, and disown the only sovereign, the Lord Jesus Christ." Finally, John declares in his First Epistle ;—"My children, it is the last hour, and, as ye have heard that the Antichrist is to come, even now there have risen up many Antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last hour. They went forth from us, but they did not belong to us; for, had they belonged to us, they would have continued with us, but it is thus became manifest that they did not all belong to us. . . . Who is the false teacher, but he who denies that Jesus is the Christ? Such a one is the Antichrist, who denies both the Father and the Son." And again ;—"My beloved friends, do not believe every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God, for many false prophets have gone forth into the world. Hereby ye will know the Spirit of God. Every spirit that acknowledges that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit which does not acknowledge Jesus, is not of God; and this is the spirit of Antichrist, which ye have heard is to come, and which is even already in the world." A statement repeated in his second epistle ;—"Many deceivers have entered into the world, who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ as having come in the flesh. Such a one is a deceiver, and an Antichrist."

From the preceding analysis it results that many of the Hebrew churches, at the late period when they received these epistles, had greatly degenerated, and had adopted errors and vices of a most serious nature, against which several of the apostles were prompted strongly to protest. What particular churches were addressed in the First Epistle of John is uncertain, but, as he is recorded to have passed the latter years of his life in Asia Minor, and to have died at Ephesus, it is not improbable that they included some or all of the seven churches, situated near the western coast of that peninsula, which are mentioned in the first three chapters of the Apocalypse. His special object in sending them this pastoral letter was, as he expressly states in chap. v. 11—13, and elsewhere, to confirm their faith in Christ, as the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world; and to assure

^f Matt. xxviii. 18—20; Acts ii. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 7; Heb. i. 1, 2; x. 35—39; James v. 1—9; 1 Peter i. 1—7, 13, 20; 2 Peter ii. 1, 2; iii. 1—3; 1 John ii. 18—24 iv. 1—3; 2 John 7—9; Jude 1—4, 17, 18.

them that by him only they could obtain everlasting life. He therefore exhorts them to adhere exclusively to the original message of the gospel, derived from himself and the other apostles, urges them to avoid the idols and lusts of the world, to cultivate Christian holiness and love, and to reject the false teachers, and pernicious doctrines, then abounding, and whereby, if admitted, their comfort would be destroyed, and their salvation endangered. In the fulfilment of this object, he inserts towards the end of the epistle the memorable passage under consideration, and of which a copy in the original Greek, according to the text of Griesbach and later critics, with the disputed clause inclosed between brackets, is here subjoined, followed by a translation, and some explanatory remarks.

1 John, v. 4—9.

(4.) Πᾶν τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ νικᾷ τὸν κόσμον καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νίκη ἣν νικήσασα τὸν κόσμον, ἡ πλῆσις ἡμῶν. (5.) Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ νικῶν τὸν κόσμον, εἰ μὴ ὁ πιστεύων ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ; (6.) Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος, καὶ αἵματος, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια. (7.) Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. (8.) Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ,] τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. (9.) Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν· ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἣν μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

In rendering Hebrew, or Hellenistic idioms, into languages of a widely different character, such as those of modern Europe, the two extremes of translations,—the paraphrastic and the literal,—are often equally objectionable ; the former being liable to deviate more or less from the original, and the latter to be either unintelligible, or delusive ; so that a good version must sometimes necessarily oscillate between the two. This intermediate style is attempted in the present case.

1 John v. 4—9.

(4.) Whatever is born of God overcomes the world : and this is the power which has overcome the world, even our faith. (5.) Who is he that overcomes the world, but he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God ? (6.) This is he who came with water and blood, namely Jesus the Christ ; not with water only, but with water and with blood ; and the Spirit also bears testimony, because the Spirit is the truth. (7.) For there are three who

bear testimony [in heaven the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit: and these three are one. (8.) And there are three who bear testimony on the earth,] the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one. (9.) If we accept the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater: for this is the testimony of God which he has given concerning his Son.

An attempt will now be made to prove, by internal evidence, that the clause respecting the three heavenly witnesses is at variance:—First, with the rule constantly observed by the sacred writers in cases of this kind: Secondly, with the line of argument adopted by the author of the epistle, and necessary to accomplish the object which he had in view: and, Thirdly, with the grammatical and logical import of the passage in which it is found. It will be concluded on each and all of these grounds, as the Scripture is never inconsistent with itself, nor with other departments of truth, that this clause should be regarded as spurious, and consequently expunged. It is scarcely necessary, however, to add that the doctrine of the Trinity is entirely independent of the ensuing discussion, and would not be in the slightest degree compromised by its success; but, on the contrary, is perhaps better established by the passage without the disputed clause than with it.

First, then, it is maintained, that the clause respecting the three heavenly witnesses is at variance with the rule constantly observed by the sacred writers in cases of this kind. In his private conference with Nicodemus, Christ remarked:—"I most assuredly tell you we speak what we know, and testify what we have seen, yet ye do not accept our testimony. If ye do not believe me when telling you of earthly things, how will ye believe if I tell you of heavenly ones? And no one has ascended to heaven except he who has come down from heaven, even the Son of Man, who is in heaven." Christ was therefore entitled, by the prerogative of his nature and office, to declare directly, and of his own authority, what is done in heaven by God and his angels; and he accordingly admonished the apostles on one occasion concerning some of his young disciples: "Be careful not to despise one of these little ones, for I tell you their angels in heaven constantly behold the face of my heavenly Father." He said to the Seventy, on returning from their mission:—"Rejoice not on this account, that the spirits obey you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven." He assured the Pharisees,—“I tell you, there will be joy in heaven over one repenting sinner, more than over ninety nine righteous persons who do not need repentance;” and, when predicting on the Mount of Olives the destruction of Jerusalem, he informed the

apostles; "Of that day and hour no one has knowledge, not even the angels of heaven, but the Father only."^g

Widely different, however, was the position of the sacred writers in reference to this class of subjects, concerning which they never claim originality, nor venture to make any statement, without intimating the source of their knowledge, and their authority for communicating it. To illustrate this fact minutely by the example of the prophets of the Old Testament, would occupy too much space; otherwise it could easily be shewn that all of them, from Moses downwards, when describing occurrences relating to the spiritual world, recount with great particularity the dreams, visions, voices, or other modes of revelation, by which they were instructed, and the directions given to them to publish the information thus received to the people of their charge. The same applies to the writers of the New Testament, amongst whom the most eminent for this kind of knowledge were the apostles Paul and John; but neither these, nor any others, speak familiarly of such matters as independent observers, but merely as privileged agents, occasionally employed by the Deity to witness and report, to a limited extent, the secrets of the invisible world. This secondary and ministerial character is conspicuous in every section of the Apocalypse; and not less so in the corresponding portions of the epistles of Paul, which treat of the glory of Christ, the ministry of angels, the state of the soul after death, the resurrection of the body, and the consummation of all things. As if to justify and confirm such statements, he declares in some of these epistles that he had received his knowledge of the gospel by direct communication from Christ; and that, on one particular occasion, which must have been long before the Apocalypse, he was favoured with an extraordinary profusion of visions and revelations, during which he was caught up, whether in or out of the body he could not tell, into the third heaven, and, in the paradise of God, heard unspeakable words, which it is not possible for a man to utter. Now, amidst all the visions and revelations granted to the two apostles, no such statement occurs as "There are three who bear testimony in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one;" the testimony being that Jesus is the Son of God. And there is no other example in the New Testament of any inspired person making such a statement, without special reference to Divine authority. On this ground, therefore, the authenticity of the clause is liable to be questioned,

^g Matt. xviii. 10, 11; xxiv. 32—36; Mark xiii. 28—32; Luke x. 17—20; xv. 7, 10; xxi. 29—32; John iii. 9—13.

as being at variance with the analogy and harmony of Scripture.^a

In the second place, it is disputed on account of its being at variance with the line of argument adopted by the author of the epistle; the general object of which was to prove, in opposition to the doubts of wavering Christians, the errors of corrupt teachers, and the contradictions of malignant adversaries, that Jesus of Nazareth, who had come and suffered in the flesh, was in the highest sense of the terms the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world. He accomplished this purpose, not by any abstruse or mysterious reasoning, but by a simple reference to the testimony of the apostles, the only accredited ambassadors of Christ, and original teachers of the Gospel. This testimony, which was that of select eye and ear witnesses, and confirmed by miracles, had been fully delivered by all of them alike at the commencement of their ministry, and had never afterwards varied; but, having been first preached by them throughout the world for nearly forty years, was now reduced to writing, and might be in the hands of all men. Conscious of the force of this argument, he urges it at the very outset of his epistle, in the following abrupt and energetic manner.—“That which was taught from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have beheld, and our hands have felt respecting the living Word (for the Word was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear testimony and make known to you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested to us); that which we have seen and heard we also make known to you, that ye may be united in fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, and we write these things to you that your joy may be complete.” At a time when doctrinal and practical errors of the most serious nature abounded in the churches, nothing could be more suitable than to remind their members that the truth—that is, the true Christian doctrine—was derivable fully and exclusively from that apostolical instruction which they had received from the beginning; and that, as this truth is unchangeable, admitting neither of addition, subtraction, nor alteration, all teaching at variance with it, all new and strange doctrines, are on that very ground to be rejected, as false and pernicious. The same principle is strongly maintained in other parts of the New Testament. Thus, towards the close of his personal ministry, Christ defined Christians to be those who believe on him through the word, or instruction of the apostles; that instruction having been originally

^a 1 Cor. xi. 23—26; xv. 1—8; 2 Cor. xii. 1—6; Gal. i. 11—19; Ephesians iii. 1—5; Rev. i. 1, 2, 9—11, 17—20; vi. 1, 2; x. xi. 1, 2; xvii. xix. 9, 10; xxi. 9—15; xxii. 1—10, &c.

communicated by himself, and ultimately completed by the Holy Spirit. Hence Paul assured the Ephesian, or rather perhaps the Laodicean converts, that they were “built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ himself being the chief corner stone;” and put the solemn question to the Hebrews, “How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation, which began to be proclaimed by the Lord, and was confirmed to us by those who heard him; God also adding his testimony by signs and wonders, and by various powers and gifts of the Holy Spirit, dispensed according to his own will?”

In accordance with this principle, John proceeds, towards the end of his epistle, to confirm the great truths concerning the person and office of Christ, which in many churches at that period were either neglected or contradicted; and he does this by citing three palpable and significant facts, resting on apostolical authority. John was peculiarly qualified to perform this service, in consequence of having apparently been at first a disciple of John the Baptist; but soon afterwards an early disciple, and a principal apostle of Christ, his personal friend, and probably his attendant on several occasions when the others were absent, as likewise one of the chief evangelists, and the writer of these epistles, and of the Apocalypse. The doctrine to be proved or confirmed, was that Jesus of Nazareth, who had come in the flesh, was the Son of God, in other words, the Messiah or Christ; and the proof was furnished by three distinct and successive testimonies given by God himself, and which for the sake of brevity are here termed *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; meaning, it may be presumed, the divine testimony given to Jesus at his baptism, at his death on the cross, and by the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the apostles at the subsequent day of Pentecost. Either of these testimonies alone would have been sufficient, but the harmonious combination of the three—which agree in one—is irresistible. Three such testimonies however were requisite, in regard to the three essential offices of Christ, as *Prophet, Priest, and King*, which were successively assumed by him at his baptism, his death, and his resurrection; and it is in critical accordance with these events that, whilst he is said to have come with water and with blood, he is not said to have come with the Spirit; since his baptism and his death were parts of his personal ministry on earth, whereas the effusion of the Holy Spirit, which was a principal proof of his resurrection, followed his ascension to heaven.

ⁱ Matt. xvi. 17—19; Luke i. 1—4; John xv. 1—5, 15, 16; xvii. 17—23; Ephesians ii. 19—22; Philippians iv. 15; Hebrews ii. 1—4; xiii. 8, 9; 1 John i. 1—4; ii. 7, 13, 14, 24; iii. 11; 2 John 5, 6; Jude 1, 2; Rev. xxi. 14.

As it is probable that this interpretation of the passage is not commonly entertained, it will be proper to confirm it by briefly reviewing the evangelical account of each of the three occurrences, as far as the divine testimony is concerned ; and, to render this account the more complete, the reports of the several evangelists will, when suitable, be consolidated.

FIRST TESTIMONY.

The Water ; or, The Baptism of Christ.

John the Baptist, the greatest of all preceding prophets, was raised up for the express purpose of introducing Christ to the people of Israel, and of preparing them to receive him. The public ministry of Jesus began with his baptism by John at the Jordan. "It happened," says Luke, "that when all the people were receiving baptism, Jesus also was baptized ; after which, as he was praying, the heaven opened, and the Holy Spirit descended on him, in a bodily form as a dove, and there came a voice from heaven which said, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I delight." This took place at Bethabara in Peræa, whither, after undergoing his forty days' trial in a neighbouring desert, Jesus returned, and found John attended by several of his disciples, and by a deputation of priests and Levites sent by the Sanhedrim ; to whom the Baptist, looking on Jesus, delivered the following address :—"Behold the Lamb of God, that bears away the sin of the world. This is he of whom I said, After me a man is coming who will advance before me : for he is greater than I. At first I did not know him : and yet it is to proclaim him to Israel that I am come baptizing with water. John further testified and said, I beheld the Spirit descend from heaven like a dove, and it remained upon him. I did not then know him : but he who sent me to baptize with water, said to me, The man on whom thou shalt see the Spirit descend, and remain upon him, is he who baptizes with the Holy Spirit. I have accordingly seen and testified that this man is the Son of God." The result of this address was, that five of the twelve who afterwards became apostles, two of whom at least had previously been disciples of the Baptist, now became disciples of Jesus ; acknowledging him to be the great personage, who had in the manner above stated been proclaimed by his forerunner. Andrew, the earliest of these converts, "first sought out his own brother Simon, and said to him, We have found the Messiah : (which means Christ,) [anointed,] and he brought him to Jesus. . . . Philip," the third disciple thus gained, "sought out Nathaniel, and said to

him, We have found him of whom Moses wrote in the law, and of whom the prophets wrote, namely, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph." Nathaniel accordingly came to Jesus; and, having after some hesitation been convinced of the truth, said to him, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel."

SECOND TESTIMONY.

The Blood; or, The Death of Christ.

The testimony given by God to his Son on the first of these occasions, was of the most direct and positive character: namely, the voice from heaven, regarded by many Hebrew theologians as the highest mode of revelation. On the two following occasions the divine testimony, although not occurring in the same form, was not less decisive, consisting in signs and prodigies, which did not admit of any other interpretation. In respect to the death of Christ, the former mode was not indeed entirely wanting; for, when two days before that event Jesus publicly acknowledged his mental distress on looking forward to it, he said; "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour? Yet it is for this purpose that I am come to this hour; Father, glorify thy name. There came a voice from heaven which replied, I have already glorified it, and will glorify it again." In like manner, when, during his agony in the garden of Gethsemane the night before he suffered, he earnestly prayed that, if possible, that hour might pass from him, an angel was sent from heaven to his relief. But the principal tokens of divine recognition took place, as might have been expected, at the crucifixion itself. This began at the third hour of the day, and for the next three hours nothing extraordinary occurred; but "about the sixth hour," says Luke, "a darkness overspread the whole land until the ninth hour, and the sun was darkened." Soon after the ninth hour, "Jesus cried with a loud voice, All is accomplished, Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit; and having thus spoken, he bowed his head, and resigned his spirit;" whereupon, says Matthew, "Behold the veil of the temple split asunder from the top to the bottom; and the earth quaked, and the rocks were rent; and the tombs flew open: and many bodies of holy persons deceased were raised, who, leaving the tombs after his resurrection, went into the holy city, and appeared to many."*

^f Matt. iii. 13—17; Mark i. 9—11; Luke iii. 21—22; John i. 28—49; Acts xiii. 22—25; xix. 1—7.

^k Matt. xxvii. 45—54; Mark xv. 33—39; Luke xxii. 39—46; John xii. 23—28; xix. 28—30.

The significancy of these supernatural and awful events is sufficiently manifest. The death of Christ on the cross was professedly an atoning sacrifice for the expiation of human guilt. At his baptism he was formally consecrated, or, as it is sometimes termed, sealed to this office; and, as already mentioned, was soon afterwards proclaimed by John the Baptist, as "the Lamb of God that bears away the sin of the world." At the beginning of his career, he intimated to Nicodemus that, "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" and, to show that this was by divine appointment, added, "for God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" and finally, not to multiply quotations on a subject so familiar, when instituting the Lord's supper, he declared that his body was about to be broken, and his blood to be shed, as the blood of the new covenant, for the forgiveness of sins. That the life's blood of Christ was actually poured out at his crucifixion has, it is believed, been shewn in a work which traces his death to rupture of the heart from agony of mind; and thus, as is remarked by the author of the epistle who was present on that occasion; "Christ came, not with water only, but with water, and with blood;" in other words, not only undertook the stupendous task of human redemption, but actually accomplished it. It is probable, however, that these words allude to John the Baptist, who might indeed be said to have come with water, that is, who administered to the people of Israel a baptism of water unto repentance, but who neither came with blood, nor dispensed spiritual endowments; whilst on the other hand, he distinctly ascribed those important functions to Jesus, as the Christ, the Lamb of God who was about to baptize with the Holy Spirit, and with fire. This view is the more credible because, from the apostolical times down to the present day, there have always been found, more especially in eastern countries, disciples of John the Baptist, who have regarded him either as the Messiah, or at least as a great prophet, under whose guidance they might attain salvation. Twelve disciples, in some measure of this class, were found by Paul at Ephesus, on his second visit to that city. They had received the baptism of John only; but under the apostle's instructions fully embraced the Gospel, were then admitted into the church by Christian baptism; and, through the application of his hands, were endued with some of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit. That the justice of God was urging its claims at the crucifixion, was indicated by the peculiar mental sufferings

of Christ, and by his singular and speedy death ; as likewise by the earthquake, and long continued darkness of the sun and air, immediately occasioned perhaps by a shower of volcanic ashes wafted over the land of Palestine ; and which, as at the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, and in other similar cases, were the appointed symbols of divine wrath. That the atonement was accepted, appeared from two most significant occurrences ; the spontaneous rending of the veil in the temple, and the revival of many pious persons deceased, and buried in the neighbourhood of Golgotha, followed by their resurrection after that of Christ. The first is fully explained by the apostle Paul, in Heb. ix. and x., who declares that, whereas the blood of bulls and goats, and the other sacrifices of the Mosaic law, were unable either to expiate sin, or to open a way even into the holy places made with hands, the blood of Christ has consecrated a new and living way into heaven itself, the antetype of the former, where he is enthroned at the right hand of God, superintending the affairs of his faithful followers, and preparing for their future reception. The revival of the pious persons deceased, the first fruits of the general resurrection of the righteous, likewise proved in the most decided manner the divine acceptance of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, who has thus brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel, and become the author of everlasting salvation to all who obey him.¹

THIRD TESTIMONY.

The Spirit ; or, The Effusion of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost.

This testimony will not require so much time and labour for its elucidation as the former ones ; since it is distinctly termed the testimony of the Spirit, evidently meaning the Holy Spirit of God, here called *the truth*, either as the divine teacher of evangelical truth, or as the source of that spiritual influence, of which baptism with water was merely a sign, and an intimation. During Christ's discourses to the apostles at the last paschal supper, he promised that, after his departure from the world, he would send them the Holy Spirit as their counsellor, instructor, and supporter ; who would guide them into the knowledge of the entire Christian doctrine, reveal to them future events, and enable them to perform greater things than he himself had done.

¹ See the author's treatise on the *Physical Cause of the Death of Christ* ; 8vo., Lond., 1847 ; also, Matt. xxvi. 26—29 ; Mark xiv. 22—25 ; Luke xxii. 14—20 ; John i. 28, 29, 35, 36 ; iii. 14—17 ; vi. 27 ; xix. 28—37 ; Acts xix. 1—7 ; 1 Cor. xi. 23—26 ; 2 Tim. i. 8—10 ; Hebrews v. 4—9 ; xii. 1, 2.

Thus, he expressly predicted; "When the counsellor is come, whom I will send to you from the Father, even the Spirit of the truth who proceeds from the Father, he will testify of me; and ye also will testify, because ye have been with me from the beginning." Accordingly, when all the apostles were arraigned for the first time as prisoners before the Sanhedrim, they boldly declared through Peter, "The God of our fathers has raised from the dead that Jesus whom ye put to death by crucifixion; him has God exalted to his right hand, as a prince and a Saviour, to bestow on Israel repentance and forgiveness of sins. We are his witnesses concerning these things, and so also is the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to those who obey him." This promise was distinctly repeated by Christ to the apostles immediately before his ascension, in the following words:—"Behold, I am about to send down on you the gift promised by my Father, of which ye have heard me speak; but remain in the city until ye are endued with power from above; for John baptized with water, but ye shall not many days hence be baptized with the Holy Spirit." Ten days after this the Feast of Pentecost took place, when the apostles "being assembled together by common consent, a sound as of a strong rushing wind suddenly came from heaven, and filled the whole house where they were sitting; and there appeared to them a number of tongues, as it were of fire, one of which rested on each of them; and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak in foreign languages what the Spirit prompted them to utter." This splendid manifestation was witnessed by an immense concourse of Israelites, drawn to the festival from almost all parts of the world, and speaking in different groups all the languages which they now heard; to whom Peter, on behalf of the apostles, delivered a suitable address, concluding with the following noble testimony to Jesus of Nazareth, as the Messiah. "This Jesus God has raised from the dead, of which all we are witnesses. Having in consequence been exalted to the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, he has poured forth that which ye now see and hear. For David has not ascended to the heavens, but himself says, The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool. Let the whole house of Israel therefore assuredly know, that God has made this Jesus whom ye crucified both Lord and Christ." It is impossible to conceive anything stronger than this testimony of the Holy Spirit, which, commencing on that occasion, was repeated in various forms during the following forty years of the apostolic age. Even at the time the effect of this testimony was re-

markable, far exceeding that of the two former ones. The divine testimony at the baptism of Jesus was comparatively private, yet it enabled the Baptist to fulfil his mission, by inaugurating Christ in his office, introducing him to the people of Israel, and supplying him with his earliest disciples, who afterwards became his apostles. The testimony at the crucifixion, being at once public and energetic, was more influential, for, says the evangelist;—"when the centurion who stood opposite, and those who were with him guarding Jesus, observed the earthquake, and the other occurrences, and that Jesus expired with such a cry, they feared greatly, and gave glory to God, saying, Certainly this man was a son of God. And all the multitudes who had gathered together to witness the spectacle, on observing these events, returned smiting their breasts." But the testimony of the Holy Spirit, given on the subsequent day of Pentecost, was much more effectual. Amongst an immense number of Jews assembled from almost all countries at the festival, about three thousand persons of both sexes, after witnessing the gift of tongues, and listening to a stirring address from Peter, were at once added to the church.

Soon after, in consequence of another address from Peter, founded on the miraculous cure of a man lame from his birth, about five thousand men embraced the Gospel in the temple. Within a short time, a large body of the priests became obedient to the faith; and, when Paul paid his last visit to Jerusalem, the Jewish converts were reckoned by tens of thousands. Meanwhile the Gospel was freely preached to the Samaritans, and to the Gentiles, and, before the end of the apostolic age, had been diffused through the greater part of the known world.*

The validity of the second objection urged against the clause respecting the three heavenly witnesses, namely, that it is at variance with the line of argument here adopted by the apostle John, will now be better appreciated. Whilst all intention of irreverence is disavowed, it must nevertheless be plainly asserted, that the supposed testimony of the three divine persons would be useless in heaven, where it is not needed; and ineffectual on earth, where it could not be heard; and that, in addition to the conclusive testimony above detailed, it would be superfluous, since *that* is also in a certain sense the testimony of the Father, Son, and Spirit; but with this important difference, that it is embodied in facts occurring on the earth, which were capable of

* Matt. iii. 11, 12; xxvii. 54; Mark i. 7, 8; xv. 39; Luke iii. 15—17; xxiii. 47, 48; xxiv. 46—49; John i. 29—34; xiv. 12—18, 25, 26; xv. 26, 27; Acts i. 1—8; ii. 1—21, 32—36, 41, 47; iv. 4; v. 14, 26—32; vi. 7; xxi. 17—20; Romans x. 18; Col. i. 6, 23.

being seen, heard, or felt, and which were actually witnessed and reported by the apostles. Such an argument, proposed to persons tolerably reasonable and well disposed, might be expected to produce conviction; while the former one, especially if addressed to the fanciful, sceptical, or unstable members, who at that period were too often found in the churches, would be more likely to excite derision, or disgust. In this view of the matter, the two other principal apostles, Peter and Paul, entirely agree with John. All three represent the outward means of Christian instruction at that time to have been the testimony of the apostles, confirmed by the miraculous agency of the Holy Spirit. Paul declares that his doctrine and preaching had been delivered, not in the plausible words of human wisdom, but with the powerful demonstration of the Spirit; and, applying to this purpose the language of Moses, says, there is no occasion to ask, "Who will ascend to heaven? that is, to bring Christ down to the earth; nor who will descend into the abyss? that is, to bring Christ up from the dead; [for] the doctrine is near thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, namely, the doctrine of faith which we preach; that, if thou wilt acknowledge with thy mouth Jesus to be the Lord, and wilt believe in thy heart that God has raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved; for with the heart faith is yielded unto righteousness, and with the mouth acknowledgement is made unto salvation." Peter, in like manner, reminds the Jewish Christians to whom he wrote, that the great truths of the Gospel had been preached to them with the Holy Spirit sent down from heaven; and gives the following account of the divine testimony rendered to Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration, probably one of the peaks of Hermon, not far from Cæsarea-Philippi. This account closely corresponds to that which took place at his baptism, but is not inserted by John among the three special testimonies, apparently because it was not connected with either of the three principal occasions. Having, however, been, like Peter, one of the three select witnesses of the same magnificent scene, he briefly alludes to it at the beginning of his gospel, in the following terms:—"The Word became incarnate and dwelt amongst us, full of grace and truth; and we beheld his glory, a glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father." "It was not," says Peter, "by following after cunningly devised fables that we made known to you the powerful coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but by having been eye-witnesses of his grandeur; for he received from God the Father honour and glory, when such a voice came to him from the majestic glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I delight. And this voice which came

from heaven we heard, when we were with him on the holy mountain.”^a

Lastly, the disputed clause is chargeable with violating the grammatical and logical import of the passage in which it is found. And here it is proper to notice that, with the design no doubt of more effectually opposing error, and enforcing truth, the apostle John, in several parts of his writings, adopts a remarkably precise, aphoristic, and as it were mathematical style of language, consisting of a series of short sentences, intermixed with definitions, distinctions, and recapitulations, serving to shew that every separate point is either self-evident, or demonstrated. Such is the style of the well-known introduction to his Gospel: “The Word was in the beginning, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This Word was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and not a single thing was made without him,” etc. And such is the style of the passage under consideration. After mentioning in detail the three grand testimonies to the fact, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world, it was natural and reasonable that the apostle, when repeating the same truth in the way of summary, should confine himself to the original terms, and not introduce new and extraneous matter, such as that respecting the three heavenly witnesses, which had not been before named, and are not like the former, subjoined to the previous context, by the illative particle, *for*. To say, “For there are three that bear testimony, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three agree in one,” is correct and logical; but to say, “For there are three that bear testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one,” is unconnected and irrelevant. A second objection applies to the clause, “on the earth,” which is obviously interpolated, as a counterpart to the previous clause, “in heaven,” but which is altogether superfluous in reference to the three testimonies originally mentioned, for, as these necessarily occurred on the earth, they did not require any such statement. And finally, the disputed clause is at variance with the explanation of his argument furnished by the apostle himself; namely, that it is the testimony of God concerning his Son: “If we accept the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater; for this is the testimony of God which he has given concerning his Son.” The supposed testimony of the three heavenly witnesses does not correspond to

^a Deuteronomy xxx. 11—14; Matt. xvii. 1—8; Mark ix. 2—8; Luke ix. 28—36; John i. 14; Romans x. 5—10, 14—18; 1 Cor. ii. 1—5; 2 Peter i. 15—18.

this description; and it is obvious that a testimony given in heaven can neither be accepted, nor refused on earth.

For the several reasons above detailed, it is therefore concluded that, on the ground of internal as well as of external evidence, the clause respecting *the three heavenly witnesses*, in this passage, is spurious, and inadmissible.

WILLIAM STROUD, M.D.

(The respected writer of the above died while it was in the hands of the printer.—
Ed. J. S. L.)

THE EXEGESIS OF GENESIS vi. 1—4.*

THE exegesis of this passage of Genesis is confessedly very difficult, and has been rendered ten-fold more dark by the obscurations of the commentators. Yet, persuaded that *all* Scripture is given by inspiration, it is our firm conviction that no part is to be lightly set aside as being barren of practical teaching, nor that anything which tends to throw light upon its hard sayings, is to be rejected as unprofitable speculation; on the contrary, we feel confident that this episode in the early history of the world, rightly understood, contains much both of warning and comfort to the Christian. Gratefully availing ourselves, then, of the aid of those who have made this portion of God's Word their especial study, it will be our object, by a comparison of this with other kindred passages, to attain to what we consider the true interpretation of these verses; and may He, who is the Truth, graciously assist us in our attempts to understand His words, and may He guide us into all truth.

In the following investigation we shall pass by, for the present, the rationalistic method of interpretation, which is not afraid to explain away the inspired words of the Holy Ghost by declaring them to be a myth, although we shall revert to this hereafter; but we shall enter at length into those interpretations, one or other of which have been ordinarily received:

* *Johann Heinrich Kurtz, der Theologie Dr. und ord. Prof. zu Dorpat. Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes mit den Töchtern der Menschen. Eine theologische Untersuchung zur exegetischen, historischen, dogmatischen und praktischen Würdigung des Biblischen Berichtes, Gen. vi. 1—4.* Berlin, 1857.

The Many Mansions in the House of the Father scripturally discussed and practically considered. By G. S. Faber, B.D. London: Royston and Brown.

Isaiah Unfulfilled: being an exposition of the Prophet, with new version and critical notes; to which are added two Dissertations, one on the "Sons of God" and "Giants" of Genesis vi., and the other a "Comparative Estimate of the Hebrew and Greek Texts." By the Rev. R. Govett, Jun., M.A., Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. London: Nisbet.

(1.) That which, understanding by the expression "sons of God" the posterity of Seth, and by "daughters of men," the descendants of Cain, conceives nothing further to be intended by the text, than that, in the course of time, the holy race of Seth, seduced by the meretricious attractions of the unholy race of Cain, contracted alliances with them; (2.) That which, maintaining that by "sons of God" angels only can be intended, and that the expression "daughters of men" must be taken, generically, to denote women of human birth, and not specifically, women of any apostate race, thus paraphrases the entire passage: "And it came to pass, when men (*i.e.* the human race) began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the angels beheld the women, who had been born of the new human race, and seeing that they were fair, entered into an unnatural connexion with all whom they chose. And the Lord said: My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for he, as well as the apostate angels, hath become corrupt, yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. (As a consequence of these unnatural alliances between angels and women) the Nephilim were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the angels associated themselves unto the daughters of men, and they bare the Nephilim, these Nephilim became the renowned heroes of antiquity. And (still as a consequence of these alliances) God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth and it repented him that he had made man."

With regard to the history of these interpretations, it may be remarked, in passing, that the latter—that which interprets "sons of God" by angels—was held by the Jewish Church, and by the early Christian Church, till the time of Cyril and Augustine; but these fathers having adopted the Sethite interpretation, the weight attached to their names, and particularly to that of Augustine, caused the Sethite theory to be regarded as the orthodox interpretation by the Western Church. In modern times the controversy has been re-opened, and while the angelic theory is opposed by Keil in Germany, and by Faber in England, it is ably supported by Kurtz and Delitzsch on the continent, and by Govett in our own country. We proceed, in the first place, to consider that interpretation which makes "sons of God" equivalent to the descendants of Seth.

Three theses are urged in support of this interpretation, namely:—

1. That the expression "sons of God" is applied to men in other parts of Scripture, and therefore there is no reason why it should not be so used in the present passage.

2. That the word here used to specify the intercourse between the sons of God and daughters of men is never used of *πρόσβληα*, but always in the sense of legitimate wedlock.

3. That we hear nothing of the punishment of these angels.

Now, with regard to the first of these theses, viz., that the expression "sons of God" is used in Scripture to denote good men, we deny that it is so used, at least in the Old Testament, which is all that affects the present argument, in a present sense. The term is very rare, occurring only here and three times in the book of Job; a very similar expression, rendered in our version "sons of God" occurs in Hosea, and a third expression, differing slightly from that in Genesis and that in Hosea is found twice in the Psalms; these are the only instances, five or six in all, which we discover in the Old Testament. Of these the passage in Hosea is the only one which certainly refers to man, and therefore is the only one that it is necessary to quote at this part of the subject: "Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God" (i. 10). Now, it must be observed, that in this passage the expression "sons of God" is not applied in a present, but in a future sense; it does not describe a state of things then actually existing, but it is a promise of what was to happen in the times of the Messiah. The expression "sons of God," as Mr. Govett well remarks, so far from being lavishly showered upon good men who lived before the Messianic era, is never once applied to them; it is the last sense of blessedness which Christianity offers in the Gospel.^b "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the children of God," is not the language of Judaism, still less of antediluvian times, but is phraseology peculiar to the Gospel. If then, the expression "sons of God" is to be taken in Gen. vi. 2 to signify men, it is not only an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, but an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* contrary to expectation and contrary to analogy.

But supposing, even, that the interpretation were not so utterly opposed to all sound philological premises, does not the question immediately arise in our minds: Where do we learn that the whole race of Seth was holy, that the whole race of Cain was apostate? Is it according to the ordinary course of human life, as we see it in the present day, that the sons, grandsons, the remote descendants of a holy man, all turn out

^b *Dissert.*, p. 339.

righteous? or does it necessarily follow that the posterity of an unholy man shall all be wicked? Or, when we read at the end of the fourth chapter of Genesis that men began to call upon the name of the Lord, why is the expression "men" to be confined to the race of Seth? or when, a little further on, we read of the daughters of men, why should the expression "men" refer exclusively to the descendants of Seth? What reason is there for understanding the same word occurring in the same page in sharply contrasting senses? Such a mode of interpretation seems a merely baseless hypothesis framed to get rid of a seeming difficulty, because the more obvious interpretation contradicted the pre-conceived notions of the commentator; as if an expositor should dare to come to the study of a book treating of *γένεσις*—a subject about which he must be entirely ignorant—with any pre-conceived notions at all.

Again, on this supposition we may legitimately enquire, how did it come to pass that *all* these holy descendants—so holy as to be denominated "sons of God"—fell into the same snare? Were the daughters of Cain so beautiful? did they exercise such power by their arts of fascination, that none of these holy persons could resist their witchery? Were the daughters of the house of Seth so plain and homely that their love, their beauty, their piety was altogether eclipsed by the voluptuous wiles and immodest wantonness of their sisters? or, as some would seem to imply, were sons only born to the Sethites and daughters to the Cainites by one continuous miracle? or what had become of the other posterity of Adam, which belonged to neither of these (so-called) antagonistic races, for we read that he begat sons and daughters?

Nor does this hypothesis explain the after consequences: we read (ver. 4), following Reuter's translation: "The Nephilim were in those days, and also afterwards when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and they bare them unto them, the same became the heroes of antiquity, men of renown." Here, then, it is clearly stated, that the result of this connexion between the sons of God and daughters of men was, that their descendants were giants (in LXX. *γίγαντες*); and the falsity of all rationalistic glosses is evidenced by the universal tradition of men of great stature and of unusual bodily and mental powers, which we find among all nations, and of which numerous instances are adduced by Winer and others. And not only were giants born in the earth, but another consequence was, that a daring wickedness reached such an unparalleled height, that

God saw fit to destroy the whole world with the single exception of Noah and his family. But do these consequences take place at the present time if a pious man marries an ungodly woman? It may, and undoubtedly will produce much evil, but the children will not be Nephilim, nor will their wickedness be, humanly speaking, of the kind here described by the sacred historian. On the Sethite interpretation, the cause is inadequate to the effect. We are aware of one serious objection to this statement. How, it may be asked, can the existence of giants, such as we read of in Numb. xiii. 33, be accounted for in post-diluvian times? Mr. Govett, to whom, as well as to Mr. Faber, the praise of thoroughness and consistency in carrying out his views to their logical conclusions, is due, does not hesitate to affirm that the same effect was produced by the same cause; and that in post-diluvian times angels still continued, in isolated instances, their connexion with women. We are not ourselves prepared either to agree with, or disagree from, him; we confess it is a difficulty in our own mind; but there is one thing to be noticed in favour of Mr. Govett's hypothesis, which he has failed to mention, namely, the command for the utter extermination of these people, which can be satisfactorily explained only on the ground that he has taken.

Some writers, seeing the inextricable labyrinth in which they became involved by understanding "sons of God" of the Sethites, prefer to make the expression equivalent to chieftains, supporting their view by Ps. lxxxii. 6, 7: "I have said ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes;" and think the historian intended to account for the introduction of polygamy and its attendant evils. Much of what has already been said, tends to confute this notion, and what follows points in the same direction.

We will now consider the second of these theses, by which the Sethite theory is supported, namely: that the word here used to specify the intercourse between the sons of God and daughters of men, is never used in the sense of unlawful connexions, but always includes the idea of legitimate marriage.

As far as we are aware, Dr. Keil is the only writer who has supported this thesis, for although we readily grant that the Hebrew word here used does generally denote legitimate wedlock, yet the connexion of it in this place with the whole passage is far too strong for the argument to be admitted. We read: "They took themselves wives of all whom they chose;" the choice being here evidently put as something condemnatory, unnatural, and unlawful. Accordingly, we find that all the com-

mentators understand the sense to be, that they entered into these alliances in an unnatural and lawless manner, led on only by the worst passions.

The third thesis is; that we hear nothing of the punishment of these angels.

This, say the supporters of the Sethite theory, might have been expected; for since in the account of the Fall, in which Satan came immediately into contact with our first parents, we read of a curse pronounced against him on account of his treachery and deceit; so might we here, agreeably to analogy, expect to meet with a similar denunciation of God's wrath against the seducers of the human family. But the two cases are hardly parallel; in the history of the Fall man first came into immediate contact with the principle of evil; and there the sacred historian tells us of the punishment which was to fall upon the adversary, and by which the evil was eventually to be overcome with good. In the case before us, on the other hand, evil is no new thing; the murder of Abel by his brother, the birth of Seth in the likeness of Adam instead of in the likeness of God, has caused man to obtain a knowledge of good and evil, which sadly contrasts with his primitive state of innocence; and now, when a new instance of disobedience to the divine command occurs, there is not the same fitness in demanding to know what punishment fell upon the heaven-born transgressors. Our author writes for man about man; and, accordingly, while he passes over in silence the punishment meted out to the "sons of God," he draws in vivid colours the fearful doom that overwhelmed those of our own race who were partakers with them in their transgression. The argument *e silentio* is rarely of much value, here it falls of itself to the ground, for, as Delitzsch remarks, "Since the story has only to do with the human race, it veils, as much as possible, from our view, that which transpires in the world of spirits."

But it must not be supposed that the supporters of the Sethite theory base their interpretation only, or even mainly, on the three theses which have been considered. Their chief strength lies in the argument from negation, in asserting that the objections against the angelic theory are so insurmountable as to leave no way of issue. Their argument can be easily thrown into a syllogistic form, as follows: By "sons of God," either men, or those intelligences whom we usually call angels, are signified; but angels cannot be signified, therefore men must be here spoken of. If, therefore, the objections brought against the angelic theory are insuperable, nothing remains but to adopt the Sethite interpretation, or some modification of it.

II. Let us, then, in the second place, proceed to discuss this interpretation, and the objections brought against it.

Four theses are brought forward in support of that interpretation which understands by "sons of God" those intelligences whom we conventionally call angels. They are as follows:—

1. That the opinion that by the "sons of God" the angels are intended, was held by the Jewish Church and by the early Christian Church.

2. That the term "sons of God," in all other places where it occurs in the Old Testament, is used to predicate angels, except in the passage in Hosea already referred to and explained.

3. That the sharp contrast, evidently intended, between "Sons of God" and "daughters of men," points to something peculiar and unusual.

4. That two passages in the New Testament, viz., 2 Pet. ii. 4, seq., and Jude 6, 7, refer to this transaction, and prove, conclusively, that angels were the transgressors.

Now, on the first of these theses we do not at all desire to lay much stress; it merely proves that the opinion, that by "sons of God" angels were signified, is not the mere phantom of a speculative brain, but was held by men for whose dictum, indeed, no authority is claimed or pretended, yet whom, as Fathers in the Church, we are bound to reverence and honour, and whose opinions may very well be set in opposition to the subjective notions of a rationalizing age. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with quoting a few of these without further comment than is necessary to make them clear.

The LXX., the oldest version of the Old Testament, made about 300 B.C., renders the Hebrew by *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

In the book of Enoch, written before the time of our Lord by a Jew, and based on the traditional account of the prophecy of Enoch referred to by St. Jude, is the following passage:^d—

(1.) "It happened after the sons of men had multiplied in those days, that daughters were born to them, elegant and beautiful. (2.) And when the angels, the sons of God, beheld them, they became enamoured of them, saying to each other, Come, and let us select for ourselves wives from the progeny of men, and let us beget children. (3.) Then their leader, Samyaza, said to them, I fear that you may perhaps be indisposed to the performance of this enterprize, (4.) and that I alone shall suffer for so grievous a crime. (5.) But they answered him, and said, We all swear (10.) Then they took

^d Dr. Lawrence's Transl. from Æthiop. Vers., ch. vii.

wives, each choosing for himself; whom they began to approach and with whom they cohabited; teaching them sorcery, incantations, and the dividing of roots and trees. (11.) And the women conceiving brought forth giants, whose stature was each three hundred cubics."

In Josephus^e we read: "For many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Græcians call giants."

The same opinion is found in the works of Philo-Judæus, in the Targum of Jonathan, and in other Jewish books, so that it is certain that the Jewish Church made "sons of God" equivalent to the Greek *Angeloi*, or Hebrew *Malachim*, in whatever sense they may have understood the word. The angelic interpretation was also received by the early Christian Church, both in the east and in the west. Thus, not needlessly to multiply quotations, it is found in Justin Martyr and Athenagoras; in Cyprian and Lactantius; in Methodius, Ambrose, and other Christian Fathers; till the time of Cyril and Augustine, who, as has been already remarked, changed the usually received opinion.

We said, above, that the Jews and early Christians made "sons of God" equivalent to *Malachim* or *Angeloi*, in whatever sense they may have understood them, and we added this qualifying clause, because Mr. Faber, who saw how strong the evidence of the primitive Church, both Jewish and Christian, was against him, has maintained, that by these expressions are not intended those intelligences whom we commonly call angels, but merely messengers or priests; and in support of this strange theory, which goes to confound all language, he quotes Mal. ii. 7, "for he (the priest) is the Malachim of the Lord." He might have added a few more examples, besides the solitary one which he has instanced, from the Apocalypse. Not only is his theory disproved by the *usus loquendi* of both Hebrew and Greek, but by the positive assertion of Philo, who says (on Gen. vi. 2) that those whom Moses calls angels are "spirits that fly in the air," which can hardly be predicated of Mr. Faber's priests. Again, if by these expressions the Jews and Christians meant simply the degenerate members of the antediluvian Sethite priesthood, St. Augustine could not have changed the generally received opinion as to the meaning of the passage,

^e *Antiq.*, i., 3, § 1.

since there would have been no real difference between his opinion and that of the Church at large.

The second thesis is: that "sons of God" is used in all places, where it occurs in the Old Testament, to denote angels, except in the already quoted passages from Hosea.

Now the passages in which the same Hebrew expression occurs, as that used in Genesis vi. 2, are all in the book of Job, in chapters xxxviii., i., and ii.

In chap. xxxviii. 7, we read: "When the morning stars sang together, and all the 'sons of God' shouted for joy." Here "sons of God" must mean angels, inasmuch as the passage describes a state of things previous to the creation of man.

In chap. i. 6, we read: "Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them;" and similarly in chap. ii. 1. "Again there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord." Even Mr. Faber allows that in both these passages, by "sons of God" angels are intended. Now if, as is generally supposed, Moses was the author of the book of Job, the chain of evidence is complete, since no writer would use an expression, peculiar to himself, in two different senses. If, therefore, in the book of Job we are to understand angels by the term sons of God—as even our opponents allow—then we must understand angels by the term sons of God in the book of Genesis.

The third thesis is, that the sharp contrast, evidently intended, between "sons of God" and "daughters of men," points to something peculiar.

But by the Sethite interpretation this contrast is entirely lost, for what is there strange or unheard of in the fact, that a religious man should marry a very beautiful woman, even if she be not religious?

The fourth thesis is, that two passages in the New Testament, viz., 2 Pet. ii. 4, seq., and Jude 6, 7, refer to this transaction, and prove, conclusively, that angels were the transgressors.

In Jude 6, 7, we read: "And he hath reserved in chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day, the angels which attended not to their government (τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν εὐνῶν ἀρχὴν), but left their proper habitation; in the same manner as Sodom and Gomorrhæ, and the cities round about, having committed fornication after a fashion similar to these (τούτοις), and gone after strange flesh, are set forth as an ex-

ample, suffering the judgment of eternal fire ;” and the parallel passage in Peter runs thus (2 Pet. ii. 4, seq.) : “ For if God spared not angels that sinned, but cast them down to Tartarus in chains of darkness, and delivered them to be kept for judgment ; and if he spared not the old world, but saved Noah, the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, when he brought in the flood upon the world of the ungodly ; and if he further turned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes, condemning them with an overthrow, so as to make them an example unto those that should hereafter live ungodly . . . but chiefly those who walk in the lust of uncleanness, and despise sovereignty.”

Now the generality of the more ancient commentators (Clarke, Benson, Scott, and later, Kiel), refuse to see any connexion between these two passages and that in Gen. vi. Thus, in Jude, putting a full stop after the words, “ Kept not their own principality, but left their own habitation,” and commencing a new sentence at “ like as Sodom and Gomorrah and cities round about them in like manner to these,” they refer the masc. *τούτοις* to the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah. But more recent commentators (Schneckenburger, De Wette, Meyer, Arnaud, Stier, Kurtz, Govett, and even Faber), have proved, that such a construction is inadmissible in Greek, and that this masc. *τούτοις* must, by the rules of the language, be referred to *ἄγγελοι* in the preceding sentence, and they construe the passage : “ Like as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities round about them, having committed fornication in a manner similar to these *ἄγγελοι*, and having gone after strange flesh.” Mr. Faber goes a step further, and declares, that whatever was the sin of Sodom, such must the sin of these *angeloi* have been ; and that, as the sin of Sodom consisted in unnatural “ corporeal ” impurities, so the sin of the *angeloi* consisted, likewise, in unnatural “ corporeal ” impurities. Thus, Mr. Faber himself proves for us, that the “ sons of God ” of Moses are equivalent to the *angeloi* of St. Peter and St. Jude, and that their sin was illegitimate connexion with women. And yet Mr. Faber has written a dissertation—the only one, as far as we are aware, by a modern English divine—in opposition to the angelic theory. He does this, as we have already seen, by denying that by *angeloi* are intended those intelligences whom we conventionally call angels, and he brings forward, from these passages, three arguments in support of his assertion.

1. That such deeds of the flesh correspond not to the nature of angels.

In answer to this objection, we may ask Mr. Faber, Who told him that such deeds are foreign to the nature of angels? The objection is purely subjective; for neither does the objector, nor any one else, know enough about the nature of angels to enable him to make such an assertion. What little we do know about angelic beings militates against, rather than in favour of, the objection; for, if angels are corporeal beings, as Mr. Faber allows, if angels can assume human forms, if angels can eat and drink and hold converse with mortals, there are no grounds for such a strong assumption, that they are incapable of doing the deeds here assigned to them, as can be brought forward as an *a priori* proof. Nor does Matt. xxii. 30 (against Kiel) touch the question, since that merely declares the fact as it is, but makes no assertion as to what might take place, if angels fell away from their primitive estate to seek for pleasures in desires contrary to their original nature.

2. The second argument is the incongruity which would be introduced into the passage by this mode of apprehending it. He thus sums up the argument of Peter and Jude: "As *men* had sinned and had been punished, so *men* would sin and would be punished;" and, therefore, he continues, "who does not instinctively see that an instance brought from the history of fallen angels, if introduced in the midst of instances naturally brought from the history of the human race, would be most singularly incongruous and out of place?" Now, that this is not so instinctively obvious as Mr. Faber seems to think, is sufficiently established by the fact, that hardly any other author but himself has so understood it. The generality of commentators see in Peter and Jude the argument a *maj. ad min.*: As God had punished disobedient angels—who were higher than men;—as God had punished the old world—those renowned heroes of antiquity;—as he had punished Sodom and Gomorrah, so would he now punish all those who transgressed his commands. This is far the most obvious and natural way of understanding the passage.

III. The third argument is more plausible and runs thus:—By angels in Peter and Jude cannot be intended the intelligences we commonly call by that designation, for it is predicated of these *ἄγγελοι* that they are reserved in eternal chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day; but we know from other passages of Scripture, that the fallen angels are at liberty, and are not now in chains under darkness.

To this it is replied that St. Jude describes not their present, but their future doom; using the present time, by a figure com-

mon in the Bible, to mark the certainty of their impending destruction; but this is far-fetched.

A better answer will be found in distinguishing between these angels and the hosts of Satan, for it is quite gratuitous to assume that they must be the same; there is not one single reason to identify or confound them together. Their sin was different in kind and in degree; the rebel rout of Satan was guilty of direct, open rebellion against Jehovah; the guilt of these *ἄλλοι* arose from the misapplication of a right principle, and consisted in losing sight of the Creator through an undue admiration of the creature.

Thus Mr. Faber's argument falls to the ground, and we arrive at the conclusion that by the *ἄγγελοι* of St. Peter and St. Jude, angels, in the common acceptation of the term, are signified.

The whole may be thus briefly summed up:—Since by the expression "sons of God" men cannot be intended, but only those intelligences whom we call angels; since by "daughters of men" no specific women of the race of Cain are intended, but the women of the human race generically; and since we are too ignorant on a matter like that before us to argue on *à priori* premises; the words of the historian must be taken in their literal acceptation, and signify that an illicit intercourse did actually take place between women of the human race and angels, and that the children resulting from such intercourse were the Nephilim, whose daring impiety reached such a height, that God saw fit to destroy the world which he had created by a general flood.

We would add a few words on that school which reduces the history before us to a myth.

That such an interpretation should have been attempted cannot strike us with astonishment, when we consider the canons of interpretation which are in vogue in the critico-historical school of Germany. But this very school which has raised the difficulty has also afforded the means of its solution. According to this school of theology, the Pentateuch consists of two parts, written by at least two different authors at two different times; that of these two, one is crude in his general notions, mythical in his historical representations and anthropomorphic in his theological conceptions; that one distinguishing mark by which his hand may be traced is the use of the term *Elohim* instead of *Jehovah*, as the designation of the Supreme Being. They also inform us that the *Elohist* historian is more ancient than the *Jehovistic*—that the *Elohist* wrote anterior to the time of David,^a

^a De Wette, Einl. z., Alt. Test., § 158.

before the Homeric poems had been sung, or the odes of Hesiod had been conceived. This is all we require for our present purpose; for, if this so-called mythic tradition is the source of the Homeric traditional lays, it is, as far as we know, the oldest record of any mythical tradition whatever. This history of the loves of the angels is the real source of all those mythological stories which enchant us in the pages of the Greeks. Now such stories exist in other countries and among other nations than in Greece and among the Grecians; they are found in some shape or other in Hindoo, Persian, and Scandinavian traditions. Yet still the account in Genesis is the earliest extant record of them; therefore we may reasonably conclude that this so-called mythical tradition actually received birth among the people of the East. (It is easy to trace the stream of emigration from the East, the cradle of the human race, from historical tradition, without having recourse to the account in Genesis). Hence we come to the question, could any people have invented, by the mere power of imagination, histories purporting to be the account of the loves of gods with mortal women, unless there was some foundation on which the marvellous fabric could rest? We do not hesitate to say that to our own mind it is ten-thousandfold more difficult to believe that these stories arose entirely from the imagination of man, than that they—as we have affirmed—actually took place in the early history of the world; in other words, we esteem it far more unreasonable to suppose the account in the sixth of Genesis a myth, invented by some exuberant imagination, than to believe it to be real historic verity.

We have thus ended the task we proposed to ourselves. Yet the exegesis of a passage of the Word of God seems hardly complete, unless we bear in mind that its sure object is rather to influence the heart than to satisfy the purely intellectual wants of the understanding. We claim, then, the kind indulgence of the reader—even should we seem to sermonize—while we place before him two of the practical lessons which result from the subject we have been considering.

1. The vindication of God's justice and mercy with reference to the flood.

We feel sure that there is no deep thinker among us who has not at times felt that judgment which swept away his brethren, made in the image and by the hand of God, in one hopeless ruin, lie as a heavy weight on his own heart. We feel sure that we shall not be expressing more than the truth, when we say that that early history, which told of the destruction of a world but lately sent forth from the hands of the Creator, has come sometimes as a dark cloud between our own souls and the

love of God. Now the interpretation of this passage in Genesis, as we understand it, lifts, as it were, the veil from this dark sad scene of the earth's young existence. God's purpose had been (permissively) frustrated; the new race, by this unhappy transaction, had become changed in its essential and distinctive character; they had ceased to be men, for they partook of the nature of angels; man's powers, both physically and intellectually, had exceeded that boundary which had been predetermined by God himself; it was necessary utterly to exterminate all who had become in any degree contaminated by this unhallowed combination of two natures, and all except Noah and his family were contaminated; therefore all must die, being condemned in chains in Tartarus, till the death of the everlasting Son of God should give unto them a new opportunity of repentance, as we are informed by St. Peter: "For he also hath once suffered for sin, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit. By which (or, in which *ἐν ᾧ πνεύματι*) he went and preached to the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few—that is eight souls, were saved by water."¹

2. This history is a solemn warning against sin. None of us can fall into the particular sin here alluded to; but still the same desires which caused these once holy angels to transgress, exist in our minds; we are prone to them; we may fall; we must fall, however secure we think ourselves, unless God's preventive grace restrain us. Circumstances, self-respect, the opinion of others, may keep us in check; but time may come when circumstances may no longer hinder, when self-vanity may lead us on, instead of self-respect restraining us, and when the opinion of others may cease to influence, because what we do will be unknown to others; and when beauty and love—a spurious imitation of that after which in a higher form we all are panting after—throw fascination and refinement and even delicacy over the temptation, which we had hitherto shunned as being gross or sensual at the best—oh! who in such an hour as that shall give strength to resist the strong one, strong by very weakness? Should such an hour come to us—and come it possibly may—we shall assuredly fall unless *now* our heart is firmly set upon God, unless *now*, by a constant habit of trust in God, we have learnt to lean upon him in the time of need, unless *now* we have been taught to watch and pray with our Master in the time of

¹ Cf. Govett, Dissert. p. 353.

wealth as well as in the time of adversity, in the day of strength as well as in the day of weakness. And what we have said of one sin applies equally to all. Pride and ambition and vanity ; selfishness and sloth ; anger, hatred, malice and uncharitableness ; inordinate love of wealth and inordinate love of man's favour and esteem, all find their natural and accustomed home in the heart of man, in your heart, dear reader. May it be our endeavour to strive earnestly and manfully against every sin, especially against that sin which has already so often humbled us ; for, if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell ; if God spared not the old world, but brought the flood upon the world of the ungodly ; if God turned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly ; what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness ?

H. N. B.

A CHAPTER ON THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN.

NATIONAL churches have seldom existed without some distinctive peculiarities. These have usually sprung from their relation to the State, and on this account the constitution of the Church of Sweden is deserving of consideration, as distinguished in many respects from the Reformed Churches, whether of Great Britain or the Continent. In fact, it is so little known in this country, that the writer is willing to believe that the information embodied in this article, drawn from German resources, may not be unacceptable to the readers of this Journal.^a

^a These authorities are :—

Kurze Darstellung der vornehmsten Eigenthümlichkeiten der Schwedischen Kirchenverfassung. Von A. E. Knös, der Theol. Doctor und Prof. an der Universität zu Upsala, 1852. (A Short Sketch of the chief peculiarities of the constitution of the Swedish Church. By A. E. Knös).

Kirchenhandbuch des Gottesdienstes in den Schwedischen Gemeinden. (Church Manual for Divine Service in the Swedish Churches, 1825.) Translated from the Swedish.

Den Swenska Psalm-Boken af Konungen Gillad och Stadfastad. (The Swedish Psalm Book, with the royal approbation and confirmation. Gotheborg, 1829).

Evangelier och Epistlar på alla Sondagar, Høgtider och Helgedagar sasom ock Dertill horige Collecter och Böner. (The Gospels and Epistles for Sundays, Holy Days, and Saint Days, with the Collects and Prayers thereto belonging. Gotheborg, 1829).

Die von Jesuiten 1576 in Schweden eingeführte Katholische Liturgie. Altona, 1793. (The Catholic Liturgy introduced by the Jesuits into Sweden in 1576).

Schweden's Kirchenverfassung und Unterrichtswesen. Von J. W. von Schubert 2 Bande. (The Constitution of the Swedish Church and its Educational System.) Griefswald, 1821.

However great may have been the sins of covetousness and worldly ambition by which the prelates of the Middle Ages, especially in Germany, were too often unfortunately distinguished, they were outdone by those of Sweden. None carried out the idea of irresponsible sacerdotal supremacy with more uncompromising pertinacity than the bishops of that country. An unblushing selfishness, a total abnegation of every patriotic feeling, seems to have possessed them at all times. Witness, among many proofs, the whole weight of their influence thrown into the scale to forward the unjust projects and the tyrannical oppression of Margaret Vladimir, by which they basely sacrificed the independence of their country. Equally unjustifiable was their conduct in aiding and abetting the Nero of the North, Christian, King of Denmark. But with all this, the idea of Latin Christianity never perfectly harmonized with the Teutonic mind; northern Europe had never entirely acquiesced in a total prostration to a spiritual theocracy. Usages existing from a very remote period had ripened the Swedish mind for the reception of the Reformation. Restrictions had been made upon the Canon Law by the practice of referring all complaints against bishops to the counsel and settlement of the king. The exemption of the clergy and church property from the civil jurisdiction was either entirely prohibited or confined within very narrow boundaries. Transfer of land for ecclesiastical purposes, as well as every species of donation, was attended with much difficulty, and even the right of election to benefices was frequently in lay hands. Pope Alexander III. addressing the bishops of Sweden, in 1159, declares "that there is no constituted church in any part of the world which lies under so great a yoke of servitude on account of the insolence of the people."^b It is evident, therefore, that two prevailing causes combined to further the progress of the Swedish Reformation, the prevalence of ancient customs all running counter to the abuse of ecclesiastical authority, and the unpatriotic conduct of the higher clergy themselves. Among minor causes may be mentioned the introduction of the German troops whom Gustavus had taken into pay, and who, coming to support a cause which the majority of the nation had much at heart, procured an easier access for the spread of the Lutheran opinions. The progress of the Reformation, propelled also by all the weight and influence which the regal power could give it, continued for some time to move with accelerated velocity. It received, however, a tem-

^b Nullam esse in mundi partibus ecclesiam constitutam quæ tanto, propter insolentiam populi, iugo subiaceat servitutis.

porary check on the accession of John III. second son of Gustavus. This prince having married Catherine, daughter of Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, the Jesuits, with whom she was closely connected, imagined, and with reason, that this was a favourable opportunity for recovering Sweden to the Holy See. The death of Laurentius Petri, Archbishop of Upsala, who for forty-two years had been a zealous promoter of the Reformation, removed a great obstacle to their designs. Zealously attached to the Roman Catholic Church, the queen lost no time in profiting by the counsels of the famous Cardinal-Archbishop Stanislaus Hosius. The bias of the king's mind, which, like that of our James I. had been much turned to theological subjects, and had a strong anti-reformation tendency, contributed not a little to raise the hopes of the Jesuit party. A Latin liturgy was drawn up, mainly based upon the Roman mass, with its sole exception of the concession of the cup to the laity. That this was only meant to be a temporary usage is evident from the fact that the queen, who at the king's persuasion had communicated under both kinds, was pressingly urged by Cardinal Hosius to return "to the ordinary practice of the Catholic Church." Royal influence, combined with active measures that bordered very much upon persecution, changed, at least for a time, the face of religion in Sweden. The clergy who gave in their adhesion to the Latin mass were promoted to the highest dignities, and those bishops who refused were violently ejected and ill-treated. Even persons of the worst character, provided they were conformable, largely benefited by their apostasy. And in order to lay a more secure foundation, the University of Upsala was transferred to Stockholm, and many of the youth were sent to study in foreign Gymnasias, which were completely under the direction of the Jesuits. The monastic system was again revived, as well as the adoration of relics, communion under one kind, and processions of the host. In no Protestant country did the opponents of the Reformation appear so thoroughly to have accomplished their aim. Their success was loudly proclaimed by the writers on the side of Rome, one of whom mentions with triumphant satisfaction, "that the monastery dedicated to St. Bridget, once a native of Sweden, but now its protectress, had been restored amid the groans of the heretics: that her sacred bones, inclosed in a silver shrine, began again to be venerated."^c But notwithstanding these external signs, the change had in reality not

^c "Divæ Brigittæ, Sueciæ olim civi nunc tutelari, dicatum cœnobium, frementibus hæreticis, reparatum; sacra ejus ossa, argentæ arcæ inclusa, coli denuo cœpta."—*Imago primi Secu. Soc. Jesu*, p. 219.

penetrated below the surface, and there only required some encouragement from a higher quarter to reverse the picture altogether. Such was found in the person of Duke Charles of Sudermania, the king's brother, who on that monarch's death took a very prominent part in the revival of the Lutheran form of faith. The most distinguished of the Swedish councillors, including that eminent statesman, Oxenstiern, agreed to recognize him as governor of the kingdom, in the absence of his nephew, Sigismund, king of Poland, and promised him obedience in all things that he should do for the maintenance of the Augsburg Confession in Sweden. To promote this object, a council was held at Upsala, in March, 1593. This confession of faith was proclaimed afresh, the Roman liturgy of king John utterly repudiated, and a declaration drawn up that no heresy, whether popish or calvinistic, would be tolerated in the country. The vacant dioceses were bestowed upon Lutherans, and an archbishop of Upsala, Abraham Angermannus, selected by a great majority of the clergy as being a strenuous advocate for the faith. The arrival of Sigismund to assume the Swedish crown, was, however, the signal of a fresh religious commotion, as it gave a new impulse to the Roman Catholic party. The Lutheran preachers broke out into invectives against the papists, and the Jesuits who preached in the royal chapels were not slow in answering them. These demonstrations soon led to scenes of open hostility, and the mutual exasperation increased every moment. But whatever the feelings and intentions of Sigismund might be, whether he only desired toleration for the Roman Catholics, or had ulterior motives in his mind, certain it is that the Estates plainly declared that they would perform no act of homage at his coronation, unless he absolutely and unreservedly promised that the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession should be taught purely and exclusively in the churches and schools in all parts of the kingdom. At their head stood Duke Charles, the king's uncle, who threw the whole weight of his influence on the side of Lutheranism. It was in vain, therefore, that the monarch attempted a compromise, in vain that he endeavoured to satisfy his conscience by consulting the Jesuits, who declared that in consideration of the necessity of the case he might comply with the demands of the heretics without offending God. Under the shelter of this authority he confirmed the exclusive exercise of religion as prescribed by the Augsburg Confession, and promised that none should be employed in the public service who were not prepared to defend it. The clergy reformed their schools in the strictest spirit of Lutheranism. They directed a special thanksgiving for the

maintenance of the true religion "against the devices and stratagems of the Jesuits," and in the year 1595 a resolution was passed at the Diet of Süderköping, that all exercise of the Roman Catholic rites, wheresoever the king might have established them, was again to be prohibited. "We unanimously resolve," is the expression of the Estates, "that all sectaries hostile to the Lutheran religion, who have established themselves in this country, shall quit the kingdom within six weeks;" and these resolutions were carried into effect with the utmost rigour. The convent of Wadstena, which had existed for two hundred and eleven years, and had remained uninjured through so many convulsions, was now dissolved and destroyed.

But the spirit of polemical violence was, unfortunately for the credit of Lutheranism, as conspicuous on that as on the Roman side. Archbishop Angermannus held an ecclesiastical visitation, when all were severely punished who neglected to attend the churches; a sentence carried into effect by certain young students, whose bodily powers were thus called into requisition. The altars of the saints were destroyed, their relics scattered, and ceremonies which in the year 1593 had been declared matters of indifference, were in 1597 totally abolished. Lutheranism was thus finally established, not merely as the predominant, but as the only form of faith in the kingdom.

It followed as a necessary consequence that, as the Swedish Reformation was mainly brought about by the regal power, so the chief authority in ecclesiastical affairs should be vested in the sovereign. He is recognized as "High Protector of the Christian faith in his kingdom, Defensor et Nutricius Ecclesiæ." To make the union between church and state as complete as possible, and to establish perfect uniformity in religion, was the object of the great Gustavus. The declaration of his grandson, Gustavus II., announced at the diet of 1634, thus enunciates this principle in full: "We have already collectively weighed and considered what is the chief cause of the many wars and frequent bloodshed which now prevail in so many communities in Christendom, and we find that, besides the other sins of men, the prime root and chief cause is the division and differences in religion. We consequently consider it as our first duty to deliberate on the ways and means by which our dear fatherland may be guarded from so dangerous a disease." This the king proposes to effect "by the promulgation of laws and ordinances enjoining the reception of the Augsburg confession, and none other, by which a conformity and unity in church ceremonies may be manifest throughout the whole kingdom, heresy and false religion guarded against, and the whole spiritual state be

so ordered and carried on that no less unity in religion than harmony in civil government may be gained." Strange that language so perfectly suitable to the conduct and actions of Philip of Spain should ever have proceeded from the champion of Protestantism on the field of Leipsic.

To the king is committed, in the language of the law of 1686, the oversight, care, and protection of the church, and this he exercises through the department for ecclesiastical affairs, with a secretary and officers. This comprehends, among other things, dispensations and deviations from the rules of episcopal jurisdiction; and every alteration in the extent of a parish, or the union of several, proceeds from the same source. The whole system of instruction throughout the kingdom, from the village schools to the university, is regulated by royal authority, and completely under that control. Even the authorization of a hymn-book is included under the same.

In the Swedish Church there are twelve bishoprics, thus named according to the order in which they sit in the diet: the Archbishop of Upsala, who is President ex-officio, and the Bishops of Linköping, Skara, Strengnas, Westeras, Wexis, Lund, Gotheborg, Calmar, Carlstad, Hernosand, and Wisby. In each diocese there exists a provincial consistory, usually held in the cathedral town in which the bishop resides, and in connexion with which he exercises a considerable part of his episcopal functions. The right of "vocation," to the office of preacher, resides in this consistory, "as representing the whole church," and that of "ordination" in the bishops, as expressed in the usual form, "by virtue of the authority, which for the sake of God has been entrusted to me by the Church of God." This would seem to imply, that as the right of "calling," so that of "ordaining" really belongs to the whole church, and that it is merely committed to the bishop in accordance with ancient custom, and as presiding in the synod. We can easily understand, therefore, that no importance is attached to the idea of an apostolical succession. Since the Reformation was fully completed at the council of Upsala, in 1593, no one has ever attempted to base the episcopal office on this succession, or supposes that it contains anything important, either for doctrine or practice. And it serves again to bring out the Presbyterian element in the Church of Sweden, that identically the same questions are addressed by the archbishop to the bishop elect, as by the bishop to the candidates for the office of a preacher, and his induction to a parish. The orders of priest and deacon are not, in fact, recognized, and the consecration to the office of a bishop implies, in words, at least little more than that of an ordinary

minister. The administration of confirmation (such as it is), forms no peculiar part of the episcopal duties. In a strict sense, therefore, the bishops of Sweden may be regarded as very much resembling the "superintendents" of Protestant Germany; and, in fact, the bishops of the four last founded sees were until 1772 so denominated.

When a bishopric becomes vacant, the consistory of the diocese make it known to the sovereign, with a request to proceed to an election on the day on which he may determine. Each elector delivers in a sealed paper, in which, without adding his subscription, he names three persons as fit and capable to supply the vacancy, and from these the sovereign selects one. Certainly a much fairer mode of proceeding than the fictitious *congè d'elire* of the Church of England.

After what has been said it may appear somewhat strange to the Protestant mind, that so much which met the eye and ear previous to the Reformation has been retained. Thus Confession is denominated "Shrift" (Sw. Skrift), the mid-day service "High Mass" (Sw. Hogmessa), and the clergy, by whom the greater part of it is intoned, facing the altar, are almost universally denominated Priests (Sw. Prest). The former vestments have been also in a great degree retained. At the celebration of the Holy Communion the priest wears a surplice frequently trimmed with lace, a girdle and stole, with a cope of crimson silk, on the back of which is sewed a gold cross. During the penitential seasons this colour is changed for black or purple. To this the bishop adds a pectoral cross, mitre, and pastoral staff.^d

To enter into a strict analysis of the Swedish Church offices would be inexpedient, but a brief description of them will be attempted, pointing out how far they agree with or differ from the Liturgy of the Church of England.

Of the first Sunday morning service it will not be necessary to speak, as it has nothing very peculiar, but the second, or mid-day service, "High Mass," is conducted in the following manner. The priest, clad in the vestments above mentioned,

^d It has been observed by a lively writer, that "The churches of Stockholm are more remarkable in general for size than for beauty. In their original state the older ones must have presented an imposing interior; but now lumbered up as they are with large gloomy pews and galleries, a striking contrast is presented to their general plainness by the ornamental altars and pulpits, which stand in too vivid relief to the bare white-washed walls and dreary lifeless aspect of the rest of the building. And it is impossible to enter them, especially when the priest is facing the altar in his gorgeous robes and splendid cross, and the people are 'sitting,' not 'kneeling,' in the pews, without being forcibly struck by that mixture of the Roman and Presbyterian worship, the existence of which the Swedes are in general indisposed to acknowledge in their church."—*Life in Sweden*, by Selina Bunbury. Vol. ii., 1853.

proceeds from the sacristy to the altar, bearing the chalice covered with the paten, over which is an embroidered linen cloth or "corporal," when after some prayers, a sermon, and a hymn the doors are closed and the administration of the eucharist commences. First an exhortation and the usual salutation "The Lord be with you." He then turns to the altar and recites the words of institution and the Lord's Prayer, after which "the peace of the Lord be with you." The words "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world," thrice repeated, and at the third time with the termination, "grant us thy peace and blessing," are usually sung to a very touching and solemn melody. The communicants kneel "forming a circle round the altar," and the consecrated bread and wine are given with the words, quite in accordance with the doctrine of Luther, "Jesus Christ, whose body thou receivest, preserve thee to everlasting life. Jesus Christ whose blood," etc. Then a most appropriate prayer : "We thank thee, Almighty Father, who hath instituted this thine Holy Supper for our consolation and happiness, through thy Son Jesus Christ; and we beseech thee to grant us grace so to celebrate the remembrance of Christ on earth, that we may become partakers of the great supper in heaven." The service concludes after some suffrages by the priest saying, "Bow down your hearts unto God and receive the blessing." This is given in the words enjoined to Aaron in the Book of Numbers, "The Lord bless and keep thee," etc., which in fact terminate all the offices of the Swedish Church.

It is a peculiarity in the Swedish Church that when the priest, if we may so say, "intones" the service, then the people are enjoined to respond; when he "reads" they are then "rubrically" to keep silence. As the greater number of clergy prefer the latter mode, the consequence is that too frequently no responses are ever made. The afternoon service has nothing in it so peculiar as to demand any particular notice.

The baptismal service commences like the English one with the question as to whether the child has been previously baptized or not. Then follows an exhortation very similar to that in the English service, and the same Gospel from St. Mark. After this the priest "lays his hand upon the child's head" and says the Lord's Prayer. In addressing the sponsors he speaks to them as personifying the recipient child, "Wilt thou be baptized into this belief." The declaration that it has now become "a child of God and an heir of Christ through the bath of regeneration," occurs in the concluding address which follows upon the blessing. There is a service for the "reception" of a child into the church, which has not been brought there through weakness or illness,

and has been baptized by a lay person ; also one for the baptism of Jews, Mahometans, and Heathen.

The rite of confirmation is of late introduction, not having been retained at the Reformation. Its administration is entrusted to the parish priest, and is only accidentally performed by a bishop when he happens to have a cure of souls. Great pains appear to be taken in the instruction of the catechumens, who come from the surrounding villages to that in which the church is situated where the rite is to take place, and where they are frequently lodged at the expense of the inhabitants. "To read before the priest" is the usual mode of expressing the preparatory examination which the candidate undergoes. On the appointed day, after the usual service, the young people are ranged in two rows in the chancel, when they are for the last time publicly examined and questioned as to their belief by the priest. The singularity remains to be told, that there is *no imposition of hands*. He kneels down with them before the altar, says the Lord's Prayer, rises, pronounces a blessing, and the whole terminates with a hymn. There is, however, a service prescribed for those who after this make their first communion, and consequent upon this is a form of public confession, in which a sermon is preached on the fall of man and the consequent degeneracy of the human race, with an exhortation to repentance, after which follows the usual confession, a prayer, and the absolution in the following terms:—"If this your confession of sins is sincere, your reformation earnest, your belief honest, I then assure you, as the servant of Jesus Christ, that God of his grace has pardoned all your sins. And I announce this forgiveness of sins to you in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

The marriage service commences with a highly appropriate exhortation. First the priest announces this exhortation. "In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Dear Christians. Marriage was ordained by God himself for the maintenance of civil society and for the mutual help of united couples, to lighten the toils of life, to soften all possible sorrow, and to promote happiness by the carefully bringing up of children. This institution is holy ; holy are its obligations, holy its purposes. It is the duty of the husband to love and honour his wife, and by good sense and kindness to seek more and more to win her confidence. On the other hand the wife must meet the wishes of her husband with devotedness and love, tenderly share with him in household cares, and so conduct herself that she may please her husband with whom she is associated as a helpmeet. Husband and wife must thoroughly consider that they

have entered upon a state in which it will be for their common happiness that they should mutually keep the marriage bond inviolate, in order that by careful attention to themselves and their duties, they may seek to gain each other's esteem and love, and become mutual examples of the true fear of God. For we ought frequently to bear in mind that God must be entreated for such a partner, whose heart is open to truths and virtue, who knows her duties and finds her happiness in their exercise. Then will marriage have commenced and be continued according to the will of God, then will the highest happiness on earth be promoted by this union, to which intent we will beseech Almighty God for his grace and blessing on these betrothed persons." Then follow the usual questions and answers, and a portion of Scripture (Matt. xix. 3—6). If specially desired the Communion Service is celebrated, and the service is lengthened by the addition of two prayers, the latter of which embraces many expressions found in the English Prayer Book. A canopy of silk, denominated in Swedish "the Pell," is held over the bride and bridegroom by four unmarried persons, and removed just before the blessing. It is not however used in the case of widows and individuals advanced in life.

There is nothing very remarkable in the burial service. On arriving at the grave, the priest who throws earth three times upon the coffin and says, "From dust didst thou come, to dust must thou return. Jesus Christ our Redeemer will raise thee up at the last day." Then follow a prayer and select sentences of Scripture, the Lord's Prayer and blessing. If a sermon is preached then another prayer is added for grace to live and die well. There are also services for the consecration of churches, and for what we term "thanksgiving after child-birth."

It has already been observed that the ecclesiastical status of the Swedish bishops differs much from that of the Anglican Church. In the questions by the archbishop to the bishop elect, judicious and suitable as they are, there is not the remotest allusion to any power of jurisdiction or even of ordination. The question, "Will you be faithful in ordaining, sending or laying hands upon others?" in the English Ordinal, is entirely wanting in the Swedish; but the pectoral cross and the pastoral staff are given by the archbishop, the first with the words "which I now fasten on your breast as an emblem of Jesus Christ, for a continual remembrance that it his precious doctrine of reconciliation which you are to announce and sacredly guard;" the second "as a token of your authority and remembrance of your duty, to guide and to feed the flock of Christ to you committed." These are significant words consequent upon two significant symbols,

and would seem a proper introduction to the episcopal office ; but on any imaginable church principles the concluding and most solemn part of the office is lamentably defective. The archbishop and assistants, after the prayer in which the above words are contained, invest the bishop elect with the cope, lay their hands on his head, and the archbishop *says the Lord's Prayer* ! Some supplication for the aid of the Holy Ghost, and some form of words implying a commission, might surely have been expected.

The Ordination Service, or, as it would be termed in the Swedish Church "Consecration to the Office of a Preacher," differs in no essential respect from that of a bishop. After the ordinary service for the day, the bishop commences with a prayer for the candidates, after which their names are called over by the notary, as well as the parishes they are assigned to, and they are then invited to attend to certain selections from Scripture, "seeing they are now called to the holy function of a preacher." The questions are "identically the same" as those at the consecration of a bishop, and in the same way the laying on of hands is followed by the Lord's Prayer. The concluding prayer is the same for both : "May Almighty God bless your labours in the church, that so his great name may be glorified thereby, and the eternal benefit of many souls be promoted through Jesus Christ our Lord."

It may be remarked in general of the Swedish services that they are inferior to those of the Anglican Church, though much superior to the German Liturgies, or to the Liturgy drawn up by order of the king of Prussia in 1822.

The altar service is reduced to a "minimum" of the ancient liturgies, and in certain of the offices there are too many isolated texts of Scripture. A peculiarity is the prominence given to the singing of psalms and hymns. These amount in number to "five hundred," and the place which they hold in the devotions of the people is sufficiently shewn by the position assigned to them in the Liturgy, the title page of which is "Psalm Bok," and in which they "precede" the epistles, collects, and gospels, as well as other portions bound up with it. But their use is by no means confined to the public service of the church. When the priest visits those who are distressed in mind, or weak in faith, he is enjoined to comfort them not only by an exhortation in the Liturgy, containing suitable passages of Scripture, but also by "consolatory" hymns from the Hymn Book. The same also at the Burial of the Dead. The Litany, which is only used at penitential seasons, is shorter than the Anglican ; and the petitions are arranged separately and not in groups. One of

them is singularly expressive : " Send thy protecting holy angels to all who travel by water and land."

The festivals retained are Christmas Day, denominated Yule Day (Juledag); the Circumcision or New Year's Day, the Epiphany, Good Friday, commonly termed " Long Friday," (probably because in rural parishes the early and mid-day services are celebrated uninterruptedly) Easter Day, Whit Sunday, Trinity Sunday, Ascension Day, the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, St. Michael and All Saints. There is also a separate festival of St. John the Baptist, and one strangely omitted in the Anglican Prayer Book, " the Transfiguration of our Lord." The Sundays follow nearly in the same order as our own, except that there are " twenty-seven" Sundays after Trinity, of the last of which the following is the collect :—" Grant us, O Lord God, that we fall not asleep in our sins like the foolish virgins, but always watch and pray, in order that we may enter into eternal glory through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Formerly a clergyman could only hold preferment in the diocese in which he was born, and the regulation even extended to the office of teacher in the gymnasia and elementary schools, but this practical absurdity was first relaxed and then completely done away with in the year 1849. Every candidate for the ministry, after finishing his studies at the university in history and philosophy as well as in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, completes his course at a theological seminary, where the divinity exercises are accompanied with instruction in the composition of sermons and lectures on the Catechism and Liturgy. This course extends over two or three years, and occasionally even to a longer period. There are two academical degrees—Candidate, and Licentiate in Theology—but the candidate in theology must have passed his examination for a master's degree in the faculty of philosophy. The degree of doctor in theology is conferred by the sovereign, and only at a coronation or jubilee, and there have only been six between 1793 and 1844. The candidates and licentiates possess peculiar advantages in the promotion to benefices. The doctorate is considered simply as a title of honour.

It was quite in harmony with the Teutonic mind, that even in Roman Catholic times the people should not have been kept in ignorance of the Scriptures. At the Council of Orebo, in 1529, it was enjoined that at least " a selection " from the Bible should be daily read and expounded in all cathedral churches. It was intended that these readings should be introduced into other churches, but this was never carried out, from the natural un-

willingness of the clergy to give their co-operation. Laurentius Andreae, a presbyter of Strengnas, commenced a translation of the New Testament, in 1528, at the command of the great Gustavus. Of this there have been numerous emendations and revisions, and it was followed by other translations. One was entrusted to a commission in 1793, and another in the reign of Gustavus III. occupied no less than "twenty years!" The last revision was in 1816. Little is known of the state of literature among the Swedish clergy from the small extent to which other nations are acquainted with the native language. Archbishop Eric Benzelius is well known as the editor of *Ulfphilas*, Bishop Rydelius is celebrated for his theological works, while Auri-villius, Norberg, and Tingstadius have excelled as orientalists. Bishop Tegner has attained to considerable fame as a poet. The similarity of the two languages, independently of other reasons, would of course promote the study of the divines of modern Germany.

In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to shew the distinguishing peculiarities of the Church of Sweden. It will be seen that it is pre-eminently a "state church," with the singular anomaly of being, to a very considerable extent, both Episcopal and Presbyterian in its constitution. With regard to its "outward form and pressure," it retains, to all appearance, much that is Roman Catholic, while the feelings of the people strongly incline to what may be considered Presbyterian. The decided preference for "preaching," as compared with Liturgical ministrations, the partiality for hymns, "five" of which are sung during the course of the mid-day service, with the repugnance to "kneel," and the preference to a "sitting" posture in public worship, are truly symptomatic of such a tendency. The designation of the clergy as "priests" in ordinary intercourse, and yet their ordination being termed "consecration to the office of a preacher" brings out strongly this singular amalgamation of opposite theological tendencies.

A few words may be said on the general aspect of Sweden as a religious country.

It may be doubted whether the progress of the Swedish Reformation, unaccompanied as in England by any struggle of religious parties, and terminating in a dominant system from which actual dissent is excluded in the most rigid manner by the law of the land, has been productive of those effects which theoretically might be expected. An "apparent calm" has rather concealed a "religious indifference," arising from that absence of opposing sentiments, that battle of the mind which, in our present imperfect state, seems necessary to preserve and

keep alive "vitality in religion." Consequently, it has been urged as a reproach to the Reformation in Sweden, that it was never watered by the blood of the martyrs. To this Professor Knös, whose work is cited at the head of this article, observes that "the assistance which Sweden rendered to the great cause of the Reformation, and the deaths which the greatest of her kings, and so many thousands of her bravest sons underwent on the battle fields of Germany for the cause of evangelical truth, offer a sufficient compensation." Still, it is to be feared that the splendour of deeds of arms, however righteous the cause, will not compensate for the conflict of opinion. Lutheranism has been accepted in the highest sense as the State religion, fenced round, as I have before observed, with pains and penalties. But with this there has been no exemption from the neological tendencies which even now are but slowly receding from the German mind. Still earlier, the levity of the court of Gustavus III., and his promoting to benefices individuals thoroughly possessed with a worldly spirit, contributed to produce a reaction which alienated numbers of the peasantry from their pastors, and produced a sect resembling that of the Pietists and Herrnhuters, and from them date the modern sect denominated "Readers." These meet, as their name especially shews, to read the Scriptures, though expositions of the Bible, or what was termed the practice of "postilling," is strictly enjoined in the national church. They cannot, therefore, be termed Separatists in the proper sense of the word, as, like the early Methodists, they still receive the holy communion in the parish church, though preferring to attend the ministry of some preacher whose strictness of life and religious tone is in accordance with their own. They are principally found in the provinces of Helsingland and Smaland. By acting thus, they escape the penalties of "positive" dissent, for toleration has made but slow progress in Sweden. In 1857 the Government laid a bill before the Diet, intended to efface from the legislative code those penalties upon religious nonconformity which, by their severity, are offensive to the spirit of the age. The Houses of the Nobility, Clergy, and Peasantry voted against the Government measure, which was only supported by the representatives of the trading classes. The Clergy held meetings in every province; in that of Schonen, out of 457 persons, 280 declared in favour of retaining the law of banishment for change of religion.

The above will not be to most Englishmen a very favourable picture of the state of the religious mind of Sweden, but it must be considered that a mighty problem is yet to be solved in Christendom. There remains to be exhibited what no Church

has yet exhibited, the triumph of faith based upon conviction, operated upon by no secular motives; a faith that will cultivate "the highest aspirations of the human mind," and put down all incentives to superstition, not by rejecting art, but by adopting its purest and highest ideas. Of this glorious consummation the period may be distant, but we are justified in believing that those churches which are freed from "sacerdotal despotism" on the one hand, and from "unbridled religious licence" on the other, whose faith is primitive, and ceremonial pure and reverential, will be the happy instruments by whom in God's own time it will be brought about.

H. P.

VERIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN EPOCHS.—No. 2.

THE "*great difficulty*" which besets this subject arises from the universality of the "*one great error*," if it be one, which pervades all the chronological data upon which the points in difference are commonly argued. If we could conceive a ship's company to be placed immediately under one of the celestial poles, the discussion of what was east and what was west, could hardly be less vain than the common discussions upon the right or wrong of the Christian age and its epoch. In the imagined "*puzzle*" of the nautical difficulty, which ever way the unfortunate enquirer might direct his look, there he would find the same aspect and a renewal of his perplexity; for the whole horizon would be south in all its quarters. And here, in this chronological enquiry, wherever the spirit of investigation directs its view, the same obstacle to the discriminative faculty meets the enquirer: the common data are all in the south and participate in the same objective difficulty; that there are no distinctive points to be found, but that the one common error pervades the whole and stamps it with the common perplexity. As well might we attempt to distinguish the true from the imagined distances in one of Mr. Barker's panoramas, as to detect the true from the false positions of particular dates, which are made to concur in one conventional deception, and bear a true relationship only upon the canvas where they have been placed by the artist.

We are led into this rather speculative vein by the mode we observe this subject to be treated in, yet, a very fair discussion of the question by a contributor to the last *Journal of Sacred*

Literature.^a For there, after setting forth truly some of the difficulties of the subject, and commenting on the various discrepancies found in the statements of authors as to the date of our Lord's nativity and the methods of computing it; and then, putting it as a necessary postulate to a successful enquiry on that point, that it must first be determined what was the true date of the death of Herod; this writer proceeds with the direct proposition, "that Herod was adopted by the Roman senate in July, B.C. 40," and from that proposition as a point conceded, proceeds to argue, "that as Herod reigned 37 years from that act of adoption he must have died in March, B.C. 3; and as the birth of Christ took place only a short time before this, we may with the utmost certainty assign it to about Dec., B.C. 4."

There can be no doubt in the world, that if that proposition be true, that Herod was elected 40 years before our Saviour's birth and died in his 37th year, our Saviour must have been born three or four years before the expiration of that 40 years; but that *forty years* is a measure taken from the deceptive canvas, and it never can be an efficient element therefore, in the discussion that is in progress. We put it with great deference to R. N., if his preliminary proposition as to this 40 years is not part of the very question he is trying; and whether, in effect, his assumption of it is not in the nature of a *petitio principii*, or in the plain vernacular a "begging of the whole question." No doubt he speaks of a computation based upon the received reckoning, and such as the impugnors of the Christian scale account the matter; but the received reckoning is the deceptive reckoning, and the 40 years only have a true relation on that horizon where they are associated with the other points of the same perspective. If the true age of the Christian world is not such as the chronologists assign to it, no argument derived from that 40 years which is a creation of their own error, can possibly be substantial to vitiate the other and truer conclusion. What we have affirmed in setting out with this enquiry is, that there is less ground for distrusting the received reckoning of the old Christian communities, than that of the Roman or imperial chronologers. We hold that the probable truth must be with traditional records which were held in a most sacred veneration, in preference to *computations* based upon the indications of a system of registers of the most irregular kind:—and, if it be argued that the adoption in later centuries of those computations ought to weigh in the decision, we reply that the system which was so adopted was the system of regnant powers, and

^a July, 1858, p. 377.

ought not to prevail against the purer and less exceptionable testimony.

It is a strong point against the imperial reckoning, that the difference between it and the purer tradition resolves itself generally into a space of four years; for if there can be any probable ground of uncertainty discovered in the Roman method of computing the Olympiads of the Greek reckoning, (and the truth is, that it is a problem to the present day what was the true method of enumerating those cycles,) there arises an immediate inference, that the difference may proceed from some erroneous conception on that point: and then, as that was connected with the imperial method of computation and not with the Christian, it follows necessarily that the error must be in the imperial result and not the Christian. The Christians had no four years succession in the counting of their time, and the loss of four years in all the Churches appears incredible; while an excess of one Olympiad in the imperial registers by some variance in the method of counting them, is a circumstance so extremely possible to have happened, that the probability of a right reckoning is plainly with the Christian community, with whom no such ground of error existed.

If we set to work, therefore, to reinvestigate the matter; not to trust to probabilities but to ascertain what the reliable evidences truly shew upon the subject; it is absolutely necessary to find some testimony which can be viewed apart from any relation with or necessary dependence upon the reigning error; and to keep that testimony distinct from the discussion of what is doubtful. For instance, we find a very general testimony among the early writers of the Church, that the year of our Lord's death was that, in which the *Two Gemini* were the Roman consuls. This is a point so well attested, that there are few indeed who would venture to doubt or to controvert it. But then, that testimony is very generally accompanied with deductions from remote data, which make that consulate to appear as the 28th year of the A.D. Here the received error, the point at least in controversy, is brought to bear upon an indubitable truth in such a manner, as to make it appear of a questionable kind; for every one knows that, if the year of the two Gemini was the year of our Lord's death it could not be the 28th year of his age, but must be the 32nd or 33rd. The reason of this is, that the imperial chronologers set the interval between that consulate and the current years of their writing, at a greater distance by four years than the Christians did, and counting back that number they found a defect of four years in the series of the Christian reckoning; which, by that shewing, wanted only 28 years of its

full tale at a period which corresponded with our Saviour's death. But take it that the Roman calculators had inserted one Olympiad too many in their computations from the date of the two Gemini, it is plain their account would be in excess of the true number of years, and with that abatement their years would revert to that consulate, with 32 years remaining as the complement of the Christian age. The method of reckoning back from an assumed date puts the question in a false position, unless there is a first guarantee that that date is truly ascertained :—but the anterior reckoning could not be in error ;—for, from the birth of Christ to his death could not be less than to his 32nd year ;—and then, counting forward, we must find the true ground of controversy to lie between the Christian and the heathen reckoning beyond that date. It becomes then a plain and simple question, whether the Christian or Roman chronologers were the best timekeepers after that consulate : and we think the true way to proceed is, by thus counting forward from the year of the nativity to the death of our Lord, and from thence onwards, and so clearing the ground as we go. In the sequel we shall get the dates, as it appears to us, in their due order of succession from that period. But as it has been the custom to begin at the top of the building and to build the house downwards from the roof instead of from the bottom ; we will enter upon our subject now, by first shewing some special reasons for distrusting this “suspended” edifice of the mediæval chronologers ; and that in a word, it has not been truly fitted to the foundation it has to stand upon.

It is very surprising how great the difficulty is, of finding any direct testimony upon the subject of the Christian years, unconnected with the prevalent conception of the Roman chronologers as to the deficiency of the Christian counting : but with all this, it is evident the Christians never ceased to hold a different reckoning from the imperialists, and to maintain it against the pretensions of those chronologers ; for else the prevailing A.D. could not have maintained its place. The public dating of years by reference to the Christian epoch did not at all prevail in Europe till the time of the Saxon Bede ; but the discrepancies in the two orders of registration had existed at least from the 3rd century ; the Churches therefore, had plainly adhered to their computation against the imperial chronology during all that interval ; for there could have been no difficulty, if that had not been the case, in establishing the imperial date of the A.D., when that method of dating was introduced into practice. If then the authority of “*learned men*” is referred to in support of the imperial reckoning, we think this adherence of the

Christian communities to their traditions a better guarantee for a general opinion on the subject, the other way.

Amongst all the writers of the early Christian centuries, we can refer to only one who affords that sort of isolated and direct testimony, which we require on this subject. That writer is Augustine. In a former notice of this subject we referred to Sulpicius Severus as affording a similar testimony; but we have since found we were in error on that point, by having referred his notice to the second consulship of Stilicho in A.D. 405, instead of to his first consulate in A.D. 400. Augustine, therefore, stands alone in the light he affords us on this subject:—but his testimony is direct and clear, that the Christian religion had existed 365 years from the year of our Lord's death to the consulate of "*Honorius and Eutychianus*," which was in the received Christian year 398; by which he shews that 33 years was the age of our Lord in the year he was crucified, for that is the complement of the 365 years he speaks of, to the year A.D. 398. The nature of this testimony is so distinct, and the object for which Augustine wrote it so *apropos* to the subject of this discussion, that we could not desire a better or more appropriate witness. For the subject in which this statement arises is an appeal by that Father to the known Christian date, in refutation of a popular opinion that the Christian religion was to continue for a period of 365 years only, and then come to its end. To shew the fallacy of that superstitious notion, Augustine refers to the known age of the religion. In another part of his works he has informed the world, that the Church he was associated with reckoned that year to be the beginning of the Christian economy, which brought in the baptism of the Church on the day of Pentecost; and to that date therefore he appeals which brought the sending of the Paraclete, as the epoch from which he reckons these 365 years; and that year he also states specifically, was the year when the two Gemini were consuls. We put it to any of our readers, whether it is possible to have a more distinct and reliable testimony than this, of what the age of the Christian Church was publicly reckoned to be by the Church of Augustine, in that year which was the A.D. 398;—that it was such as the Christians reckoned it and still do reckon it; and that the time which was publicly attributed to it was the time that had truly elapsed.

His writing on this subject is dated 30 years later than the year he appeals to; but he urges that fact to shew that the predicted crisis had passed away so many years, and yet that there were no signs of decay in the religion of Christ; but that it had continued to increase and thrive in all that period.

Augustine was an African bishop, but he had been long the friend and associate of Ambrose the Bishop of Milan ; and must have held the records of that church, which was essentially opposed to the Roman Hierarchy, and was the church of the first Christian Emperors. The city of Rome was still heathen, and its bishops the abettors of its heathen traditions ; as we gather from the licence, which Innocent I. gave to the people of Rome, to recur in the hour of peril to the worship of their old gods. This is the account of Zosimus, in his history of the *Siege of Rome by the Goths* ; “that when the people under the impending danger cried out for sacrifices to their old gods, Innocent consented to these sacrifices, on the condition only that they should be privately made.”^b It was only in the year A.D. 382, that the Emperor Gratian passed a law at Milan for removal of the pagan altar of victory out of the Roman Senate House ; and at the same time abolished “the privileges of the pagan pontiffs and vestal virgins.”

From these circumstances it is clear, down to that period, Rome was in its own municipium a pagan city ; and it is equally certain that the office of *Pontifex Maximus* was still reserved to the emperors to the end at least of that emperor's reign. But an association of the Imperial Churches with a Christianity, which was not that of Rome, may be inferred from several other circumstances. It was to the Milan Bishop Ambrose, that Valentinian sent, when he was on his death bed at Vienne in Gaul, in A.D. 392, to come and baptize him, and not to the Roman Bishop ; and it was in that Milanese communion that all the emperors had kept themselves from the time of Constantine the Great ; making that city in effect the seat of their government and their religious metropolis in Italy. While in the Church of Carthage nearly at the same period, we find plain indications of a particular communion with the Eastern Churches, and of opposition to the Roman, by the appeal it made to the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople on the subject of the pretended Nicene canons, in the Apiarian controversy.^c These circumstances, all of that period in which St. Augustine made his public appeal as to the true age of the church, ought to satisfy one that the Eastern Churches, including that of Alexandria and her associate Churches of that continent, held an opinion that the age of the church was such as he has assigned to it. It may be said, that it was at that same period that Sulpicius Severus wrote his history, in which he has stated that from our Lord's death in the reign of the two Gemini (to

^b Zos., l. 5, p. 816.

^c Hussey's *Rise of the Papal Power*. p. 44.

which consulate he also assigns that event), there were 372 years down to the consulate of Stilicho, in the year A.D. 400; and by that reckoning that he makes a difference in the interval of 5 years from the African Bishop; for according to Augustine's computation, it ought to have been 367 years and not 372, to the A.D. 400. But then it must be observed in that account, that Severus makes the period of our Saviour's life to have extended to 30 years, and that between the consulate of *Sabinus and Rufinus* and the *two Gemini*, though there are 32 consulates in that interval. This he makes out in the following way:—"Herod," he says, "reigned AFTER THE NATIVITY 4 years, after whom Archelaus was tetrarch 9 years, and then Herod (the tetrarch) reigned 24 years; in whose 18th year the Lord was crucified:" for $4+9+17$ equals 30 years. In this case then we find an instance where the rule we have suggested ought particularly to be observed; for all this deduction of dates by Severus is quite capable of being shewn to be erroneous. Herod did not reign four years after the Nativity of our Lord; nor was the 9 years of Archelaus' reign of so late a commencement as Severus has assigned to it. He had before said that the year of the Nativity was in the consulate of Sabinus and Rufinus; while it is certain that that was the year preceding the death of Herod and 32 consulates before the year of the two Gemini, in whose consulate he says the Lord was crucified. We ask why these evident blunders may not be corrected by ourselves?

If we grant that that may be done, then in the authorities of a posterior date we get the question fairly set at issue. St. Augustine was of the Eastern Church, and Sulpicius Severus of that which was more intimately connected with the Roman Municipium. He was of the same province as Victorius, who wrote about 50 years later, and who expressly frames his computation of the interval between the consulate of the two Gemini, which he too says was the year of our Lord's Passion, and the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus in the first year of the reign of the Emperor Leo the Great A.D. 457, by a sole reference to the names of the consuls in that period. But his result differs from those both of Sulpicius Severus and Augustine; for he makes the number of years in that interval to be 430, and the year being A.D. 457 it is clear he leaves only the complement of 27 years for the years of our Lord's life. Augustine says the years of that interval were four less in number: is it not plain, that the question is one of mere credibility between the Christian Church and the consular lists of the Roman historians?

There is a point we have before referred to, which should not be lost sight of in considering this question; that though the settlement of the computations, under which Europe adopted the Christian era as the standard of its dates, was professedly taken by Bede from Dionysius Exiguus, whose cycle was an extension or continuation of that which had been used by the church at Alexandria and been framed by St. Cyril; that Dionysian cycle was in truth very materially altered by the Saxon emendator, and in a way which was calculated to meet the more extended term, assigned to the Christian age, as its amended period. Bede altered the first lunar cycle of the old Alexandrian Calendar from the 18th to the 2nd year; which was in effect to put the clock forward three figures, denoting so many years. Of the effect of this we are hardly competent to give a very accurate account; but it is a proof, as it appears to us, that the Eastern churches reckoned the time alike, and by an interval of three or four years less than the reforming powers: and it is plain, if the imperial or secular reckoning were reduced by those surplus years the whole difficulty of this question would be removed, and the Christian and the adverse computation be reconciled together.

It is not to be overlooked however, that such a method of remedying these discrepancies would not be sufficient in all cases; for there are some authors who do begin at the beginning, and yet ascribe the birth of our Lord to the A.U.C. 752 and 751. Orosius ascribes it to the former year; Eusebius to the latter: and though this last writer allows the full period of 33 years to our Lord's life, the former shews the death to have happened in the year of the two Gemini, which was in the A.U.C. 781, whereby he reduces the age of our Lord to 28 years. But in Eusebius we find the impossible statement, that the 751st year U.C. was four years before the death of Herod, making his death A.U.C. 754; while the fact is unquestionable that he died A.U.C. 750. We ask again, what is to prevent our correcting errors so flagrant as these, and looking for other evidence on the subject of these dates?

If there be any intention then to meet the difficulty fairly, it can only be done by obtaining a clear basis, to which we may refer the various lines of proof as they arise, and upon which they must be made to have a direct bearing. Like the proceedings of those scientific men from the Corps of Royal Engineers, who measured the three kingdoms, we must establish a base for our operations of absolute certainty, to which we may refer all the points of the chronological horizon; and if we look for a suitable position for that base, undoubtedly the age of our Lord's

own appearance is that, which above all other historical periods affords such a *point d'appui* as may answer this purpose. For taking the history of that period from 40 years before our Saviour's birth to his death about 30 years afterwards, there is no period of ancient history whose course of years is clearer from objection than that is. Before the year of Cæsar's reformation of the calendar, the whole system of reckoning had fallen into the utmost confusion, and from the very year of our Lord's death doubts and difficulties again arise; but in that interval the ground may certainly be said to be clear of all real difficulty:—and if our respondents in this discussion will admit the certainty of a few of the leading dates in that period, it seems impossible that there can be any doubt upon "*The true Christian Epoch*," whatever may be our distance from it. Will they admit for instance that the year of Cæsar's reformation was the A.U.C. 709, and the 4th year of the Olympiad 182 (of Roman reckoning):—that Augustus attained 20 full years of age in August of the following year in the consulate of Pansa and Hirtius, and died at the age of 75 full years and 11 months in the consulate of the two Sexti:—born on the 23rd Sept. and dying on the 19th of August, that he was within one month of the full age of 76 years at that time? Will they admit that Herod was adopted by the Roman Senate in the A.U.C. 713, at the time of the celebration of the Olympiad 184 (of Roman reckoning), and reigned 37 years from that adoption; and that that 37th year answers to the consulate of *Lentulus and Messala*;—that the consulate of *Sabinus and Rufinus* is that which next precedes that of *Lentulus and Messala*, and is of the A.U.C. 749, and consequently in the 41st year of Cæsar's reformed calendar and 59th of the age of Augustus? That the consulate of the two Sexti, the year of Augustus' death, is the 17th consulate from that of *Sabinus and Rufinus*; and that the consulate of the two Gemini is the 15th from that of the two Sexti, or the 32nd from that of *Sabinus and Rufinus*? If these points are conceded, which we should think are wholly incontrovertible, it does seem impossible to have a doubt as to what must have been the true year of our Lord's nativity, or of his death: and such statements as limit his age to 27 years, and yet assign the year of his death to the consulate of the two Gemini, should be put entirely aside in the consideration of this question.

We will put these dates, which comprehend the proposed area or base of this chronology in a tabular form, for the sake of a more easy reference to its points in any future discussions; viz. :—

Years of Cæsar's Reformed Calendar.	A.U.C.	Olympiads and their years.	
1	709	182.4	Cæsar put to death. The reign of Augustus reckoned by some authors from this date.
2	710	183	Pansa and Hirtius consuls. Battle of Mutina. Augustus first consulate in the 20th year of his age.— <i>Vil. Pat.</i> , l. ii., c. 65.
5	713	183.4	Calvinus and Pollio consuls. Herod elected by the Roman senate.— <i>Josephus</i> .
8	716	184.3	Antigonus put to death by Herod.
14	722	186	Augustus and Messala consuls. Battle of Actium.— <i>Dio. H. R.</i> , l. lvi., 30.
41	749	192.4	Sabinus & Rufinus consuls. Birth of our Lord.
42	750	193	Lentulus and Messala consuls. Death of Herod.
58	766	197	The Two Sexti consuls. Death of Augustus.
73	781	201	The Two Gemini consuls. Death of our Lord.

The list of consuls answering to these dates will be found in the number of this Journal for January, 1856, p. 287.

If we could agree then upon this 70 years as a chronological base, it would inevitably do away with much of the difficulty on the subject; because, wherever the computations touch upon any of these points from a remote period, any deductions that are at variance with the relational intervals shewn within the base lines, must at once be determined to be erroneous: such, for instance, as the statement of Orosius, that our Lord's death happened in the consulate of the two Gemini, and yet that his age extended only to 27 years, as we have before noticed. The introducing such authorities into discussions on this subject is a mere confounding of confusion, and doubling perplexities already sufficiently perplexing. Again, the statements of Severus and also of Eusebius, that Herod lived after the nativity of our Lord four years; or of Orosius, that the shutting of the temple of Janus was in the A.U.C. 752, and yet that was the year of the Nativity, after which our Lord lived only 28 years; would all go under the test of the above table into the limbo of vain things, and should be discarded from the debates upon this subject.

This simple tabular formula at once clears the view of the question within its own area, and it will be found to present several points that are truly relational to the Christian epoch, and are such as cannot, we think, be gainsaid. First, that the

interval between the years of the nativity and death of our Lord is 32 consular years. Next, that his birth was the year before the death of Herod, and 17 before that of Augustus. Thirdly, that the death of Augustus was 15 years before that of our Lord. That the *A.U.C.* of the Nativity was 749, and the Olympiad 192-4, of Roman reckoning, and of his death was 781 *U.C.*, in the year of the Olympiad 201. When commentators shew therefore, that the years of their reckoning back to the date of the two Gemini exhaust the tale of the computed years to within 27 or 28 of the Christian counting, it ought to be taken as a plain proof that the excess of the computed years over the Christian counting must refer to a period posterior to that date, and the comment should stop there: for the history of the period before the date of the two Gemini is so clear, as to admit of no question as to the course of years within that time. It is perfectly certain, that there were 31 years between the death of Herod and the consulate of the two Gemini; and the inference follows that our Lord's years were at least 32. It is our opinion, with some necessary deference to the common uncertainty of all sublunary things, that if the question were put on this footing, which appears to be the true one, and the controversy thus confined to the tale of years that have elapsed since the date of the two Gemini, (whether 1825 as the Christian reckoning accounts them, or 1829 as the impugnors of that reckoning account them,) that any jury of ordinary men would find a verdict in five minutes for the Christian reckoning, against the larger computation of the imperial emendators. We shall examine presently the ground of these different reckonings: but for a few pages we must stay the attention of our readers to the particular testimony of Orosius; to whom the American chronologist Dr. Jarvis ascribes, though we think hardly with sufficient grounds, the whole origin of the doubts and difficulties on this subject. Being the only writer, he says, before Dionysius Exiguus who places the birth of our Saviour so late as the *A.U.C.* 752, he is inclined to think that Dionysius was governed by his authority. But Orosius was a Spanish writer of the same age as Sulpicius Severus and Augustine, and he plainly partakes of the same error as Eusebius who dates the Nativity in *A.U.C.* 751: while Orosius makes it to be in the *A.U.C.* 752. Augustine alone carries the epoch back to its true year of *A.U.C.* 749, and shews in that testimony the true reckoning of the Churches. Amongst all these discrepancies, we must believe the Christian reckoning to have been the same throughout in the keeping of the Churches; and that the difficulties arose in the secular evidence, and ought to be still open to examination.

The account of Orosius is found in his narrative of the closing of the temple of Janus, which he says "was shut by Augustus in the A.U.C. 752; and that in that same year Jesus Christ was born into the world." In another place he sets our Lord's passion and the miraculous darkness and earthquake in the 15th year of Tiberius; which being the consulate of the two Gemini was clearly in the A.U.C. 781; and so made the interval of our Lord's life to be 29 years. On this subject, however, of the closing the temple of Janus, its importance to the present question induces us to offer a few observations; and we will take the *Commentary of Mr. Pemble's* popular edition of *Horace*, on the last ode of that writer, as the thesis of our remarks. For that writer, whose authority pervades all the scholastic elements of the country and ought therefore to be correct, states that Augustus closed that temple three times: first in 725 u.c. after the battle of Actium; next in 730 u.c. after the *Bellum Cantabrum*; and lastly in 734 u.c. after the recovery of the standards, etc. To begin at the end, we must first beg to point out in answer to the last of these statements, that if that third closing took place in the year 734 u.c., and the temple continued closed the 12 years which is the longest period assigned to its remaining in that state, it would have been opened again in the year 746 u.c., which is three years before the true birth of our Saviour, and six years before the date ascribed to that birth by Orosius and Eusebius. This learned commentator takes his date from the recovery of the Roman standards, lost under Crassus in his Parthian expedition, by Augustus himself in the year he mentions 734 u.c., and it is true that that event is referred to in the Ode:—but it appears to us that the reference there is to an order of achievement, rather than to the specific act spoken of, though by the instance so referred to. The whole of that Ode is a celebration of the general success of the emperor's reign, and of the prosperities it had brought to the Roman people; and this is done in a poetical strain partly by allusions to instances that were personally complimentary to Augustus, but types only of the ampler history.

"Tua Cæsar Ætas,
Fruges et agris retulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi,
Direpta Parthorum superbis
Postibus, et vacuum duellis.
Janum Quirinum clusit, et ordinem
Rectum evaganti frena licentiæ
Ingesit, emovitque culpas,
Et veteres revocabit artes."—L. iv., od. 15.

The allusions are plainly to the benefits of the Augustan reign in their general aspect:—viz., domestic abundance, military triumph, established peace, reformed laws, and the restoration of the ancient virtue; all which are briefly and elegantly glanced at; and these were the fit subjects of celebration on the approach of that peace, which was predicted to accompany the advent of our Lord; and which Horace and his friend Mæcenas just lived to see, and then died. For Horace departed from the scene of his triumphs at the close of Nov. 745 u.c., and this last of his odes must have been written in that or the preceding year.

In 743 u.c., two years only before his death, Drusus had gained that great victory over the Sicambri and some other confederate people in the north of Germany, which brought down the power of that hostile nest of nations about the Elbe and the Weser; and it was by that victory the poet's mind was probably directed to the "recovered standards," for there was an occurrence of that kind in that victory. But if Horace turned from that event to the recollection of those of the Parthian war, it was in compliment to Augustus who prided himself on the occurrences of that war above all others; as our great Duke is said amongst all his victories to have smiled most benignly at the reminiscence of his passage of the Douro. Six years before that date the Roman army under Lollius the pro-consul of Gaul, had lost a legionary standard to these same "Sicambrians;" and their defeat by Drusus was accompanied with such a complete overthrow, that their camp and all their military stores fell into the possession of the victors, amongst which that lost standard is conceived to have been recovered. This victory was greatly celebrated at Rome; for the enemy had been gaining successes and confidence in recent encounters with the Roman armies, and on that occasion had prepared stores of iron chains for their intended captives. The occurrence is placed in the sixth year before the consulate of Sabinus and Rufinus. In the year that followed, A.U.C. 744, which was the year that preceded the death of Horace, Augustus went early in the spring to the banks of the Rhine; rather, as it appears from the course of the history, to settle his conquests and restore tranquillity to provinces already subdued, than to conquer them. With him he took his sons-in-law Tiberius and Drusus; the former of whom he sent to restore peace among the *Daci* near the Black Sea, who were easily brought into subjection, and 40,000 of them transferred to new settlements in Gaul; and to this Horace is thought to refer in a later stanza of this ode—

"Non qui profundum Danubium bibunt,
Edicta rumpent Julia, non Getæ," etc.

for though the historians speak of the Daci and Horace of the Getæ, they were neighbouring people and associated in the events referred to. Drusus was sent at the same time to the seat of his last year's triumph about the Elbe and Weser; where he soon put down the smoking embers of the war and fixed the boundaries of the Roman empire in that direction. It was upon his return to the Rhine, that he met the weird harbinger of his death, and succumbed to the fate predicted to him in a few days.

At this period ends all historical record of imperial wars for a dozen years. The next notice we find of wars and rumours of wars, is in the defection of the Numidians who were soon subdued; and then, in the same year, in the more formidable irruption of the Parthians into Armenia. Both these events occurred in the A.U.C. 756:—against the latter, Caius Cæsar, Augustus' best-loved son, marched out of Syria, and fell before the walls of Artageras. The dates then occur in the following order:—the last warlike operations in Germany A.U.C. 744; the death of Horace A.U.C. 745, having in that last year celebrated the closing scenes of Augustan glory; the recovery of the standard, the closing of the temple of Janus, with the establishment of general peace and abundance, and a reformation of manners:—The birth of Christ was A.U.C. 749; the death of Herod A.U.C. 750; and the awakening of the new wars which never ceased during the life of Augustus, in A.U.C. 756; twelve years exactly from the close of the last warlike operations in Germany, as we have shewn:—and twelve years is the period assigned by Orosius to the continuance of the last peaceable time, and the closed state of the temple.

We do not exactly hope to convince the world that the case is a very plain one; but it appears so to ourselves, and perhaps it may strike a few other minds in the same light. This we may say, that when we find an opinion that the 3rd shutting of this temple, an event which is taken so emphatically to mark the prophetic Peace which was to accompany the advent of the Messiah, took place 15 years before the earliest of those years which are anywhere assigned to that event, we have the less difficulty in proposing our own view of the subject; as thinking that it has been rather insufficiently considered. The shutting of that temple must we think have occurred in the year 744 u.c., and its re-opening have taken place in the year 756 u.c., and our Lord's birth into the world, occurring at the close of the year 749 u.c., would be nearly at the mid-way point between the closing and re-opening of that mystical fane. We beg to point out in conclusion on this subject, that the year of the death of Horace is a point of very high importance in its con-

sideration ; since it is tolerably certain that, if he died in the year 745 u.c., the temple of Janus must have been closed before that year.

We approach now the other part of our subject, which relates to the possible cause and origin of the discrepancy in these dates. To this enquiry there are objectors on the ground of a present inadequacy of means to prosecute such an enquiry. It is opposed to the investigation of this subject, that "*learned men*" of earlier centuries had opportunities of inquiring into these questions and have investigated them. It seems rather, that the opportunity of investigation is greater with ourselves, if we may judge from Dr. Jarvis's *Book of Church Chronology*, where volumes of the recording spirit are arranged for our edification in a single tome. The manifest and absurd errors observable in all the Roman writers on the subject, shew that they had not generally access to sources of authentic information, but that their knowledge was of a very desultory kind ; and the system at last adopted by the world was notoriously adapted to theories of cyclical computations, to which the facts of history were made to conform themselves. Among the Romans of the empire, the method of reckoning by the old system of the consular successions was long preserved, although the consuls were often changed six or eight times in a year ; and although, after the cessation of the Capitoline Fasti which ceased with Augustus, there were no public registers of a reliable kind ; no national chronicle, and no traditions, by which the yearly progression could be in any way accounted sacred ; as was the case with the Christian churches in their sacred commemorations, and still is so among the Christian nations. Occasions arose at intervals where the course of years became an object of interest and inquiry ; and then a learned scrutiny by some grammarian or historical essayist formed the ground of conclusions, which from the very nature of the elements they were derived from must have been uncertain and unreliable. From this medley different conclusions were arrived at, and though there was necessarily a limit to the divergencies on this subject, they may be found to extend to differences of from three to seven years in the allocation of the consulates and the consequent adjustment of the events of history. The difference between the Christian and imperial reckoning has, however, out of this medley of dates, been reduced to the one recognized difference of four years, plainly the period of one Olympiad ; and it appears to us that it is from a difference of counting these measures of the old time, that this discrepancy between the two reckonings has arisen.

First then as to the fact, our readers will observe these different methods of counting the Olympiads in the following instances. The first year of Cæsar's Reformed Calendar and his death is dated by the Roman reckoning A.U.C. 709, and the fourth year of the Olympiad 182. This does not mean the 182nd Olympiad but 182 full cycles; because the city being built in the 23rd year of the Olympic series, that epoch can only be got by counting 182 full Olympiads plus 4, and from that multiple deducting the 709 U.C., assigned to the event; viz. $182 \times 4 = 728 + 4 = 732$; from which the year of the building "23" being deducted, there remains the number 709, as the A.U.C. of that reform year.

The old Roman Olympic reckoning meant therefore, full Olympic cycles of the number counted; and this is so shewn by the reckoning of Josephus in his account of the election of Herod by the Roman senate, four years after this date.^d

But the Greeks had another method of counting, which made the current cycle of the reckoning to be the counted Olympiad. What was therefore in the Roman counting Olympiad 102, was by the Greek counting the 103rd Olympiad and reckoned by the numeral 103. This is shewn in the computations of a writer we have before referred to, on this subject; Censorinus, who wrote at the close of the 3rd century. It is plain from the manner of his writing, that difficulties were found to exist in reconciling the different computations of that period, and his business appears to be to set the matter right. He states therefore, that the year he wrote in, which was the first year of the Emperor Gordian and the A.D. 238, was the 1014th year of the Olympic series, and *called by the Greeks* the 2nd year of the 254th Olympiad. This year, he says, also was the year 991 U.C.; and of Cæsar's Reformed Calendar 283. But the reduction of these numbers requires that this 254th Olympiad of the Greek reckoning should be regarded as the current and not the complete cycle, as in the Roman method; for it is 253 full cycles only, plus 2, which make 1014 years; and from that sum 991 years being deducted leaves, as in the former case, 23 years as the year of the building of the city. It is plain the Roman and Greek counting differed therefore in the way we have suggested, in reference to the epoch of the building of Rome.

It will perhaps be said that this is a mere variation of terms in the denomination of the Olympiad; and being understood by the different people shewed the same results; but it appears to

^d Josephus, *Antiq.*, b. xiv., chap. xiv., § 5.

us that this diversity of method has a much more important significance attached to it, and indicates a difference in the epochs of the Olympic series, as held by the two people; and therein also indicates a totally different method of counting, as may appear in the subjoined column:—viz.,

GREEK COUNTING.			ROMAN COUNTING.		
Series of Years.	Olympiads.	Olymp. Cycles.	Series of Years.	Olympiads.	Olymp. Cycles.
	Last Games of Iphitus..	0			
1	Greek Epoch of the new } series	1			
2		2			
3		3			
4	1st Olympiad: year } Choræbus conquered }	4	1	Roman Epoch: year } Choræbus conquered }	4
5	" "	1	2	" "	3
6	" "	2	3	" "	2
7	" "	3	4	Olympiad 1	1
8	2nd Olympiad	4	5	" "	4
9	" "	1	6	" "	3
10	" "	2	7	" "	2
11	" "	3	8	Olympiad 2	1
CONTINUED TO THE BUILDING OF ROME.					
25	7th Olympiad	1	22	" "	3
26	" "	2	23	" "	2
27	" "	3	24	Olympiad 6	1

Here the Greek reckoning is deduced from the last celebration of the old Olympic games derived from Iphitus; while the Roman is counted from the year Choræbus was conqueror; to which reference is made in a manner which appears to give it a significance as a separate epoch. There is reason enough for this difference in the method of reckoning, if it can be concluded from any circumstances, that the fact was so. For in the new institution of these games, there must have happened the usual interval from the last celebration of the old games, when that series was brought to its conclusion; and those years would not have been lost sight of by the Greeks, in whose national chronology they must have formed an essential link. But that consideration would not have operated upon the Romans, who used the Olympic reckoning only in connexion with an existing order of things, which took its commencement from the building of their city; whose annals were wholly unconnected with the former series of the Greek reckoning. The year that Choræbus conquered was therefore to the Romans

a wholly independent epoch in their national reckoning; and from that year they began their Olympic cycles, in the same way as they did their monthly ones, which was proleptically, or from the highest numerals of their cycles downwards to the commencement of the series. This fore-casting of their dates is we believe peculiar to the Roman people, and it gives a cast of fatalism to their character; as if to them, the children of doom and prophecy, to-morrow was not uncertain as to other nations. Of the fact however, of their first reckoning of the Olympiads in this way, there can be no doubt; nor that the Greeks reckoned by another method and by reference to a remoter epoch. The effect of these two modes of computation in a great measure reconciles the different accounts of the old writers, as to the Olympic date of the founding of the city of Rome; for, although those accounts are taken generally to refer to different years, it seems much more probable that the differences should have proceeded from some diversities in the method of reckoning these anomalous cycles. The generally received accounts of the Roman writers ascribe that event to the 3rd year of the 6th Olympiad; while some others set it at the 1st year of the 7th Olympiad; but if our readers will refer to the preceding table, they will find that these two dates indicate the same year, in this double series of the Olympiads. Some writer make the A.U.C. in the 2nd year of the 7th Olympiad, which in the Greek column would concur with the 2nd year of the 6th Olympiad of the Roman; but this difference may only indicate a diversity in the adjustment of the consular years of the A.U.C. to the Olympic series, as we have shewn in our former paper of this Journal for January, 1856, in page 269 of that number. For our own part we think that that year would prove to be the true year of the building, which is the 2nd of the 7th Greek Olympiad, and stands the 2nd of the 6th Olympiad in the Roman column:—for though it is the 2nd year of the Roman cycle by the direct course of the years, it would be the third consular year in that category of reckoning.

Taking the account of Censorinus as a Greek reckoning, which he says it is, and called the 254th Olympiad; the 2nd year of that reckoning should answer to the 2nd year of the Roman Olympiad 253; and the series of that computation should refer three years further back for its commencement than the Roman epoch. The 1014 years of that series, which is the particular reckoning that Censorinus uses (for he first proposes that integer and reduces it to the computed Olympiads), ought to go back to an epoch, three years before the Roman; and in that case the corresponding A.U.C. would be 26 years less

than the Olympic series 1014, and answer to the year 988 u.c. instead of the year 991, as he has estimated it. He has plainly applied the Greek computation to the Roman epoch instead of the proper commencement of that series, and so has computed the Roman reckoning by three years too much. It is of course that this objection equally applies to the years of Cæsar's Reformed Calendar, which this same author says was in its 283rd year, in the 238th year of the Christian age. For the 1st year of that reform was the 732nd year of the Olympic series, in that course of reckoning, which refers to the year Chorcæbus was conqueror. With this 732 years of Roman counting, Censorinus associates his Greek series of 1014; and because the difference in that way is 282 years, he concludes that such was the year of the Cæsarian reckoning at the date he wrote. But the year 732 of the Roman series appears from the above tables to be the 735th of the Greek, and that number should have been deducted from the 1014 years; which would make the A.J.P. of his year 279 instead of 282. In that way, which is the true reckoning in our own opinion, the Greek Olympic years of Censorinus ought to be taken as concurring with the Christian reckoning: for the true year of the nativity, which was the year before the death of Herod, being the 41st year of Cæsar's Reformed Calendar, that being deducted from that 279th year will give the true Christian year, as it occurs there, of A.D. 238.

As this appears to be the earliest account, in which the imperial and Christian reckonings occur in distinct opposition to one another, we think the examination of this point of the more consequence; and whether the discrepancy originated in a different estimate of the Greek and Roman Olympiads as we have suggested, to which the lists of the consuls were adapted; or by a first mis-reckoning of the consular successions, to which the Olympic computations were reconciled by the mixing up of the two methods of computation; it seems very certain that the historical reckonings had very early got into an excess of 3 years; which, if not explained, is at least illustrated in the tables of concurrent Olympiads, we have ventured to propose for consideration. To ourselves it appears plain, that Censorinus' 1014 years ought to be counted back to the last games of Iphitus; but that they were counted back by that author to the year of Chorcæbus only; and by that error the imperial computation was advanced an Olympic cycle too forward in the scale of years.

The evidence of this writer is considered so important, that we shall stop to point out what appears to us another miscalculation by him in the same direction. This refers to the date he assigns to the consulate of Antoninus Pius 2nd and Bruttius

Præsens, which he puts in the 138th year of the Christian reckoning, instead of what appears its true place, the 134th.

He is writing of the Egyptian years and he says, that the "1st day of the month Thoth in the year he wrote was on the 7th day before the calends of July; but a hundred years before that year, when the Emperor Antoninus Pius and Bruttius Præsens were consuls, those days were on the 12th before the calends of August, at which time the 'Dog Star' then had its rising: wherefore we may know," he adds, "that of that *great year* which is called the heliac or canicular and year of God, the year now *in transitu* is the hundredth."

Now the two dates of the canicular rising in this account, answer to the 21st July and 25th June; the 12th day before the calends of August answering to the 21st day of July, and the 7th day before the calends of July to the 25th June; and the interval between these dates in a retrospective order, which was the way the Egyptians reckoned the lapse of these bissextile years, for such they were, amounts to 26 complete days. But those days, being each an index of a lapse of 4 years, it seems that the interval alluded to must have been 104 years and not 100. The received book of history records the incidents of 100 years only between this consulate of Antoninus and Præsens; but the testimony of Censorinus as to the days of the Egyptian calendar, which must contain the traditions and reckoning of the Egyptians themselves, appears a better evidence of the true interval. And then, if the prevailing history brought this consulate of Antoninus and Præsens within a hundred years only of the Christian year 238, while the true interval was 104 years, it seems to follow that the antecedent annals of that history must have been overcharged with an excess of that number of years; that is, as all their elements of reckoning lay in their consular lists, there must have been an excess of four consulates in that antecedent period. It is plain there were great doubts on the course of these successions, since of that very consulate there are as many versions as there are writers:—Victorius giving it a place 102 years before the year Censorinus refers to; while the list of the *Chronicon Paschale* sets it 97 years only before that date.

The theory of the imperialists is, that the Christians had lost 4 years in a very early age of the church, out of the book of their reckoning; and that this error by some marvellous hallucination had visited all the separate congregations of the Christian world. We ask how that is possible to have happened; and we will bring the great Mr. Addison to our aid, to shew that it is not possible.

For in the brief review of the state of the early churches, which that writer takes in his *Dissertation on the Evidences of the Christian Religion*, he points out in forcible terms the extraordinary order of succession, which had been observed in all the primitive churches from the first apostolic appointment of their presiding bishops; and that those successions were *carefully preserved in catalogues of the churches* over which they had presided:—while moreover he observes, that all these churches held a perfect independency of each other during the first two centuries, so that there could be no concert in their records.

The discrepancies of the imperial reckoning, which we are discussing, from the Christian dates, must have originated in very early years of the Christian period; for they are found in full force, as we have shewn, in the year of Censorinus 238. But Mr. Addison's observations shew that error was hardly possible in the churches of that period on points of record. There was a sort of providential ordering about the lives of the apostolic men, he observes, which appears to have been prolonged to an extraordinary age, as if for the very purpose of giving sanction and accord to the testimony they gave on Christian matters. St. John, he says, lived for two ordinary generations after our Saviour; to him succeeded Polycarp, Clemens, Ignatius and a host of others, whose testimony was available to nearly the end of the 2nd century; "and I doubt not," says this eminent writer, "that in most of the churches there might have been found five persons within them, who in a continuous line had reached through the three first centuries;" that is, down to this very period of Censorinus of which we are discoursing. He comments emphatically upon the peculiar pleasure the Christian families had of discussing among themselves the traditions of the church, and recapitulating all that was material to a faithful deduction of its history; and that through such channels "the short and simple annals" of the apostolic churches were handed down through the first three centuries of their existence; and every thing of importance relating to their customs and Government delivered by an oral record, in which none of these scattered churches were found materially to vary.

We will put it then to every one of ordinary discernment, whether in a system so religiously observed, a common error of four years in the computation of the date of the origin of such a religion, could have crept into the traditions of all these dispersed assemblies. They had, indeed, different days for celebrating the memorials of their sacred events; but the course of years could hardly have been lost or changed. St. John could never have lost four years of his proper age, nor the episcopal

succession of his followers been misdated by that interval in all the churches.

It is quite the reverse with the imperial reckonings. There was absolutely no current register of public authority, which had any certain character of authenticity belonging to it. The successions of their consuls was the only guide they had, and these were liable to interpolation by the system of supplementary consulships to those of the annual election; whose *elevés* often crept into the lists of succession, or led, by the supposition of an erroneous insertion, to the abrasion of those that were true. The entire dependence of the Roman writers upon this source of information may be constantly observed. When Censorinus purposes to define the year he writes in, he designates it wholly by reference to the consulship of the year;—"This year," he says, "of which the *Index and Title* is the consulship of *Ulpus and Pontianus*:"—and when Victorius adjusts his scheme of dates, he too refers in the same way to the lists of the consuls, as the sole guide of his computation. "Beginning," he says, "from the consulship of *the two Gemini*," which he puts to designate "the year of our Lord's passion," he had computed the period by diligent investigation of the names of the consuls for 430 years; which he charges as the interval from that date down to the Christian year 457 A.D. By that computation he leaves, as usual among these writers, the complement of 27 years only to fill up the interval between the consulate of the two Gemini and the commencement of the Christian age.

But we have done. Some correspondents of this Journal have viewed the subject with some superciliousness, as wholly beyond the reach of modern inquiry. We hope we have not so much mistaken the case. But we do not think the *prima facie* probability, which there is in favour of a correct reckoning by the Christian communities of the first ages, is overbalanced by the mystified adjustment of the imperial dates in the hands of the Roman almanack makers:—for such in plain terms, is the character of the great authorities, in favour of the received computation of Scaliger and his followers.

From the very year of our Lord's departure, the whole subject of the Roman dates has formed matter of debate and question; and if we find the intervals of the consulships of the third century differing by five years, as we have just seen they do, between the consulship of *Antoninus II. and Præsens*, and that of *Ulpus and Pontianus*; we find no less discrepancy in the earlier registers of these recording annals, where the date of the second consulate of Titus, the consulate of the year in which Jerusalem was destroyed, is set by the *Chronicon Paschale* 44 years after the consulate of the *two Gemini* and 36 after the

death of Tiberius; while Victorius sets the same consulate at 89 years' distance from the former and at 84 from the latter dates:—and Cassiodorus, acting the mediate part, sets the intervals between the two Gemini and the year Jerusalem fell at 41 years; and between the death of Tiberius and that date at 33 years.

In conclusion, we will subjoin a table of what appears to be the dates of history in connexion with the Christian reckoning under the views we have ventured to offer:—making our beginning with the Olympic epoch of Choroëbus' victory, and the A.J.P. 3938, which is the Julian year assigned to that event by Scaliger.

A.J.P.	Greek Olympic Series.	Roman Olympic Series.	A.D.	Historical Epochs.
	Years.	Years.		
3938	4	1	"	Olympiad of Choroëbus.
3960	26	23	"	Rome built.
4669	735	732	"	Year of Cæsar's reform.
4673	739	736	"	Herod elected by the Roman Senate.
4709	775	772	1	Nativity of our Lord?
4710	776	773	2	Death of Herod.
4726	792	789	18	Death of Augustus.
4741	807	804	33	Passion of our Lord?
4780	846	843	72	Fall of Jerusalem—Titus II.
4842	908	905	134	Consulship of Antoninus II. and Præsens.
4946	1012	1009	238	Year Censorinus wrote.
5106	1172	1169	398	Year Augustine dates 365 years from the first Pentecost.
5118	1184	1181	410	Capture of Rome by Alaric.
6566	2632	2629	1858	The present year A.D., 1858.

The received A.J.P. of the present year 1858 is 6571, which exceeds the number shewn in this table, viz., 6566, by 5 instead of 4 the usually assigned discrepancy. But there is a well recognized error in the adjustment of this Julian scale to the Christian epoch by Scaliger, which set the number of his scale one year in advance of his own computation. This occurs in the assigning of the Julian year 4714 to the year of the nativity instead of 4713; which is shewn by Petavius to have been the true year, according to his own reckoning.* The Julian year of this date ought therefore to be A.J.P. 6570, according to the true design of that emendation.

H. M. G.

Hitcham Rectory, 29th July, 1858.

* *De Doctr. Temp.*, l. 12, ch. ii.

ON THE RECTIFICATIONS OF SACRED AND PROFANE CHRONOLOGY, WHICH THE NEWLY DISCOVERED APIS-STELES RENDER NECESSARY.

WITHIN the last few months, three important works bearing upon this subject incidentally, though not professedly written upon it, have appeared. The first of these is Lepsius' *Königsbuch der Ägypter*, which, whatever be its faults, possesses great merit. It displays much industry and research, and furnishes most valuable assistance to future investigators. The second is *The XXII. Egyptian Royal Dynasty*, translated by Dr. Bell from an essay of Lepsius, and enriched with lithographic plates and additional notes supplied by the author. There is much interesting matter in it relating to the present subject, which is not contained in Lepsius' larger work. The third is Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, in the second volume of which are several essays and notes of Sir Gardner Wilkinson. With the assistance of these three works, we propose to examine the new evidence which has been obtained through M. Mariette's fortunate discovery of the Serapeum, and to consider the conclusions to which it leads. We must admit that to a certain extent it is inconsistent with the chronology adopted in the margins of our Bibles; but we deny that it is so to anything like the extent which Lepsius supposes.

The first point to be considered is the date of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes. The importance of this is easily shewn, though it does not appear at first sight. It has been, for many years back, a settled point among Egyptian scholars, that the first year of Amasis was only forty years after the first of Necho, not forty-seven, as Herodotus had made it. This was established beyond the possibility of mistake, by the concurrent testimony of Steles at Leyden and at Florence, which gave the births of two individuals in regnal years of Necho, their deaths in regnal years of Amasis, and the lengths of their lives. Each of these independent testimonies determined the interval between a year of Necho and the year of Amasis, which had the same number; and both gave the same result—forty years. It has also been considered a settled point, though the evidence of its truth is not equally conclusive, that the conquest of Egypt was forty-four years after the first year of Amasis. If so, it would be eighty-four years after the first of Necho. It is evident from the narrative of Herodotus, that Necho did not commence his expedition to Syria till a considerable time had elapsed after his accession. We cannot place it before his second year. The interval, therefore, between the death of Josiah, which took place

during this expedition and the conquest of Egypt, was *not more* than eighty-three years. It might be less : Bunsen made it only eighty ;^a but *it could not be more*. Now the received date of the death of Josiah, in this country at least, is 610 B.C. ; and that of the conquest of Egypt is 525 B.C. The interval between these is eighty-five years, which is *too great*. All Egyptian scholars have accordingly seen the necessity of reducing this interval. Some have raised the date of the conquest of Egypt ; some have brought down that of the death of Josiah ; and some have done both, as Bunsen, who dated the two events in 607 and 527. The prevailing opinion of late years seemed to be that, whatever might be thought of the former event, the latter ought to be dated earlier than it had usually been. There were many arguments in favour of this opinion, derived from Egyptian monuments, which appeared to have weight, especially when combined together, though none of them was by itself conclusive. All these have, however, been overborne by the new-arguments furnished by the Apis-Steles ; which, if they do not prove that 525 B.C. was the true date of the conquest, certainly prove that the arguments which had been relied on as establishing the contrary opinion have no weight whatever.

These arguments were of two classes. Some were derived from high dates of the reign of Cambyses in Egypt ; but it is now proved that the years of his reign were counted in Egypt, as in Persia, from the death of his father. Others were derived from considering the length of time that the events recorded in connexion with him, both by Herodotus and by the author of a contemporary Egyptian monument, ably explained by M. de Rougé, must have occupied. It was thought that in his treble character of a conqueror, a Pharaoh, embracing the religion of the country, and taking part in its most solemn ceremonies, and a bitter persecutor of this religion, Cambyses must have spent much more time than the received chronology allowed him. This difficulty is however, now removed. It appears from the Apis-Steles, that the return of Cambyses from Ethiopia, when his persecuting phase commenced, did not take place till 523 B.C., the year before his death ; which allows two full years for the two preceding phases, reckoning from the received date of the conquest. This is amply sufficient for what is said to have occurred.

When the Apis-Steles were first examined, M. de Rougé drew a different inference from them. The Apis to which his attention was first directed, that which Cambyses stabbed (but,

^a In his *Egypten Stelle* b. iii. (1844). In b. iv. (1856), he has the same dates as those of this paper.

as it now appears, did not kill), was born in the fifth year of Cambyzes; the fifth month and the (twenty-eighth) day; the context enables us to supply the day of the month, which is illegible on the stone. He died in the fourth year of Darius, the ninth month and third day; and his age was, as first read, eight years three months and four days.

There ought to be no question that the first year of Darius was that which commenced on the 1st January, 521 B.C. The length of his reign and the dates of its beginning and end, are fixed by such an amount of independent testimony, as must carry conviction to every mind which is open to conviction. Nothing need be added to what has been already said on the subject. I will, therefore, quietly take it for granted that this Apis died on the 30th August, 518 B.C. He was born according to De Rouge's reading, on the 29th May, 526; and as the age of an Apis when brought in state to Memphis did not usually exceed ten months, the enthronement of this Apis, and therefore the return of Cambyzes from Ethiopia, which synchronized with it, would probably be in March, 525 B.C. The conquest of Egypt could scarcely have been less than a year and a half before this return, and it must, therefore, have occurred in 527 B.C.

The first flaw that was pointed out in this argument was the following. The age of the Apis at his death was seven years, and not eight. An accidental blemish on the stone had been mistaken for a unit. Lepsius pointed this out when he examined the Stele; and Messieurs de Rouge and Mariette admitted their mistake. This brought down the birth of the Apis, and the conquest of Egypt as inferred from it, a year. It also proved that only eight years were counted to Cambyzes, as intervening between his first year and the first of Darius, whereas according to the original reading of the age, there should be nine. There are eight according to Ptolemy's canon; and Lepsius' correction of the age removes the necessity of supposing that Ptolemy counted his years in a different manner from what the Egyptians did.

But there is a Stele belonging to another Apis, the predecessor of the last, which throws further light upon the matter. It is much defaced; but the date of the burial of the Apis is distinctly legible, so far as respects the year and the month. He was buried by "Pharaoh Cambyzes" in the eleventh month of his sixth year; that is, in November, 524 B.C. This must have preceded the return of Cambyzes from Ethiopia, probably by several months. Consequently, even if we suppose the conquest of Egypt to have happened so late as the summer of 525 B.C., more than a year and a half would have elapsed between it and the return from Ethiopia. We have only then to regard

the testimony of Greek writers as to the date of the conquest. The monumental evidence is consistent with the latest date that they offer. Diodorus says that Amasis died and Cambyes invaded Egypt in the third year of the 63rd Olympiad, which ended in the summer of 525 B.C. It may have been, for aught that the monumental evidence proves, at the very close of this year. It is to be regretted that the Stele of the Apis buried by Cambyes is in so unsatisfactory a state. Only one date has been found on it in addition to that of the burial. It is uncertain whether it be the time of birth or that of enthronement. One of these, however, happened in the twenty-fifth year of Amasis, according to M. de Rougé. Lepsius says in the seventeenth; but this is evidently a mistake, caused by his mistaking a "ten" for two units. Unfortunately the age of this Apis was not mentioned; or, more probably, it is illegible; but as no Apis outlived his twenty-sixth year, and none appears to have reigned beyond his twenty-fifth, it is quite certain that Diodorus was in error when he gave fifty-five years to Amasis. Eusebius must also have been in error when he gave him forty-two years, as a date of his forty-fourth year has been met with. The only other number of years for which there is any ancient authority is forty-four, which is given both by Herodotus and by Africanus from Manetho. Taking everything into account, the year 569 B.C., the 179th of Nabonassar seems the most probable for the first of Amasis. The 178th year is, however, possible, but no other. In the 223rd year of Nabonassar Cambyes conquered Egypt, this being reckoned his fifth year in Egypt as well as in Persia; in the early part of the 225th, he returned from Ethiopia. In the latter part of the 226th, the false Bardis assumed the government; and in the 227th he was killed by Darius. The 227th year of Nabonassar was the first of Darius. Assuming the 179th of Nabonassar to be the first of Amasis, the 189th would be the first of Necho. An Apis-Stele proves that the first of Apries was twenty-one years after this, or the 160th of Nabonassar. It proves also that the first of Psamitik II. was not earlier than the 154th of Nabonassar. It is probable that this very year, which was in its earlier portion the sixteenth of Necho, was in its latter part reckoned the first of Psamitik. The Stele records that an Apis, born on the seventh of the second month of the sixteenth of Necho, was enthroned on the ninth of the eleventh month of the first of Psamitik. Nine months is a much more probable interval between these events than twenty-one would be.

The Apis which preceded this was born on the nineteenth of the sixth month of the fifty-third year of Psamitik I. He

died on the sixth of the second month of the sixteenth of Necho, at the age of sixteen years seven months and seventeen days. It follows from this that the first of Necho was fifty-four years after the first of Psamitik I., this last-mentioned year being the eighty-fifth of Nabonassar. It will be remarked that the Epagomenæ are here neglected; or in other words, the thirty-five days between the first of Mesore and the first of Thoth were reckoned as one month. This seems to have been the ordinary way of reckoning the months in computing intervals between distant events. If, however, the months were to be reduced to days, the Epagomenæ would be counted. The age of this Apis was sixteen years and 232 days. In reckoning the seventy days between death and burial, the Epagomenæ must of course be counted if they occurred in the interval.

The Apis-Steles enable us to go back one stage further. An Apis was born in the twenty-sixth year of Tirhaka; he was brought to Memphis on the ninth of the eighth month "of the same year," says Lepsius; but the Stele does not say so; and it seems evident that it was of the *following* year. An Apis does not appear to have been ever enthroned till he was about nine months old. This one was probably born in the twelfth month of the twenty-sixth of Tirhaka, and brought to Memphis at the time stated of his twenty-seventh year, or what would have been his 27th year, if he had continued to reign. The Apis died on the twentieth of the twelfth month of the twenty-first of Psamitik. According to Wilkinson, who is here evidently right, this Apis lived twenty-one years. The odd days, which were less than a month, were neglected. Lepsius, by a strange oversight, translates the last clause, "done in the twenty-first year (of Psamitik)," referring it to the cutting of the inscription. It follows, from this inscription, that the first year of Tirhaka, *as king of Egypt*, was twenty-six years before the first of Psamitik. It was the fifty-ninth of Nabonassar. The year in which this Apis was enthroned was the year which was afterwards called the first of Psamitik; but it is unlikely that he had any power for many years after. It was the year in which his father Necho died, and from which he subsequently counted his regnal years; but he was not at that time a real king. How long Tirhaka reigned, and how long his Ethiopian successor, Pionkhi, or Amunirtas, reigned, it is not likely that we shall ever know. These are questions, however, of no chronological importance. So far as respects all the dates by regnal years that are likely to be discovered, we have now perfect knowledge from 689 B.C. There can, at any rate, be no greater error than that of a single year.

We may now proceed to the rectification of Jewish chronology. It has been already stated, that the second year of Necho is the earliest possible date of the death of Josiah. This would be, most probably, 608 B.C., but possibly 609 B.C. The received date as exhibited in the margins of our authorized Bibles, is 610 B.C., and it is necessary to correct this. Dr. Hales and Russell have already, on grounds unconnected with the Apis-Steles, proposed a date two years later; and the Steles seem to leave us no other alternative than to adopt this correction. According to their view, the year 607 B.C., the 141st of Nabonassar would be the first year of Jehoiachim; and his fourth year, 604 B.C., would correspond to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Ptolemy's canon. The first year of Zedekiah and Jehoiachim's captivity would be 596 B.C., and the destruction of Jerusalem would be in 586 B.C., the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the canon. The chief objection to this correction of the received chronology is, that in Jer. liii. 31, the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachim's captivity, which would be 560 B.C., is stated to be that in which Evil-Merodach began to reign;^b whereas (it is affirmed) 561 B.C. is stated by the canon to be his first year. This objection, however, is founded on the assumption that "Evil-Merodach" was the "Iluarodamus" of the canon. Why may he not have been a successor of this king, who, having reigned less than a year, was omitted from the canon? According to the phraseology of the Assyrian inscriptions, the beginning of a king's reign denoted that fragment of the last year of his predecessor which was after his accession. In Egypt, and at Babylon, under the Persian monarchs, they reckoned differently; but we have no means of knowing which system was in use in Babylon before Cyrus. But even if it were granted that in ordinary cases the Babylonians counted this fragment as the first year of the new king, the case of Evil-Merodach might be an exception. The event recorded by Jeremiah is referred to the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of the thirty-seventh year of the captivity. This would be in March 559, according to the Julian reckoning. The Egyptian year, used by Ptolemy, began in January at this time; and if Evil-Merodach began to reign in that month, or in February, in 559 B.C., and was succeeded by Neriglissar before the end of the year, the statements of Scripture would not be inconsistent with the canon. Unfortunately, there are few

^b The Hebrew is *בשנת מלכותו* or in 2 Kings *בשנת*; literally, "in the year when he was king." Looking to this expression, apart from chronological prejudices, we should never suppose that the reign of Evil-Merodach extended into a second year.

cuneatic monuments, referring to this period, in existence, and fewer still which are accessible to more than select individuals. The cylinder of Neriglissar, in which his father is said to be called king of Babylon, is under lock and key at Cambridge.

If we go back to the first year of Jehoiachim, already determined, taking the years of each reign, given in Scripture as complete years, we have for the first year of Josiah the 110th of Nabonassar, beginning 30th January, 638 B.C., or rather the lunar year, which began on the first of Nisan following; for the first of Amon, the 108th of Nabonassar, beginning in 640 B.C.; for the first of Manasseh, the fifty-third of Nabonassar, beginning in 695 B.C.; and for the first of Hezekiah, the twenty-fourth of Nabonassar, beginning in 724 B.C. Lepsius agrees with this statement so far as it relates to Amon and his successors; but he cuts off twenty years from the reign of Manasseh, making his first year that which began in 675 B.C., and Hezekiah's, that which began in 704 B.C. He has made this change in order that the fifteenth year of Hezekiah may fall within the reign of Tirhaka in Egypt. It would barely do this. It would be, according to Lepsius, the fifty-eighth of Nabonassar, which *might* be the first of Tirhaka, though more probably it was a year before it. In fact, however, there is no necessity for supposing Tirhaka to have been king of *Egypt* at the time of Sennacherib's invasion. He is not called Pharaoh Tirhaka, or king of Egypt, but king of Cush, or Ethiopia; from which it might be inferred that this invasion happened before his assumption of the crown of Egypt. On the other hand, the Assyrian inscriptions require us to place the conquest of Samaria in 721, 720, or 719 B.C.; and this took place in the sixth year of Hezekiah, whose first year must consequently be that which began in 726, 725, or 724 B.C.; the last of these being the very year obtained from the length of the several reigns that are commonly received. It will be well to establish this date of the conquest of Samaria by proofs, before we proceed to consider the expedition of Sennacherib, in connexion with which a serious difficulty certainly exists.

We first observe that, in the eleventh column on the walls of "Salle II." at Khorsabad,^c relating the transactions of his seventh year, Sargon says, "with the arrows of Assur, my lord, I slaughtered them, and the survivors of them in the city of Samaria I made to dwell." He then proceeds to mention his receiving presents from the king of Egypt, the queen of Arabia, the Sabæans, and others. It is quite clear, from this passage,

^c Botta, 75. 5, 6.

that Samaria was taken before this. In the sixth column of the same inscription,^d we have the conclusion of the transactions of the second year, namely, a battle at Raphia, in which Khanun, king of Gaza, with an Egyptian army to support him, was defeated and taken prisoner. Then follow the transactions of the third year; and though there are occasional hiatuses in the sixty-four lines which intervene between this and the passage previously quoted, it is certain that there are none in which an account of the capture of Samaria could have been given. It is then certain that Samaria was taken *before* the *third* year of Sargon.

It is certain, also, that it was taken by Sargon. On the walls of "Salle VII., VIII., and X.," there are copies of a great historical inscription, in which the years are not distinguished, and chronological order is not strictly observed; but which preserves the order of events, unless there was some particular reason to deviate from it. The historical part of this inscription begins,^e "When Kumbanigas the Elamite was in the district of Duran (?) I defeated him. Samaria I looked at, I captured; 27,280 men, who dwelt within it, I carried away. I constructed fifty chariots in their country; and . . . I appointed a governor over them, and continued upon them the tribute of the former people." Then the inscription proceeds to the battle of Raphia, which the annals in "Salle II." refer to the second year. In the annals this transaction was no doubt recorded at much greater length. It is evident, however, that it was the capture of Samaria itself. An Assyrian governor superseded the king, who had been tributary, as it is expressly said (2 Kings xvii. 3, 4) that Hoshea was; and the former people was, to a great extent, carried into captivity, and replaced by a new one. The question now is, did this happen in the first or second year of Sargon? We have seen that it could not have happened later, as the annals of the subsequent years have been preserved, and contain no account of it. It is impossible, owing to the defective state of the annals in "Salle II.," to say, with certainty, in which year of his first two Sargon took Samaria. There are probable arguments in favour of each alternative, and different persons may think differently as to which preponderates. Of the five columns which preceded the sixth, portions of twelve lines of the third column alone remain. These contain the commencement of the account of the second year; and we are enabled to say, with confidence, that the transactions of this year occupied thirty-four lines and a half, of which the two first relate to an attack

^d Botta, 71. 1—5.

^e Botta, 145. 11.

on a city called Karkari, if M. Botta's copy be correct; but the last character should, perhaps, be *mus* in place of *ri*, giving the name of Carchemish. It does not appear that this city was taken on this occasion. The king seems to have shut up his enemies in it and passed on. The portion of the text which is wanting must have contained the account of the capture of Hamath, Arpad, and Zeman, which are mentioned together in Botta, 145. 21, as in Gen. x. 18: and the king of Hamath is said to have caused Damascus and Samaria to revolt also. It is natural, therefore, to think that Samaria was subdued in the same year, more especially as in Botta 145, the account of its capture immediately precedes the account of the battle of Raphia, which, in the annals, concludes the events of the second year. On the other hand, in the fragmentary account of the first year's transactions, which is found in the third column, there are words which would well suit the account of the capture of Samaria. In the second line the king says, "I carried away. Fifty chariots of the construction of my kingdom;" and in the two following lines there are notices of his transporting people to this place, and imposing tribute upon them. Afterwards, however, there is an allusion to Merodach Baladan, the usurper of Babylon; and the people of another city which was taken, are said to be transported to Khatti, or Syria, which proves that they were not of a western nation. It is possible, therefore, that, notwithstanding the coincidence in respect to the number of chariots, Samaria was not the city spoken of in Botta 70. 2. The first year's campaign, to which the war with Elam is certainly to be referred, may have been confined to Babylonia, as that of the second year, probably, was to Syria.

The conquest of Samaria having been shewn to be either in the first or second year of Sargon, we have next to determine what years of Nabonassar these were. The canon of Ptolemy, with the help of the Khorsabad inscriptions, enable us to answer this question. In the annals of Sargon, he describes at great length his conquest of Marduk-bal-idin, which took place in his twelfth year. He is described as son (that is, descendant) of Yakin, and as king of Chaldea, and it is said that he had, in defiance of the gods, held forcible possession of Babylon for twelve years. In Ptolemy's canon there is one, and only one, Babylonian sovereign, to whom a reign of twelve years is assigned; and that is Mardokempados, who had been pretty generally identified by chronologers with the Merodach Baladan of Scripture; $\mu\pi$ being, it was remarked, a substitute for δ , which was frequently made by the Greeks in translating foreign names, their own β being our *v.*; δ being likely to be used by

mistake for λ, from its similarity of form ; and the last parts of long names being liable to be dropped by foreigners. Whatever might be thought of this identification previously, the length of reign being the same in each case, it cannot now be reasonably disputed. The twelfth year of Sargon must therefore have been either the twelfth of Mardokempados, as given in the canon, or the year following it ; that is, either the thirty-eighth or the thirty-ninth of Nabonassar ; and the year of the capture of Samaria, being ten or eleven years before this, must have been either the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, or the twenty-ninth of Nabonassar ; either 721, 720, or 719 B.C.

It appears from this, that Lepsius's proposal to reduce the length of the reign of Manasseh by twenty years is inadmissible. The Assyrian inscriptions would not be inconsistent with the supposition that Hezekiah's accession might be one or two years earlier than the date derived from the length of reigns in our present copies of 2 Kings ; but they do not allow us to suppose it any later. And as there is no probability whatever that the lengths of reigns now found in 2 Kings have been diminished, we must infer that they are exactly right ; that the first years of the several kings of Judah, from Hezekiah downward, were those which began in the springs of 724, 695, 640, 638, 607, and 596 B.C., as already stated. Also, that the first year of Sargon, as counted by him in his annals, was the fifth of Hezekiah, beginning 720 B.C., that Samaria was taken in the following year, and Merodach Baladan driven from Babylon in 709 B.C., the sixteenth of Hezekiah. This last year is called in the canon the first year of Arkianus ; and a question thus arises, who was he ? It is almost certain that he was Sargon himself. The name, as it appears in the Assyrian inscriptions, is *Sar-gina*. The second element is the Accadian, or old Chaldean adjective signifying "true." Its Assyrian equivalent would be *kinu*. The noun *sar* seems to have been originally Accadian, but was adopted, like many other words, by the Assyrians. Nothing is more likely than that it was, in some dialects of Assyrian, converted into *Har*, and from the name *Harkin* so pronounced Arkianos, might have been formed by the person who Hellenized the names. The change is much less than what other names have undergone in the Hellenizing process. Sir H. Rawlinson denies that Sargon was himself king of Babylon, and considers Arkianos to have been appointed king by him. Sir Henry, however, ignores the fact, that after the conquest of Babylon by Sargon

/ We have an exactly parallel case. Samsu of the Assyrians is the Arabian Homs, the Greek Emessa.

he assumed a title containing the name of that city, which title was borne by Esarhaddon, who, we know from the canon, reigned himself at Babylon; while it was never borne by Sennacherib, who, we know from the same authority, never reigned there, and who appears, from his inscriptions, to have appointed two rulers of Babylon in succession. The titles, thus borne by Sargon in all his inscriptions subsequent to his twelfth year, but not in his earlier inscriptions, and by Esarhaddon in all his inscriptions, means "Priest of Babylon;" and seems to have been the regular designation of the sovereigns of Babylon up to the accession of Nabopolassar. Sargon held the government of Babylon for five years; and after him the Canon places an interregnum. The Babylonians evidently revolted and threw off his authority, with the aid of his old enemies, the Elamites and Merodach Baladan.

It is here the place to consider the objections to this scheme of chronology, which have been made on the ground of its inconsistency with Scripture. One of these is, that it makes Sargon the Assyrian king who took Samaria, while the Scripture appears to ascribe the capture of Samaria to Shalmanezzer. This objection is, however, more apparent than real, as has been shewn over and over again. Scripture in no place ascribes the capture of Samaria to Shalmanezzer. *He* attacked it in the fourth year of Hezekiah, the last year of his own reign; and in the sixth year of Hezekiah, not *he*, but *the Assyrians*, are said to have taken it. The other objection is more formidable. The text of Scripture, *as it now stands*, places Sennacherib's invasion in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, which would be, according to the system here explained, the tenth year of Sargon. Here is a manifest inconsistency; and we must suppose that the text of Scripture has undergone some change. It seems as if a displacement of a portion of the text had taken place, and as if the verses preceding and following the passage displaced had been thrown into one. The text, as it originally stood, was probably to this effect: 2 Kings xviii. 13. "Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, the king of Assyria came up (xx. 1—19). In those days was king Hezekiah sick unto death, etc. (xviii. 13). And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them (xviii. 14—19, 37)." In the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sargon actually went to Palestine, as his annals of the tenth year shew; but they mention no conquests made from Hezekiah. His only act of hostility seems to have been the capture of Asdud, and he seems to have been chiefly occupied with visiting mines, among which is specified the great copper mine of Baalzephon, probably Sarabut-el-kadim,

in the Sinaitic peninsula. In the following year, Merodach Baladan was still in possession of Babylon; but being apprehensive of an attack from Sargon, he would be likely to look about for assistance. Hence his embassy to Hezekiah.

If then, the Hebrew text originally stood as is above supposed, it would be in perfect harmony with the cotemporary records of Assyria; whereas, if the fourteenth year of Hezekiah be equalled to the third year of Sennacherib, in which that monarch places his expedition against Hezekiah, it is utterly impossible to reconcile with Scripture the capture of Samaria, which was in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and nineteen years previous to this expedition.

That the third year of Sennacherib was the forty-eighth of Nabonassar, 700 B.C., must now be shewn. It appears, from his having appointed Bilibus to govern the kingdom of Mada-Sumiri and Akkadim in his first year, after having defeated Marduk-bal-idin and his Elamite allies, and plundered his palace in Babylon. This is evidently the Belibos of the canon, whose first year was the forty-sixth of Nabonassar, beginning in February, 702 B.C.; and as we have seen that the canon notices the year in which a king began to reign as his first year, this was the first year of Sennacherib. His attack on Hezekiah was in his third year, two years after this. In confirmation of this, we learn from his annals that this Belibus reigned three years only, the exact length of time assigned him in the canon. In the fourth year of Sennacherib, he says that he appointed his son Assur-nadin-sumi to govern the same kingdom. This was not the same as Assur-akk-idin (Esarhaddon), who succeeded him in Assyria, and whom the canon calls Assaradinos. It is a matter of necessity that this king should be the same as the Apro-nadios of the canon, each having succeeded Belibos after a three years' reign of the latter. The *p*, no doubt, represents *ss*; the Greek *π* being found in many cursive Greek manuscripts, in such a way that two *σ*s might easily be mistaken for it; and the last element of the name has disappeared, as in the name of Merodach-Baladan. This Assur-nadim-sumi may be supposed to have died at the end of the six years which the Canon assigns him as his reign.

There is a passage which the chronicle of Eusebius quotes from Alexander Polyhistor, which appears to relate to this inter-regnum. He speaks of a brother of Sennacherib as having been succeeded by one Akises, who reigned thirty days. It would seem from this that a son of Sargon was for a time on the throne of Babylon. Sargon may have voluntarily relinquished it to him, but it seems more probable that the Babylonians

revolted, and that Merodach-Baladan was restored, so that the first year of the so-called interregnum was a year in which Merodach-Baladan was king; *he* would call it his eighteenth year, and the following year his nineteenth; *but* the Assyrian party would object to this, and subsequently the years were otherwise denominated. *Sargon* drove Merodach-Baladan out, and placed *one of his* sons on the throne. Akises expelled him. *Then* Merodach-Baladan returned, and had a third reign of six months. Elibus then succeeded, according to Polyhistor, who must have been the Belibos of the Canon, the Bilibus of Sennacherib's inscriptions. In his third year, Sennacherib, according to Polyhistor, made his son, Asordanius, king. The name is corrupt, Polyhistor having confounded this son of Sennacherib with the one who succeeded him at Nineveh; but on the whole, his testimony agrees very well with that of the inscription.

The only point which now remains to be considered, is the objection raised by Lepsius and others to this chronological system founded on the Apis-Stele of Tirhaka. By that Stele it is proved that the first year of Tirhaka was the fifty-ninth of Nabonassar; but, according to the chronological system here explained, Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine was in the forty-eighth of Nabonassar. Lepsius thinks this to be such an inconsistency as to require an alteration of the chronology. He, as already stated, strikes off twenty years from the siege of Manassah, and brings down Sennacherib's first year for that which followed the first interregnum to that which followed the second.

But there is really no inconsistency in what has been stated. When Tirhaka is mentioned in Scripture as reigning at the time of Sennacherib's invasion; he is not called Pharaoh Tirhaka, or described as king of Egypt—as he would have been if his reign in Egypt had commenced—but as king of Cush or Ethiopia, which he may have been for many years before he assumed the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. In the Assyrian annals, the name of Tirhaka does not occur; but there is distinct mention of the kings of Egypt (one of whom was, no doubt, the Sethos of Herodotus, the Zet of Manetho), and of the king of Milukhi, or Meroe, (which name is interchanged with Kushi or Cush, in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon), who was their ally. The account—which is given in the Assyrian annals of the third year of Sennacherib—of his invasion of Judæa, can, however, only refer to his *first* invasion (2 Kings, xviii. 14—16), which the chronology in the margin of our Bibles places three years before his second invasion, the account of which begins in the seventeenth verse. The combined army of Egyptians and Ethiopians came to the assistance of the

people of Ekron, and they were defeated, and according to the Assyrian account every man of them either killed or taken prisoner,^g before Sennacherib invaded Judæa. The scene of ~~their~~ overthrow is said to have been *Altaqd*, evidently the ~~pr~~ of Joshua xv. 59; and this town and Tamna (Timnah of Joshua xv. 57), were subsequently taken. Ritter must be in error when he identifies this "Eltakon," ~~as it is in the Received Version,~~ with the Tekoa of Amos i. 1 and 2 Sam. xiv. 2, ~~which lay to the south~~ of Bethlehem. Sennacherib's second invasion, which ended so disastrously, was probably in the fourth or fifth year of Sennacherib. His annals say nothing on the subject. The great cylinder in the British Museum gives these annals to the eighth year inclusive. Higher dates are said to have been found; but they have not been published.

The Egyptian expedition mentioned in the Assyrian annals is evidently a totally different one from that mentioned in 2 Kings, xviii. It was sent to the assistance of the Ekronites; and it was disposed of before Sennacherib attacked Hezekiah. It, however, may have been, and no doubt was, the cause of Sennacherib calling Pharaoh, king of Egypt, "a broken reed," that would injure all who trusted to him. And it was to avenge this disaster that Tirhaka came in person with the larger army, of which Sennacherib heard tell at the time of his second expedition.

It is probable that Tirhaka married the daughter of one of the kings of Egypt who are mentioned in Sennacherib's inscription; probably of Sethos; and that he assumed the crown of Egypt on the death of his father-in-law. If so, the last year of Sethos would be the fifty-eighth of Nabonassar, B.C. 690. The dynasty to which he belonged is said by Africanus to have reigned eighty-nine years; so that the first year of Petubastes would be that which began in March, 778 B.C.; and Africanus says that "under him the Olympiads began."

The two former Ethiopian kings and Bocchoris were probably contemporary with the dynasty of Petubastes, which is called the twenty-third; and the twenty-second dynasty immediately preceded these, lasting upwards of 200 years, as the monuments render almost certain, and probably 220; Africanus's number being too short by 100 years.

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^g This is what Sennacherib alludes to when he says by his ambassadors: "Now behold thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which, if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it; so is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, unto all that trust on him" (2 Kings xviii. 21).

DR. CURETON'S SYRIAC GOSPELS.^a

ONE of the most real impediments to the progress of Syriac letters is the erroneous impression under which most students appear to be concerning the degree of perfection to which they have hitherto been carried. Only a few weeks ago, among some categoric observations about this same new book of Dr. Cureton's, a writer in the *Athenæum* seriously compared its author to the Faradays and Owens who represent the chemistry and natural history of our days; and we venture to surmise that few of the readers were aware of the absurdity of the parallel. However, if the journalist only meant to say, in a general way, that Dr. C. has given valuable contributions to this branch of literature, the expression was rather insipid, for why, in that case, should he have selected those two eminent men out of the whole list of scientific celebrities of all kinds, their pursuits being so very unlike our author's? And if he meant something more, he betrayed great ignorance of the state of things; for, before there can be question of a Faraday or an Owen—men wielding the full power of a science, conscious of its ultimate aims, of its present means and prospects—there must have been the Linnæus, the Lavoisier, who first sketched out the problem to be resolved, and the general course to be followed in the research. And again, before these could arise, others, and able labourers very likely, must have toiled and blundered through many varieties of hypotheses and theories. In Syriac lore we are fast approaching the end of this preparatory period, and if only our Linnæuses appear within a few years, giving us a satisfactory outline of syntax and literary history,^b we shall be very content to wait for some time longer for our Owens and Faradays. In the mean time, professional Syriasts, who love order, are compelled to make their own summaries of the past and plans for future labours, suggesting the necessary directions, as far as they are able, to those who follow in the rear, as what we may call, in a more grave sense than ordinary, *dilettanti*.

Should any of our readers ask, in what sense we think too high an opinion of the condition of our study a serious obstacle to its progress, we merely point to the self-taught student, undervaluing his own acquirements when he finds himself unable to

^a *Remains of a very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe.* Discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., etc., etc. London: John Murray, 1858. 1 vol. 4to.

^b As Professor Ewald gave some twenty years ago about the Syriac accents, in a separate volume of papers from his hand.

unriddle what seem to be the most elementary questions, or distrusting the result of his own exertions in the presence of positive assertions from others, who have got an established reputation by possessing better opportunities for getting at new facts; the consequence being either discouragement, or the propagation of error. We will attempt to shew in these pages, from this edition of what Dr. Tregelles^c terms the "Curetonian Syriac text of the Gospel," that even Dr. Cureton ought to be read with caution, and no conclusions to be rashly made from what he either states as a fact or suggests as a probable explanation.

Were we to give a general description of the Rev. Canon's services to Syriac literature, we should say, that in exerting all his influence to procure the MSS. of the monastery of St. Mary, in the Egyptian Desert, for the public library of the largest capital in the world, where they are liberally supplied to any student,—in reproducing the contents of some of them with every possible care,—in causing the most beautiful type to be made from good models, he has done everything which zeal and industry could command. The present text affords a new instance of this, scarcely any mistake occurring in the copy. On the other hand, whenever translation and explanation, in short, real scientific work is attempted, we must be careful in adopting his assertions. Professing to give all he could find of some author, we are by no means sure that he at all exhausted such MSS. as we know he consulted for the purpose. Once he gave to Dom Pitra^d a fragment, pretending to be of Irenæus, which he afterwards almost literally repeated, under the name of Meliton, in his own *Spicilegium Syriacum*,^e from another page in the same MS., without remarking, at least, remarking on, the similarity of contents. More than once he has entirely mistaken the identity of the writers whose works he published, or of the works themselves, of which we merely name the historian, John of Ephesus, afterwards disserted upon by ourselves in a German essay. In interpreting some phrase of the original, he will be perfectly right on one page, and on the next make an unhappy guess at its meaning. Nor ought we to deceive ourselves by laying too much stress on his corrections of Messrs. Renan and Cowper in the *Spicilegium*, the former having been too hasty, and the other, at the time, publishing his first essay in a self-taught branch of

^c Horne's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism, etc., of the New Testament*, p. 267 of the last edition.

^d *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. i., p. 3, from *Add. MSS.*, No. 12,156.

^e Page 32 of the Syriac, and 53 of the English. It appears to be a different Syriac translation, so that the difference of authors' names lies in the Greek originals.

scholarship. The few grammatical remarks he gives on that occasion are simple applications of well-known rules of grammar, if they do not propose some impossible explanation as not quite unworthy of attention. With this general want of close criticism of evidence we find combined a quality which, under the circumstances, we must consider to be very dangerous; we mean the love of gratuitous theory, without regard to contrary opinions, which their defenders have taken the pains of supporting by more elaborate argument.

Prepared as we are to prove these points from the works published before by the Rev. Canon, we shall find ample opportunities, in this paper, to confirm their general truth from the handsome volume now before us. We propose to give, in the first place, some account of Dr. Cureton's editorial cares; to conclude with some remarks on the document itself. In both parts of our examination we shall see him at work, as well in the ascertaining of facts as in the construction of theories.

To begin with the very first pages of his preface, we are obliged to modify some statements about the MS. from which the text has been taken. In the year of our Lord 1221, some illiterate and clumsy-handed monk, repairing the books belonging to the convent of the Mother of God, in the Nitrian Desert, made up a volume of the Gospels by putting together such stray leaves as he could gather, belonging to three or four different copies. "The Count our lord John," as Dr. C. translates, in the days of whose presidency this unhappy attempt at restoration was made, must have been some ecclesiastical dignitary, as his title of Rabban seems to denote, higher than the Rîshdairô, or abbot, of the monastery, whose name follows; the Steward (Parnosô, οἰκονόμος), bringing up the rear. If a conjecture be necessary, this Qûmûs (comes) was some common chief over all the monastic establishments at the Natron Lakes (perhaps the abbot of St. Macarius), for the patriarch of Alexandria can hardly have gone under that title. At all events, although both *Qûmûs* and *count* derive from *comes*, this dignitary cannot have been a "count," in 1221, under the sultan of Egypt.

Of three or four groups of leaves thus rudely made up into one volume, two, together with a single leaf in a more modern writing, have *not* been "restored to the original copies to which they formerly belonged," but constitute together the number 14,451 among the additional MSS. of the British Museum, containing sixty-two, and not sixty-one, leaves in the usual Russia leather binding adopted for this collection. The rest, eighty-seven and a half, are to be applied for under the same number *with an asterisk*,

as Dr. C. does *not* tell us.^f From the entire number of leaves in this MS. five are to be deducted, which, as he omits again to state, are fol. 12—15 (to be bound up with the former volume of stray leaves, as taken from a different copy), and the palimpsest leaf at the end, rewritten at the period of repairing, and referred to for the subscription on page i. of the Preface.

On the recto of fol. i. (Syriac MSS. begin, as all we know of the olden time, at the verso) there is a note concerning the donation made of this volume by a monk, "*Habibai*" (Dr. C.), to "the holy convent of the *Church* of Deipara." If in the bad running hand of that note, the last flourish of the name was really meant for a Yûd, and did not originate in the knob terminating a final Bêth in Estrangelô writing (often hardly distinguishable from the slightly curved Yûd), the reading would be Hhabîbî (amatus meus), and not Hhabîbai, which is against all grammar. However, as there cannot easily be a proper name of such a form as Hhabîbî, we hold ourselves justified in taking away the doubtful termination, and seeing in the word the common Syriac and Arabic name of Hhabîb (Amatus). And, although Bêth Yoldath Alohô means House, that is Church of the Mother of God, it does not follow that Dairô dë B. Y. A. should mean a convent of such a church. For we find as well, a Dairô dë Bêth Urhoyê and a Qërîthô dëmethqaryô de Bêth Bar-Êrûbtô, which Dr. C. would surely not translate as "the convent of the *Church* of the Edesseans, or the village which is called of the Church of Bar-Êrûbtô" A combination as "dairô Bêth Mory Yûhhanan," or "qërîthô Bêth Bar-Êrûbtô" seems foreign to the Syriac mind, as the way of expressing an apposition, and it is for this reason that the relative prefix is used.

This same sort of mechanical accurateness, with a very slight attempt, now and then, to throw in a scrap of experience from elsewhere, we may expect to find in the translation of the text itself, where it can lead to more serious consequences than in the preludes just noticed.

"In order to enable those who may not be acquainted with the Syriac to use the English for comparison with the Greek," Dr. Cureton has given a translation in English, as literal as he could, retaining as far as possible the order of the Syriac words, and doing his best always to render the same Syriac term by the same English expression. This sounds very trustworthy, but we may doubt of the practical value of the principle thus laid down.

^f On p. iii. we are told that the eighty-two leaves and a half containing the Curetonian text "form the volume numbered 14,451," and so the inscription of the facsimile has it.

^g Add. MSS. 14,647 in different places.

The only object in making a translation of this nature can be, to make the reader independent of the editor's private opinions about the original, to enable him to judge for himself. However, no two languages in the world have that perfect identity of structure, by virtue of which each word could be rendered by another of the same value, and the whole arrangement preserved. So there will ever be some passages where private opinions are called upon to decide between two equally possible interpretations, and will very often decide the question without the translator himself being at all aware of it. Then, there are different degrees of literality, and it requires a careful preparation to fix upon a set of principles, to be explained in the preface, and carried out with a never-wandering attention, so that something like equality in this respect may be ensured. Moreover, there are phrases and idioms of speech in the original, which, if imitated, appear to the reader as peculiarities of that original as a text, whereas the greater number belong to the whole language; and, if not imitated, are shut out from the reach of the principle of literal rendering, laid down especially with a view to them. Finally, in this and many similar cases, the translator has in his memory passages from some older vernacular translation, made after a different text, and which suggests at every moment some word or phrase, perhaps not very different from the text to be rendered, but not likely to express exactly the same shade of thought^a which was present in the mind of the man whose peculiarities are to be repeated. All these, and perhaps some more fountains of error, make the undertaking a very precarious one, and the reader, ignorant of the original language, receives its idioms, the private opinions of the translator about the general character of the document, and his reminiscences of translation, mixed up with the common results of vacillating attention, instead of what would enable him to judge by himself of the differences of the text. Some, of course, his bad luck cannot frustrate him of; if the Greek has (Matt. i. 16) τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀνδρα Μαρίας, and Dr. Cureton gives him, "Joseph to whom was espoused Mary the Virgin," he recognizes the "*cui desponsata virgo Maria*" of the old Latin. But to determine the boundaries between what supposes a different Greek text and what was differently understood by the Syriac trans-

^a It is therefore that beginners, studying by themselves, should not read the Pēshîttâ at once, not being yet able to remark its delicate varieties of conception of the original. By that practice nourishment is given from the very first to that obtuseness of grammatical feeling, that linguistic latitudinarianism, to which the language is only the contents of a dictionary, but which we find so often in Oriental science. Our first readings should be of historical texts, as found in many Chrestomathies.

lator, must, to a scholar ignorant of Syriac, be impossible even with a translation as good as can be made, if not accompanied by an ample commentary, where again he is made dependent on his editor.

We should have divided the following examples from Dr. Cureton's literal English version into methodical groups, if in the same passage mistakes of different natures were not frequently entangled together so as to render its repetition under different heads a troublesome necessity. We will, therefore, only keep the translation and the notes separate, proceeding within each division by association of ideas.

Translation. We may begin with the general remark, that Dr. Cureton does not pretend to keep within the bounds of English grammar, giving us sentences like these: "And in those days came John the Baptist, and was preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and was saying, *THAT*, Repent ye," etc. We need not remark that this *that* before the *oratio directa* is the Syriac as well as the Greek expression. Or this: "And while he was speaking to the multitude, *AND*, lo, his mother and brethren were standing without." This latter is a decided mistake, as the *Vau* which Dr. C. translates by *and* is the *Vau apodoticum*, which does not convey the notion of *and* at all. If he reply that *and* is the original meaning, we must beg to contradict. The original meaning implies a connexion generally; quite as the *Dolath* has originally that of relation. Employing *and* in this case obliges Dr. C. to translate *malkûthô dashmayô* by "the kingdom *THAT* heaven."

Matt. ii. 16 we read that Herod "sent, slew all the boys that were in Bethlehem, and in all its coasts." So the reader is led to believe,

First, That *SENT*, *SLEW* supposes a Greek variety of reading: ἀπέστειλεν ἀνείλεν, whereas it is the shortest way in Syriac to express the ἀποστείλας ἀνείλεν of our text, he sent others to slay.

Secondly, That there are only *BOYS* named, whereas the neuter gender being absent from all Shemitic dialects, the only word for *children* is *talyê* in the masculine. In chap. xi. 25; xviii. 1, we have these *boys* again, while in chap. xix. 13, etc., we find *children* as the equivalent of the same word. Similarly, we receive everywhere men's *sons* for *bênê-noshô*, while *bênêkûn* in chap. xii. 27 is rendered, your *children*.

Thirdly, That *in*, given in italics,¹ is not in the Syriac, whilst it is a notorious custom, as well in Hebrew² as in Syriac, to give

¹ Chap. xvi. 18, *stone* should have been given in italics.

² 2 Sam. ix. 12; 2 Kings xvii. 4. Cf. Ewald, § 204a of the last edition of his *Grammar* (1855).

"the place where" (*casus locativus*) by the accusative only, so that we frequently read at the end of a book, "eshtalam kêtobô honô shénat . . . (this book was finished in the year . . .)"; a custom generally observed in the case of Bêth, house, probably to avoid the repetition of the first letter. The preposition exists really, included in the noun.

Fourthly, That the Syriac translator took Bethlehem for a country washed by the sea, and having COASTS; whereas thêhhûmê means boundaries, limits, generally.

Matt. v. 18 we find "one letter Yod (Yûd in Syriac, by-the-bye) or one CORNER." The original is qarnô (ܩܪܢܐ) *cornu*, which is not a corner but a horn, *κεφαλή*, apex, extremity of a character in writing, the Pêshittô having sertô, a line.

Matt. vii. 5. "It shall be perceived FOR thee to pull out the mote." "Methbêhhar lok" means simply, it is perceived, discerned *by* thee, after a well-known rule of language, to name him who performs an action expressed in the passive.

Matt. xv. 23. "My daughter is badly conducted by a devil's HANDS." Bê-îdê phelon is an idiom for, by somebody, by somebody's doing. If we must have the *hands*, by all means, why does not Dr. C. put the blind men, in chap. xx. 30, to sit on the *hand* of the road, and let our Lord walk, in chap. iv. 18, on the *hand* of the Galilean lake?

Matt. xvii. 26. "CHILDREN OF THE FREE are the children." Why not, sons of the free are the sons? If *children* be once admitted, another sacrifice to perspicuity should be made by calling them, freeborn, as bar-hhîrê is the Syriac for *ingenuus*, free by birthright.

Matt. xx. 28. "THE house of a supper" is not very clear; but, moreover, to come lëbêth ahhshamîthô, means only, to a house of repast, for Lomad being here used in its primitive sense of direction towards a place, does not imply the definite article, which it would if employed as a sign of the accusative.

Matt. xxii. 12. "Thou hast not THE garments of THE banquet." This would do very well; it expresses that, for that peculiar banquet, a peculiar set of garments was prescribed. But it does not express the Syriac. "Lait lok neshtë" is, thou hast *no* clothes: whereas, thou hast *not the* clothes, would be "lô hovîn lok neshtë."

Rûhhô dë Qûdshô, which Dr. C. renders by SPIRIT OF HOLINESS, giving the reader some suspicion of remnants of a particular doctrine about the Holy Ghost lingering in the Syriac mind, is an idiom again. Compare "Holiness' City," to which the devil leads our Lord, in chap. iv., and the "oxen of fatness" (suggesting lumps of fat), in chap. xxii. 4. The quaint expres-

sion, "Holiness' City," which looks like the city where Holiness, that is God, has his abode, is only meant for the *status constructus* of the original, as in chap. vii. 21; malkûthô dashmayô is rendered by "the Kingdom of Heaven," but malkûth shêmayô by "Heaven's Kingdom." But, this principle once assumed, of representing the *status constructus* by the Saxon genitive, we should have to go to "supper's house," and to kill "fatness's oxen" as well; yea, the Scribes and Pharisees should have loved "sittings' head," instead of "the chief sittings," expressions which are quite intolerable in a "literal" translation.

And why does our translator attempt money transactions by giving us a "drachm" for a "zûzô" (xviii. 24), or a "stater" for an "estîrô," when he remitted, unchanged, the shamûn, in v. 26, and the denar (dînar or deenar in the oriental form, by the way) in xx. 9?

But there is one passage in this Gospel which shews that common sense and English grammar have hardly been able to keep Dr. C. back on the brink of all Aquila's absurdities. We allude to chap. xvii. 1, "and changed was the vision of his face to their eyes." Here, the principle is clearly laid down, that in literal translation from a Shemitic to a western tongue, a substantive cohering with some verbal root should be expressed by a term derived from the corresponding verb. Had Dr. C. not been protected by old traditions against the consequences of this principle of Aquila's, we should have got, in chap. xxii. 1, a "*drinking*" instead of a banquet, or even a drinking-party; the presumptuous guest, in chap. xx. 28, would have been ashamed in the eyes of the *leaning*, and our Lord would have entered Jerusalem, in chap. xxi. 5, upon "*a suckling, a she-ass's son*,"[†] many going out (ver. 9) "*to his meeting*." And really he *should* have given us all these interesting novelties, and many more, when he did *once* go so far as to give us, for the sake of *literality*, a *vision* of a thing instead of its real *appearance*.

In these few remarks, suggested only by the Gospel of St. Matthew, and that whilst merely looking over the translation, we give, of course, only as much as is needed, to shew that our fears were not without foundation. Dr. Cureton, with varying degrees of resolution, breaks through his Lindley Murray to run after a shade of Syriac expression, of which the sense escapes him now and then, and from which his readers can have no profit, even if he captured it.

But, we may ask, why give a "literal" translation at all? As it is impossible to make merely classical scholars wholly in-

[†] Why *foal* in the translation?

dependent on others in the appreciation of an oriental text, for *them* an elaborate list of all such passages as seem to suppose a different reading in Greek would have done very well: and as for Syriac students without much experience, *they* should be assisted in reading by a carefully written commentary, helping them over the dangers of misunderstanding by communicating to them, from the stock of Dr. C.'s superior learning, such nice observations about the *usus loquendi* as are not clearly explained in grammars. And if, for the benefit of the sale, an English translation were thought necessary, why not give a *really* English one, in a style that is as near as possible to the original: but, before all things, English as well in style as in words? These wants have been *partly* met by the set of annotations given from page vi. to lxiii. of the *Preface*, and as Dr. C. has "the hope of taking up and completing his undertaking in a subsequent volume," we will not here remark on their small number. We only want that what he states be correct, and as completely explained as is wanted for its right understanding.

Notes. In observing (Matt. i. 2) that the name of Isaac, in Syriac, should be pronounced *Ishac*, Dr. C. puts the English reader upon the wrong track, as the latter will invariably connect the *s* and *h* into a well-known sibilant. If he remembers to disjoin them, which can be indicated by a dash, and thickens the *h* into what Mr. Cowper appropriately compares with the Scotch *ch* (loch), which we can signify by *hh*, and, if possible, to pronounce *c'* far back in the mouth, as *q*, and, in the beginning, lengthen the *i* into *ī* or *ee*, he will have a better notion of the Eastern pronunciation.

Matt. i. 19. The relation which a VISION OF THE NIGHT bears to a *dream* in the Syriac mind, might be illustrated by the "nocturnal vision" which happens to a monk (in book i., chap. xiii., of the *Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus*, edited by Dr. Cureton five years ago), "*as a revelation.*" From this it appears, that between a mere dream and a nocturnal vision *in general*, there is not all the distance one might expect.

Matt. ii. 1. JUDA, and not JUDEA, is the *natural* expression for a Syrian, the latter not only following his own vernacular version of the *Old Testament*, translated from the Hebrew itself,

¹ It should be observed, as any native Arab can confirm by audible experiment, that there is a great difference between Kaph and Qûph, however difficult to master for European organs. And if our *c* were used at all in transcribing Eastern words (which has its difficulty before *e* and *i*, as in Cephā), it should be the equivalent for Kaph, *k* being reserved for Qûph. However, it is more accurate and more practical at the same time, to use *k* and *q* (without *u* following). -

and everywhere restoring the Hebrew forms of names, but needing the full form, *ar'd Yêhûdoitô* (γῆ ἰουδαία) to render the Greek elliptical expression.

Matt. ii. 11. "*The boy*—in the masculine; but the Greek *το παιδιον*." We have already observed, that it is impossible to use any other gender than the masculine, for *children*. Then, diminutives are in much less frequent use than in Greek or Latin; and if we find *vulpecula* for *ἀλώπηξ*, or *auricula* for *οὖς*, would Dr. C. give us to understand that this is "one of the leading characteristics" of some Latin version from the Greek?

Matt. ii. 18. In the last note it should be added, that Ar'û is the form for the Hebrew װ not only in Mory Ya'qûb, but in the Pëshîttô and the Syriac chronographers.

Matt. iii. 10. For *hēn* the Aramaic would never be *hoshô*, which means *now*, at this present time, and not *already*, as early as this time, for which there is a different term, *menkadû*.

Matt. iii. 11. ~~וּנְחֵם~~, as Dr. C. writes in Hebrew characters, lamsharoyt, would not have been *to loose* but *to begin* his shoes. It should be ~~וּנְחֵם~~ lēmeshrô in Peal.

Matt. iv. 18. Neither **ANDREÏUS** nor *Andrieus* is the probable pronounciation of the Syriac, but *Andriôs*, which may as well represent *Andreas* as *Andreios*, the Syrians frequently changing terminations, as *-ης*, *-as*, and even *-ov*, into the more familiar *-os*.

Matt. vi. 11. It is well known, that ἐπιούσιος, grammatically, may as well have been derived, with Jerome, from οὐσία (*supersubstantialis*), as from ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα (*quotidianus*). Dr. C. not thinking* of the latter and more satisfactory explanation, and finding the corresponding term (amīnô dēyaumô) (constans diei) in his Syriac, suspects that there may have been another word instead of ἐπιούσιος, and to find this out he proposes to institute a palæographic comparison between the seven characters מרממ (why not מרמממ?) and the ten others מרממממממ. Jerome's τρις, tomorrow, from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, manifestly points to the derivation commonly followed from ἐπιούσα.

Matt. xi. 5. It is hardly credible, that in ~~provo~~, mestaiberin, the Yûd in the middle should often be omitted, as Dr. C. pretends, as it is not a mere *mater lectionis* lengthening a vowel, but the concluding semivowel of a diphthong, and even the sign of a peculiar verbal form (Payel or Pavel, as Hoffmann has it), one of the Syriac substitutions for doubling the middle radical. *If* it ever be left out, we should need some references, which,

^m Although on p. lxxxv he quotes Acts vii. 26, τῇ ἐπιουσῇ ἡμέρᾳ, translates it by ἡμέρα, and does not even suggest the derivation we speak of.

however, although proving Dr. C.'s point, we should be obliged to explain as very bad blunders of the copier.

Matt. xi. 8. "THE WORD ܡܐ means a *house*, and also, when used as a particle, *among*." There are *two* words of the same sound but different origin. BETH (baitô, bôthê), a *house*, is contracted from *bait*, and to be referred to the root ܡܐ (ܡܐ) *to dwell, to stay*. BETH, *between, among*, is contracted from *bainath*, the feminine form of *bên*, which in Hebrew has the same sense. Compare the root ܦܐ (ܦܐ) *to separate, to distinguish*. Remembering the almost perpetual use of the local accusative of *bêth*, a house, which we referred to above, it is clear that by *bêth malkê* the Syrian meant, "in the houses of kings," and not "among kings," as Dr. C. renders it, even if it were possible that St. Luke's ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, as the editor clearly gives us to understand,* were the equivalent of the latter expression.

Matt. xiii. 6. As ܡܪܝܚܐ does not mean to SINK DOWN from an upright position, but to *let* (one's self) *down* from above, and as the Greek, moreover, has ἐκαυματίσθη, the word ܡܪܝܚܐ *must* be shobath, from ܡܪܝܚܐ *to burn*; and it is no use rendering "it sank down," and telling us gravely, that it "may, perhaps, be even more correctly rendered *was burnt*."

Matt. xix. 9. From ܡܪܝܚܐ, ܡܪܝܚܐ is *not* the "infinitive intensive," (for inf. Pael, which properly bears that name, is written ܡܪܝܚܐ *mëgayorû*, and inf. Aphel, causative, is ܡܪܝܚܐ *mëgorû*.) but inf. simply, from Peal, *mëgor*. Nor can ܡܪܝܚܐ be "mistaken for the participle *transitive*" (active, probably), by any but a blundering student, after the language has died out; as the participles are, *Peal*, ܡܪܝܚܐ (*goyar*), *Pa*, ܡܪܝܚܐ *mëgayar* and *Aph.* ܡܪܝܚܐ *mëgîr*, in which the Yûd cannot be left out, as denoting a long vowel, and an *f*, before the guttural. So in Matt. v. 32 we pronounce, *hâyû mëgîr* (pt. Aph.) *lôhh*; *ûman dashqal shêbîqtô mëgor* (inf. Peal) *goyar* (ptc. Peal); (is adulterium-committre-facit eam; et is qui recipit derelictam adulterando adulterat, if a literal version be necessary).

Matt. xix. 12. ܡܪܝܚܐ *eunuchs*, "literally, *faithful* or *believers*." The true statement is, that *mëhaimênê*, *believers*, is the *part.* ACT. (sing. "*mëhaimen*"), and *mëhaimênê*, *eunuchs*, intrusted or confidential servants, the *part.* PASS. (sing. "*mëhaiman*"), from *haimen*, to trust, to believe.

Matt. xix. 16. The ALLITERATION in *malphonô tobô monô* would contribute to refer *tobô* to the *preceding* substantive; but if Dr. C. means the *rhyme* of *malphonô* and *tobô monô*, the

* "The word ܡܐ means a *house*, and, also, when used as a particle, *among*. We find, therefore, in the Greek Matthew, ἐν τοῖς οἰκοῖς τῶν βασιλέων; and in Luke vii. 25, ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, either of which the reading of this text may express."

Syriac is so full of similar terminations, and a word of one accent, in three syllables, suggests so little comparison with two others containing two accents in four syllables and different sounds, that the hint might have been omitted altogether.

Matt. xxi. 1. What is "the *slight* transposition of one letter?" Moreover, even if assuming Dr. C.'s Hebrew characters, "the omission of a slight stroke" would not turn π into γ , but into γ .

But we may stop here again on our arrival at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel. As we can scarcely suspect the editor of Syriac books, who makes a severe example of others, of not having his grammar at his fingers' ends, how is it possible to account for such elementary blunders? Wherever there is the possibility of an error in the printing, or mere levity in the conclusions, we have abstained from making remarks; we have only singled out, from the few observations given about the leading characteristics of the text, such instances as would, in the case of a beginner, be referred to downright ignorance of facts; or, in two or three cases, to a want of habit in writing for a more general public.

As a singular delusion under which Dr. C. seems to labour, we must mention the opinion, that Syriac was, in more ancient times, written in the Hebrew square character. Not only does he assume that St. Matthew, being an Israelite, wrote his Aramaic or Chaldæo-Syriac gospel in that way, but even in his *Spicilegium*, containing documents by no means to be ascribed to Jewish authors, he calls it in in two places,^o for critical purposes, under the name of "the ancient square character." Now, it is a fact,^p that some coins, struck in Mesopotamia in the second century of our era, and extant in the British Museum, present, unmistakeably, our Estrangelô writing, but without the conjunction of characters which pen-and-ink writing only could call forth. The Palmyrene inscriptions, ranging from the first century before to the third after the coming of our Lord, being, therefore, their contemporaries, offer a different writing, from which nobody will be tempted to *derive* our Estrangelô, as put down in that primitive form. Older still than the coins just referred to is the Nisibene series, published by Dr. Blau, of Constantinople,^q in which there can be traced a transition from the general "Babylonian" type^r to the special Syriac (Estrangelô);

^o *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 81—83.

^p Scott's *Notice of some Regal Coins of Mesopotamia*, in the eighteenth volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

^q *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vols. vi. and ix.

^r The inscription on one of the dishes from Babylon, published by Mr. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 521, seems to be Nestorian, and very late, but we have not

the most ancient example from Syria appearing to be a coin' of the fourth century before Christ, which has entirely the Babylonian writing. Now, it is well known, that in the "ancient" square character in which the Old Testament was written by the Jews after the captivity, the oldest extant monument is an imperfect scroll of the Law, dated 845 A.C., at Odessa,¹ and of what development it must have undergone since the return from Babylon, we cannot judge. *No trace* of Hebrew writing is found in the series of Syriac monuments, *no probability* solicits a conjecture, and there is nothing to shake the general belief that Estrangelô, Palmyrene, and Square Hebrew (unless the latter be derived from the Palmyrene), are three branches of the same Babylonian stem. It being a *fact*, that in Bardesanes' time and that of the origin of the Peshittô, Estrangelô was coined on the money of Odessa, Dr. Cureton's theory, of which he omits to give any reasons, is really astonishing. However, he takes for granted, that once Bardesanes' books,² and those of the O. T. Peshittô,³ were written in Jewish letters.

The use he makes of this assumption is quite as extraordinary. He gives us transitions to trace out between groups of characters, as ܡܝܬܝܢ and ܡܝܬܝܡܝܢ , as ܦܢܝ and ܦܢܐ , as ܡܘܨܐ and ܡܘܨܐ , as ܦܪܝ and ܦܪܝ (for which we must read ܦܪܝ), as ܡܘܨܐ and ܡܘܨܐ . Nor does he frown on anagrams, deducing *φυλακτήρια* (ܡܘܨܐ , as he chooses to spell it), from *ʿeraq ʿēphîlô* (or *ʿēphîllâ*, since he follows the Chaldee pronunciation), ܡܘܨܐ ܦܪܝ , by transposing the letters, in "THE SAME WAY," as he ingeniously remarks, "as the name of Jerusalem, *Ιεροσολυμα*, for the Hebrew יְרוּשָׁלַיִם , has been modified from the name *Σολυμα*, common to several other cities, and the prefix *Ιερο* to represent its sacred character." In the same way, indeed, excepting the point to be proved by the parallel.

II. By these and other means, which we are now to examine in their general nature, Dr. Cureton has contrived to get up an hypothesis concerning the nature and origin of a part of his document, which his enthusiastic reviewer in the *Athenæum*, a gentleman apparently altogether innocent of Syriac and sacred literature generally, expresses, by its being "an actual transcription of the Aramaic version" of St. Matthew's Gospel. We venture to correct his statement, which is applicable to each copy

examined it ourselves. Prudent, too, we must be with the inscription from Edessa, in Badger's *Nestorians*, which does not at all look so old as the writer thinks it.

¹ *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satripiés*, par le Duc de Luynes, pl. V.

² Full four hundred years younger than the oldest dated Estrangelo MS. (beautifully written) of 412 A.C., No. 12,150 *Add. MSS.* in the British Museum. See the fac-simile in Lee's edition of the *Theophany of Eusebius*, although not very satisfactory.

³ *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 81—83.

⁴ The present work, p. xxxix. of the Preface for instance, speaking about Zech. ix. 9.

of any of the Syriac translations of that Gospel, as follows: From some ancient Fathers we receive, (as the general opinion of the first Christian centuries?) that the apostle wrote his Gospel in the Aramaic (Chaldee or Syriac) dialect, spoken in his time in Palestine, and that it was preserved in the original language by the native Christians in that country. Now, Dr. Cureton thinks, that when collecting the Syriac New Testament (of which the several books are evidently of different origin), the editors or compilers took that original, as not needing a re-translation of the Greek, and merely adapted it a little to varieties of dialect in use in the other parts of Aramæa; that by repeating this dialectic revision, and putting in some different reading from the Greek now and then, the Peshittô of St. Matthew gained its present form; and that, in this gradual change, our Curetonian text marks one of the first stages.

Before examining the evidence we must again express our very great astonishment at a neglect on the Rev. Canon's part. Having at his disposal sundry old copies of the Peshittô in the British Museum, and descriptions of others in published works, he should have tested, and perhaps supported his hypothesis, by looking for traces of other stages in the gradual modification he supposes to have taken place. In fact, there is a very remarkable Edessene codex of A.D. 548, in the Vatican, the very first which Adler describes (and Adler is quoted* by Dr. C.), where, within the seven first chapters, collated by that learned Syriast, *thirty-nine* variations from Schaaf's Peshittô occur; and among *these thirty-nine, twenty-one are literally, and of some others traces are found in Dr. C.'s text*. Why not notice, or if so, why not mention, this similarity of the text in an ancient MS. from the head-quarters of Syrian Christianity? And why not extend, during the ten years between the printing of the Syriac text and its publication together with the English, this research over all the old MSS. to which a clue could be got? The "subsequent volume," referred to above, will, we expect, repair this and other omissions, however problematical its appearance may seem before it has been worked at (?) for another nine years, as Horace desires us.[†] But, in the mean time, a link in the chain of evidence has been kept back by counsel.

On page lxxiii. the latter begins his address, establishing the first point, about the *Hebrew original* of St. Matthew, in Roman Catholic fashion, by "a chain of historical evidence," consisting, from Papias down to Jerome, of nine links; and no witnesses

* Preface, p. xlv., from Adler's *N. T. Versiones Syriacæ, Havniæ, 1789*.

† See the "Notice" before the *Spicilegium*, which itself does not quite appear like the fruit of long years' labour.

appearing to the contrary, this Hebrew or Aramaic original is taken for granted. Not wishing to make our examination more intricate by hosts of quotations, we merely remark, that many eminent scholars in our days are of the same opinion, as it *seems* a very probable one. But we must examine our chain a little more closely, and we shall find that all these witnesses are to be reduced to *three* primitive ones; Papias, the Hebrew Christians, and Pantænus.

Papias (first quarter of the second century,) tells us that Matthew wrote the *λόγια* of our Lord in Hebrew (that is, of course, the vernacular Aramaic of Palestine, bearing that name in the New Testament also), and that every one explained, or translated (*ἡρμήνευσεν*) it according to his abilities. Now, how did Papias know that? Being a convert from Paganism, unacquainted with Hebrew, he could only know one or more of those *hermeneuses* in Greek, supposing always they were written down;^y and that he very likely did not possess even these, can be collected from his aorist: *ἡρμήνευσεν*, the proper tense, if speaking about a book he knew, used, and valued, being the perfect. Moreover, he was full of fancies about the life of our Lord, telling us (as related by Irenæus), that he had lived to the age of fifty years, and giving that well-known story about the monstrous grape-vines in the life hereafter, which sounds so much like the Jewish repast off Leviathan, and other Talmudic narrations; apparently, and if we remember well, confessedly, he prefers tradition as a source of information about our Saviour. We may gather from this, that Papias had his information from Jewish Christians,^z and cared not very much about ascertaining its accuracy.

So there are only two sources of information left. Of these, Pantænus made a journey to India, *as it was said*, where, *it was said again*, he found the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew among some Christians there. Let us take for granted the journey of some Alexandrian and the Indian Christians; the most probable explanation is, that he found those Syriac Christians of ancient origin, with whom the Nestorians afterwards entered into communion, and of whom the remains are to be found to this day at Travancore. Between Syria and India there

^y If *every one* did translate them, it must have been because there was not a written translation, which they might, and would, have copied instead of writing a new one as well as they could.

^z Who are, *perhaps*, those who interpreted, *orally*, their book to their Greek hearers, each to his abilities, as they did their Old Testament into Aramaic, in the synagogues. He names his authorities, John the Presbyter, and Aristion, "disciples of the Lord," claiming, in all probability, a more orthodox doctrine for themselves; as we know that the apostolic churches were overrun by all sorts of foreign teachers.

was frequent intercourse.* Bardesanes wrote on the country and its inhabitants, and the mysterious Būd Periodentes in Ebedjeshū's Catalogue seems, as Dr. Renan explains in the *Journal Asiatique*, to point even to ancient relations with Buddhist missionaries. And the visitor being no Hebrew scholar himself, could easily take some Syriac gospel for Hebrew, tradition putting in Pantænus the Indian traveller, and the Gospel of the Jewish Christians very readily. Or if Pantænus be insisted upon, how easily could he, being unacquainted with Hebrew, or even understanding it, be taken in in the same way as Papias?

The only direct testimony therefore, and to be relied upon, is that of the Christians from Palestine, who shewed their book to whoever wanted to see it, and allowed Jerome to take a copy of it. What it contained in *his* time; we somewhat know; but what it may have been in the time of Papias, no one is able to tell. Truly, from our present Greek Gospel bearing the name of St. Matthew, and from the affinity of the latter with Jerome's *Evangelium secundum Hebræos*, we may conclude that there must have been some similarity between our Greek and the *ancient* Nazarene Gospel of the same name, but that with corrections and assimilations and additions from the Syriac and the Greek, in a similar way as Dr. C. thinks the Pēshîttô to have been made from it, it may have grown into what Jerome, the only witness who could tell us about its contents, found in the libraries of Asia Minor and Syria. Moreover, it is to be noted, he himself, as far as we know, examined only one copy.

All we know, therefore, is, that Jerome had in his hands a gospel in the Aramaic dialect of Palestine, *similar* to that of St. Matthew in Greek, but differing from it in more than one respect;^b and that the Jewish Christians who possessed it, told him that this was the original of the apostle's book, as their brethren had before assured some other Occidentals, that they possessed such an original, and shewed them a book in Hebrew characters. To these facts the magnificent chain of evidence is reduced, hanging on one hook, some links immediately and some by the means of others. This hook not being safe, critics must call the mystery about the origin of the Greek Gospel in aid, a

* See the beautiful work of Professor Chwolson, *Die Seabier und der Seabismus*, St. Petersburg, 1856, vol. i., p. 342, 370.

^b For instance, the two first chapters were wanting in the "Hebrew." Epiphanius *Haer.*, xxx. 13, tells us: ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίου ἔχει· οὕτως ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας (Luke iii. 1), ἤλθεν Ἰωάννης, κτλ. So it began with ch. iii. of St. Matthew. When Dr. C. proves that Jerome found passages from the second chapter in it (p. lxxv. lxxvi.), he admits that the Nazarenes of Epiphanius and those of Jerome had *different* copies, *both* claiming for theirs the authorship of the Apostle. Another breach in his chain of evidence.

mere argument *ex silentio*, which, if legitimate, would prove fatal to more than one of the sacred books. We may safely assume, that St. Matthew, as having been a publican, could hardly be without a knowledge of Greek, the business language of the Roman administration; and, in fact, St. Peter, St. John, and St. James were able to write in that language, without having that need of it. And if one of them wrote the Apocalypse, hardly intelligible to Christians from the Pagans, in Greek, why should the Evangelist, just for those among the faithful who had the apostles in their presence, and for them alone, have written down a history in the purity of which *all* of them, and principally those *without* Palestine, were interested? And so he would have done by using the Aramaic tongue. Again we must warn against wondering why this Greek Gospel should have been neglected for the first century, since we can gather from Justin the Martyr (middle of the 2nd century), that in his time it was read and received, and Apollinaris quotes it under the name of St. Matthew; both before or about the same time when Bardesanes wrote and the Peshittô began to be collected. As, moreover, none of the authorities in Dr. C.'s chain has any suspicion about the full authenticity of the Greek text, we may safely conclude to a general belief from the most ancient times, that this text was St. Matthew's original. And, leaving the rest of the question to others, we may safely say, that there is in probability as well as in direct testimony, *a weight as heavy in the scale of the Greek text as in that of the Hebrew, not to go farther*. As for Papias, we may as well use his ignorance of the Gospel of St. John for an argument, or that of the Greek St. Matthew; he may not have been well provided with the existing books of the New Testament, and in that case might easily be the dupe of, perhaps sincere, Jewish Christian travellers, and cram his own *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις* with apocryphal traditions of every sort as he appears to have done.

It is a very good observation of Dr. Cureton's, that we should call the language spoken in Palestine neither Syriac nor Chaldaic, but Aramaic,^c as a general name, leaving open the discussion about the particular dialect. But we fear that he has undervalued the difference between classical Syriac, that is, the Edessene dialect, and that of Palestine (the third, according to Barhebraeus, being the Babylonian dialect). Every Aramaic document from Jewish hands, the Pargumîm for instance, has a

^c We may restrict the general opinion, that this term was used for *heathen* Syrians and what belonged to them only, by stating that, for instance, in N. 14,528 Add. MSS. in an abstract of law for *ecclesiastical* courts, some laws are said to have been translated from the Roman into the *Aramaic* language.

Hebrew flavour,^d and very marked peculiarities in grammar as well as in choice of words; and these two are found in what is generally, but wrongly, called the Jerusalem Syriac translation. We will give four verses as a specimen. Matt. xiii. 37—40; transcribed in Hebrew characters:—

הוּ דִּי אַנְבַּ וְאָמַר לְהֵן : אֵהוּ חֹרֶעַ זֹרְעָא מְבַא הוּ אַבְרָה
דְּגֵבְרָא : (38) וְשׁוּרָא הוּ עֵלְמָא : זֹרְעָא דִּי מְבַא הֵנָּה בְּנִי
דְּמַלְכוּתָא : זִנְיָא דִּי הֵנָּה בְּנִי דְּבִישָׁא : (39) סָנָא דִּי חֹרֶעַ
יִתְהֵן הוּ סָמָא : חֲצָא דִּי הֵן שְׂצוּדָא : חֲצוּדִיא הֵנָּה
מִלְאִכִּיא : (40) הִיךְ מָא אֵן דְּמַלְקִטֵּן וּבְנוּרָא יִקְדִּין : הֵנָּה
דִּי יֵהֵא בְּשְׂצוּדָא הֵדִין עֵלְמָא :

Compare the Curetonian, to which we will give the same Hebrew exterior and the variation of Professor Lee's Peshittô; tho only edition we have at this moment at our disposal:—

הוּ דִּי עֵנָא וְאָמַר לְהֵן : זֹרְעָה חֹרְעָא מְבַא בְּרָה הוּ
דְּאִנְשָׁא : (38) וְקִרְיָתָא עֵלְמָא הוּ : הוּ דִּין זֹרְעָא מְבַא הֵלִין אֵנָּה
בְּנִיד דְּמַלְכוּתָא : חִינָא בְּנִידֵי אֵנָּה דְּבִישָׁא : (39) חֹרְעָא הִוִּי
בִישָׁא : חֲצָא שׁוּלְמָה הוּ דְּעֵלְמָא : חֲצוּדָא מִלְאִכָּא אֵנָּה :
(40) אֲכוּנָא הִכִּיל דְּמַתְלִקִּטֵּן זִנְנָא וְיִקְדִּין בְּנוּרָא : הֵכְנָא נְהוּא
בְּשׁוּלְמָה דְּעֵלְמָא :

(37 Pesh.) הוּ חֹרֶעַ זֹרְעָא מְבַא אִתְהוּ בְּרָה דִּיא : (38) אִתְהוּ (עֵלְמָא) : זִנְנָא ב' אֵנָּה דִּיא : ו'
דִּין אִתְהוּ ב' דִּיא : (39) בְּלֻדְבָא דִּין חֹרֶעַ אֵנָּה אִתְהוּ שְׂסֻמָּא : ה' דִּין מ' [אֵנָּה] : (40) אִכְנָא
דְּמַתְלִקִּטֵּן : דְּעֵלְמָא :

Between the Curetonian and the Peshittô we find the difference of more or less *correct* Syriac, whilst the "Jerusalem," or rather Adlerian version gives us what must have been a different *dialect*, that of Palestine. And we have every reason to suppose, that in the time of St. Matthew the peculiarities were rather more marked, and the Jewish Aramaic had a stronger Hebrew tint than in the eleventh century,^d when the Adlerian was transcribed, evidently for use among Christians speaking the dialect. That the Nazarenes and Ebionites wrote their Aramaic Gospel, in St. Jerome's time, in *Hebrew* characters, can easily be explained by their desire to assimilate it to the Old Testament, to which they held it equal in sanctity; and from that circumstance it does not follow that in St. Matthew's time a gospel would have been written in that way, as little as it follows, from our printing the English Bible in Roman type, that it was not printed in black letter when it first came out. In fact, we find the Adlerian Syriac, although a different version, still offering the dialect of Palestine, copied as late as the eleventh

^d See the new edition of Dr. Renan's *General History of the Shemitic Languages*, Paris, 1858, p. 221.

days, "the necessity for verbal accuracy was not so keenly felt," as our editor nicely expresses it, that is, that no one had the slightest idea of criticism, as little as most Orientals have down to our days, and every one held himself at liberty to interpolate, or mutilate, or correct, or equalize, or embellish another's writings? so that Origen, and Jerome in Latin, and Philoxenus in Syriac, as well as the punctuators in the Old Testament, found matters in a very confused state.

To these corrupted, and arbitrarily revised copies of the Peshittô we may refer the Edessene MS. described by Adler, of A.D. 548, as well as that now published by Dr. C. A careful revision, for instance, of the two first chapters will shew, that the differences are generally to be ascribed, partly to dogmatic prudence, in order to take away any pretence for heresy, and partly to phraseological accommodation to the daily forms of speech of some simple congregation, to whom the Peshittô may have seemed somewhat antiquated, as we know that in the very days of Ephraim Syrus some of its expressions had gone out of use, and the copy from which this text is printed is at least a hundred years more recent than the time of that Father.

So, in chap. i. 16, we have "Joseph, to whom was *betrothed* Mary the *Virgin*, who bare Jesus Christ," instead of the Peshittô and the Greek, "Joseph the *husband* of Mary, from whom was born Jesus who is called Christ."

Chap. i. 18. "When they had not *approached* each other" ($\pi\rho\iota\nu\ \eta\ \sigmaυνελθε\acute{\iota}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$).—P.: "When they had not yet been *united*."

Chap. i. 19. "Because *he* (Joseph) was a righteous *man*."—Gr. and P.: "Joseph, *her husband*, being righteous."

Chap. i. 20. "To marry (or bring home) Mary thy *betrothed*."—Gr.: "To take (or receive) Mary thy *wife*."

Chap. i. 21. "And his name *shall be* called Jesus."—Gr. and P.: "*Thou shalt* call his name Jesus."

Ib. "He shall save *the world* from its sins."—Gr. and P.: "He shall save *his people* from their sins."

Chap. i. 24. "And he brought home *Mary* and *dwelt purely with her*, until she bare *the child*."—Gr. and P.: "And he brought home *his wife*, and *did not know her* until she bare *her firstborn son*."

Chap. ii. 12, 22. "In a *vision*" (see above).—Gr. and P.: "In a *dream*."

We see the reverential expressions employed to satisfy the readers' orthodox feelings. Besides, we shall find multitudes of modifications, insertions, and, sometimes, restrictions, apparently meant to simplify and interpret the Peshittô, which they would, at least in the editor's opinion, find too antiquated or too learned

for their understanding. And, had Dr. C. not been blinded by his unhappy hypothesis, he would have read so much quite clearly in the inscription of the first Gospel: *Euangelion DAMPARSHO dē Mathai*, THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW EXPLAINED, or revised to render it easier, more intelligible.^f As it is now, he remarks, that only the first Gospel has that title, and guesses that it means, the distinct (separate) Gospel,^g the Gospel of a different nature from the others; a singular expression, indeed, to say that this is not a translation, while the others are.

But to conclude our remarks, we must again deplore the careless, unprincipled way in which this volume has been got up, and that we have not received the Syriac text years ago without a translation, notes, and explanations, which can neither be trusted nor tolerated. We will not do the injustice to overlook that Dr. Cureton's time is taken up chiefly by his duties as a clergyman; and that we have to be thankful for the *texts* he still contrives to publish now and then, pure as in the MSS. themselves. But he should know that such book-making as this, somewhat in the manner of Baron Bunsen, from half-ascertained and half-digested materials taken up at random, scarcely put together, and foaming with theoretical bubbles, is beneath his dignity, and dangerous to the solid part of his fame. We are assured by his friends, that he has brought a much richer harvest of facts from the Syriac MSS. than would appear from what he really gives us; but as long as we do not see them there will always be incredulous people who suspect that the Rev. Canon is not aware of what he should have, but has not, communicated to his readers. For his own sake alone we would propose to Dr. Cureton only to give the texts, and let others translate and explain them, who have the leisure to do it with some care. As for the tone of these our remarks, we are sure he will not take it amiss, as he has proved, heretofore, by his own example to be a staunch supporter of the maxim: *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas*.

London, Sept., 1858.

LUGDUNOBATAVUS.

* * * We think it desirable to state that the writer of the above is the Rev. P. N. Land, Dr. Theol. of the National Reformed Church in Holland, and now employed by the Dutch Government on the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum.—Ed. J. S. L.

^f Ezra iv. 1, 8 קִרְיָהּ כִּי קִרְיָהּ כִּי קִרְיָהּ, "the letter has been read before me, explained," that is, here, translated. Dr. C. would not prefer to take the inscription in quite the same sense? Similarly in the Targum of Ex. xviii. 11, we have כִּי כִּי כִּי distinct, clear, writing as that of a seal.

^g "The distinct Gospel of Matthew" would be *Euangelion mēpharshō dē Mathai* without dē before the participle, and for this reason alone Dr. C.'s translation would be impossible.

CORRESPONDENCE.

* * * The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

CANONICITY OF SOLOMON'S SONG.

IN the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for April, 1858, in the first Article on the *Song of Songs*, page 3, is a statement of the most positive and dogmatic character concerning the canonicity of the book of Canticles; which is so grossly incorrect that I could but wonder that any one could make it. Thinking, however, that some of your many intelligent correspondents would correct it, I forebore to take the trouble of sending a communication across the Atlantic on the subject; but as no notice is taken of it in your No. for July, 1858, I beg leave to call the attention of your readers to the following statement.

Mr. Ginsburg, the author of the book reviewed, says "in the *Mishna Yadim* (sec. iii. 5) we find the following testimony respecting it, from Rabbi Akiba, one of the most celebrated Rabbins who lived at the end of the first century, and was president of the academy of Bani-Brac. *No Israelite has ever disputed the canonicity of the Song of Songs. No day in the whole history of the world is of so much worth as the one in which the Song of Songs was given to Israel; for all the Scriptures are holy, but the Song of Songs is most holy.* Another Rabbi (Simeon Ben Azzia), in the same place, says, *I received it from the mouth of the seventy-two elders, at the time when Rabbi Eliezer Ben Azzariah was appointed elder, that the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes are canonical.* We have here positive evidence that this book existed in the Canon in the apostolic age, and that it was comprised in the sacred books which our Lord calls *τὰς γραφάς, the Scriptures*, Matt. xxii. 29," etc.

How Mr. Ginsburg could undertake to make the above statement with the *Mishna* before him, is utterly incomprehensible to me, as I presume it will be to any of your readers when they see the *Mishna* fully translated, and learn the time when Eliezer Ben Azzariah was appointed elder.

De Sola and Raphall, in their translation of the *Mishna*, which I have compared with the Latin version of the *Mishna*, published by Surenhusius, render this passage as follows:

"All sacred Scriptures render the hands unclean. The Canticles and Ecclesiastes make the hands unclean. Rabbi Jehudah saith, Canticles make the hands unclean, but Ecclesiastes is (subject) to a dispute (difference of opinion). Rabbi Jose saith, *Ecclesiastes does not make the hands unclean, BUT CANTICLES ARE SUBJECT TO A DISPUTE.* Rabbi Simeon saith, Ecclesiastes is one of those observances in which Beth Shammai (are) less strict, and Beth Hillel more rigid. Rabbi Simeon Ben Azzai said, *I have it as a tradition from the mouths of seventy-two elders, on the day they inducted Rabbi Eliezer Ben Azzariah into the president's seat, that Canticles and Ecclesiastes (both) make the hands unclean.* Rabbi Akivah said, Mercy forbid, no

man in Israel ever disputed that Canticles make the hands unclean; as the whole (history of the) world does not (offer an epoch) equal to the day on which the (book) Canticles was given to Israel, for all the Kethoobim (Hagiographa) are holy, but the Canticles are holy of holies. The dispute in question, therefore, (*i. e.*, among the former Rabbins) referred to Ecclesiastes (only). Rabbi Jochanan Ben Joshua, the son of Rabbi Akivah's father-in-law, said, Even as Ben Azzai stated so was the dispute (*i. e.*, concerning both Canticles and Ecclesiastes), and so was (also) the decision."

From the *Mishna*, therefore, it is clear that there was a controversy among the Rabbis prior to the time when the *Mishna* was written, whether CANTICLES AND ECCLESIASTES were canonical books, and that they were not received formally into the Jewish Canon until the presidency of Rabbi Eliezer Ben Azzariah. Now what was the era of his presidentship?

In the Preface to the *Mishna* by Maimonides, published by Surenbusius in his first volume (signature, D 3), for it is not paged, we find that Rabbi Eliezer Ben Azzariah is enumerated as the *tenth president from Ezra*; and in the enumeration of the second class, on the same page, he is stated to have lived after the destruction of Jerusalem (*post excidium*) by the Romans. The testimony of the *Mishna*, therefore, is distinct that neither Ecclesiastes nor Canticles were authoritatively held to be canonical books by the Jews, until sometime, we know not how long, after our Saviour's crucifixion, but certainly *not less than forty years*.

Baltimore, U.S.,

Aug. 2nd, 1858.

M.

ON THE *SINAI* INSCRIPTIONS; AND ON THE ANCIENT ALTAR AND PALM-GROVE OF *DIODORUS*.

DEAR SIR,—Having already given to the world, in two memoirs, which have been published a few years since in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (vol. iii. and vol. v. : *second series*), somewhat copious accounts of the remarkable *Sinaitic inscriptions*, and having just perused some parts of the Chevalier Bunsen's and the Rev. A. P. Stanley's later writings on the same subject, and on the altar and palm-grove of Diodorus Siculus in the *Sinaitic Peninsula*, wherein I was greatly surprised to find several important errors or mis-statements, I beg, in the pages of your valuable Journal, to make the following corrections and additional observations.

I will commence by objecting to the use by both those learned writers of the term "Sinaitic," and I will repeat my reason for so doing;—namely, because it "too much resembles the term 'Sinaïte,' that was bestowed by the naturalists of the French Scientific Expedition to Egypt upon a distinct species of *granite* from the Mount *Sinai* group."—See my Memoir "on the Geography and Geology of the Peninsula of Mount Sinai," p. 262, in Jameson's *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, No. for Oct., 1850.

Bunsen writes (vol. iii., p. 231, *Christianity and Mankind*, 1854), "*Cosmos* Indicopleustes could find *nobody* able to read the characters, and hence concluded them to be the records of the Israelites in their passage through the desert."

This passage, unfortunately for so distinguished an author, conveys to

the reader *two* errors; *one* of very serious import, and the *other* what may be only a misprint; viz., “Cosmos” for *Cosmas*. Now, instead of Indicopleustes *not* finding any one “able to read the (*Sinaic*) characters,” the *very contrary* proves to be the fact, for he distinctly records—“which inscriptions also *certain Jews who had read them*, related to me that they were *written* thus;—‘a journey of some person, of such a tribe, in such a year, and such a month,’ and as oftentimes with us *certain people* write in taverns.”

I think, however, it will be more satisfactory to add the following extract from the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes, as published in Montfaucon’s *Collectio Nova Patrum*, tom. ii., p. 205, Par. 1706, together with that learned editor’s *Latin* version, because the book is rare, and not easily attainable by every reader, who might desire to examine the exact description: “Ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ Σιναΐ ὅρως ἐν πάσαις καταπαύσεσι, πάντας τὰς λίθους τῶν αὐτοθι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων ἀποκλωμένους, γεγραμμένους γράμμασι γλυπτῶις Ἑβραϊκοῖς, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐγὼ περὺσας τοὺς τόπους μαρτυρῶ ὅτι τινὰ καὶ τινὲς Ἰδδαῖοι ἀναγρόντες διηγοῦντο ἡμῖν λέγοντες γεγράφθαι οὕτως, — ἄπαρσις τῆδε, ἐκ φυλῆς τῆσδε, ἐτεῖ τῆδε, μηνὶ τῆδε, καθὰ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν πολλὰκις τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ξενίαις γράφουσιν.”

“Quamobrem in Deserto *Sinai* montis, inque omnibus Hebræorum mansionibus, videre est lapides omnes ex montibus delapsos, *litteris Hebraicis* inscriptos, ut ego qui istac iter habui, testificor. Quas inscriptiones *Judæi* quidam, qui *ipsas legerant*, narrabant nobis ita habere; ‘Profectio talis, ex tribu tali, anno tali, mensa tali;’ ut plerumque multi nostro ævo in diversoriis scribere solent.”

From this passage, Bunsen’s serious error will be clear to every one, and that it could have occurred through mere inadvertence appears to me scarcely possible.

Neither does his friend, the Rev. A. P. Stanley—a recent traveller in that country—present to us in the following account taken from the fourth edition, 1857, of his book on *Sinai and Palestine*, a perfectly accurate statement. He writes, “About A.D. 518, Cosmas, the Indian traveller (Indicopleustes), visited the Peninsula. He observed ‘at all halting places, all the stones in that region which were broken off from the mountains, written with carved *Hebrew characters*,’ which were explained to him by his *Jewish* companions as ‘written thus: ‘The departure of such and such a man of such a tribe, in such a year, in such a month;’ just as with us some people often write in inns.’ These words well describe the inscriptions in and near the Wady Mukatteb; their position, their numbers, their accessibility, their likeness to the scribbles of casual travellers in halting places. The only inaccuracy is the description of them as *Hebrew*, which to one unacquainted with the language, was a natural mistake from the occasional resemblance of the characters.”—(p. 58.)

In the *first* place, I conceive the year of our Lord 518, is somewhat *too early*; I have before considered that Cosmas travelled in that country about A.D. 530. Dr. Lepsius observes that “he was not only a *contemporary* of Justinian, but likewise describes (about 540) what he himself saw upon the Peninsula.” (*Letters from Egypt, etc.*, translated by Horner, 1853, p. 558.) This agrees with my opinion: for some years, ten or so,

would necessarily have elapsed between his personal visit and the period in which he composed his travels.

The Chevalier Bunsen assigns (p. 234,) to Antoninus, the author of the *Itinerarium*, the "beginning of the 7th century," as the time in which he lived, and makes him "contemporary with Cosmas." Here he is evidently following the learned Ritter, who places that *Itinerary* at the date of about 600 A.D., if so, Antoninus and Cosmas could scarcely have existed contemporaneously. But I have supposed in my first memoir, that the visit of Antoninus to Sinai was nearer A.D. 570; (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. iii., second series, note 22), and if I am correct, then of course these two Sinaic travellers could have been contemporaneous.

In the second place, Mr. Stanley ought to have written as follows; *either* "with carved Hebrew characters, which were explained to him by his Jewish companions, who *having read them*, said that they were written thus;" or, "which some Jews *having read* explained to us, saying that they were written thus."

Mr. Stanley here *omits* altogether the word ἀναγνόντες, which the Latin interpretation properly renders "*qui ipsas legerant.*" Surely this is not fair! And does not this omission make me conclude that he is desirous of implicitly following his friend Bunsen, who most incorrectly states that "Cosmas could *not find* any one able to read the (Sinaic) characters?"

In the *third* place, Mr. Stanley in likening these inscriptions "to the scribbles of casual travellers," conveys an erroneous impression to his readers, because many of these remarkable inscriptions are carefully and deeply cut in the natural rock, and are still, after a lapse of full thirteen centuries and a quarter since Cosmas beheld them, well preserved and quite legible.

And in the *fourth* place, to Mr. Stanley's observation that "the only inaccuracy is the description of them as *Hebrew*," I will repeat in answer what I wrote in 1848, viz., that γράμμασι Ἑβραϊκοῖς are to be understood "not strictly with *Hebrew* but with *Hebraistic* letters;" i. e. letters belonging to some *Hebraistic*, or as linguists now prefer the word "Semitic" dialect, such as Aramæan, Palmyrene, Syriac, Cuphic, ancient Arabic, etc. (Compare my notes 60 and 88, vol. iii., second series, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*) Indeed, the translations of many of these Sinaic inscriptions, as they have recently been made out by Beer and Tuch, tend to confirm the *readings* which those *Jews* gave of them to the traveller Cosmas. And I may add that to one thoroughly acquainted with *Hebrew*, some of Tuch's inscriptions could be readily enough understood.

Likewise ten years ago, "with regard to the *inscriptions*" themselves, I wrote that I was "satisfied that some are more ancient than others; that several are actually the work of Christians, some of whom were Greeks; and that many of the oldest inscribed in those strange characters, have been so executed by an earlier people." And I then further remarked that "the greater number of proper names appear to have been *Hebrew* ones," notwithstanding that Dr. Robinson says incorrectly, "*no Jewish nor Christian names are found among the inscriptions.*"^a

^a Vide *Biblical Researches*, vol. i., p. 555.

Mr. Stanley, however, I am happy to say, now fully proves the *accuracy* of my *previous* statements in these words, and they are of the more importance as being the records of an eye witness; "the existence of Christian crosses and the intermixture of Greek, Latin, and Arabic inscriptions, require in many others a date long subsequent, and prove that the whole series *cannot* be confined within the limits of a *single* generation, but must have extended over a *period of centuries*." (p. 59). And "as regards their antiquity," Mr. Stanley observes (p. 61), "there was great difference of age, both in the pictures and letters, as indicated by the difference of colour; the oldest of course being those which approached most nearly to the colour of the rock."

Next, concerning the ancient *altar* and *palm-grove* of Diodorus. In 1852, I wrote in my second memoir (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. v., p. 54), that the "ancient stone altar mentioned by Diodorus Siculus was in a place *near the sea*, called Φοινικῶν, a *garden of palm* or date trees," which spot "perfectly answered in his description as τόπος παραθαλάττιος, to the palm-grove in *El Wadi*, near Tur." And that the late Lient. Wellsted gives an excellent "account of *El Wadi*, its luxuriant date grove and its wells and springs of water." *Travels in Arabia*, pp. 11—15, vol. ii. And I then also further wrote (*ibid.*, p. 54, note 44), "Cosmas, who travelled in the Sinaic Peninsula about A.D. 530, mentions (Montfaucon, *Col. Nov. Patr.*, vol. ii., p. 195,) the existence of palm trees (φοίνικες) near Παῖθου (*Raithu*) now Tur, in his day: and Dr. Lepsius, in March, 1845, leaving the palm garden near Tur, crossed the plain of El Kaa, and then "at the entrance of the valley (Wadi Hebron) he remarked on the black blocks the *first Sinaic* inscriptions." (English Edit., p. 334). But the palm grove (Φοινικῶν) of Diodorus is erroneously identified by Tuch (*Sinait. Inschrift.*, p. 35,) with that in Wadi Firan, which is impossible, because it is *not* (παραθαλάττιος) *near the sea*."

Two years afterwards, the Chevalier Bunsen thus speaks (in 1854) of the same subjects; "Now there is *but one considerable* palm grove in the Peninsula, and that is in the Wady Feiran (*Paran*, *Pharan* of Scripture). There we have the perennial springs by which Moses refreshed the lingering Israelites with water from the rock." About 510 A.D., "the Monk Antoninus found (*at Pharan*,) a Christian congregation and a chapel, the *altar* of which was placed upon *huge stones* traditionally referred to Moses (Exod. xviii. 12); they very probably *belonged to the pagan altar of Diodorus*. Pharan is a day's journey from the coast, but the western extremity of the Wady Feiran is in latitude 28° 44', exactly one degree above the southern promontory, but a few miles from the coast, very near the sea; and then leads to the king of mountains, the majestic *Serbal*, the *Sinai* of the most ancient traditions and of the most recent criticism."—(*Christianity and Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 236.)

Here again Bunsen commits several errors.—*First*, instead of there being "but one considerable palm-grove," there are well known to be *two* still existing in the Sinaic Peninsula; *one* near Tur, and the *second* in the valley of Firan.

Secondly, I have already remarked that the same author assigns to the traveller-monk *Antoninus* the commencement of the *seventh* century, about

600, and consequently not "about 510 A.D." And I have previously shewn that *the Sinai*, with its convent and chapel, at the time of his visit was *not* Serbal—the ancient traditional Sinai—but the *present* Sinai, and Justinian's convent (*see Tran. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. iii., note 22). Also in this view Dr. Lepsius is subsequently agreed.—(Vide Horner's edition, p. 558.)

Thirdly, the palm-grove in Wadi Firan, beyond Pharan, *not* being "near the sea," παραθαλάττιος, *cannot* possibly answer to the Φοινικῶν of Diodorus Siculus.

And *fourthly*, the altar described by Diodorus was composed, ἐκ σερεῦ λίθου of a *single* hard stone, not ἐκ σερέων λίθων, of *several* hard stones, and therefore was not likely to have been the *same* as that seen by Antoninus.

Bunsen (*ibid.*, p. 238), again adds, "If some curious traveller would look for *Diodorus's* altar, he might easily find it with its 'ancient' letters in the ruins of Pharan." So then, if any curious person should think of seeking for the ancient monolithical altar of Diodorus, among the ruins of Pharan in the Wadi Firan—*distant* very many miles from the sea—he would undoubtedly be looking for it in the *wrong* place.

In order to shew that I put no misconception on the statement of this Greek historian, I here insert the original account from Wesseling's edition, Amst., 1746, of *Diodorus Siculus*, tom. i., lib. iii., cap. 42.

"Ἐξῆς δὲ τῇ μυχῇ τόπος ἐστὶ παραθαλάττιος, ὃ τιμώμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων διαφερόντως πρὸς τὴν εὐχρησίαν τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆ· ἄτος δ' ὀνομάζεται μὲν φοινικῶν, ἔχει δὲ πλήθος τῆς τοῦ φυτῆ πολύκαρπον.

. καὶ γὰρ ὕδατος ἐκ ὀλίγαι πηγῶν καὶ λιβάδες ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ, ψυχρότητι χιόνος ἡδὲν λειπόμεναι· αὐταὶ δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον μέρος τὰ κατὰ τῆς γῆς χλωρὰ ποιεῖσι καὶ παντελῶς ἐπιτερπῆ· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸς ἐκ σερεῦ λίθου παλαιοῦ τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων ἀρχαίοις γράμμασιν ἀγνώστοις."

The sixth word in the original, as printed in that edition, is ἐπὶ, but I have corrected it to ἐξ, supposing it to be a misprint. And a remark in the *note* to the end of that passage being interesting, I here subjoin it.

"*Arabes videntur aræ et inscriptionis auctores; nisi si de Hebræis suspicari quis velit, quod quidem ego vix ausim.* P. Wess." (eling).

And the Rev. A. P. Stanley, in the *first* and *second* editions of his *Sinai and Palestine*, 1856, thus writes; "I will take this opportunity of expressing a doubt whether the learned author (*Bunsen*) is justified in his identification of 'the palm-grove on the sea shore,' mentioned by Diodorus and Strabo, with the palm-grove of Feirân. I took the same view myself till I had been on the spot, but *now feel convinced* that they must have intended the *second* great palm-grove of the desert, that of Tôr, which is on the shore; whereas that of Feirân is so entirely in the heart of the mountains, that it could only by the *greatest inaccuracy* be so designated." —(p. 59.)

This is well and sensibly detailed; but I cannot see why a personal visit to *only one* of the *two* spots, where the palm forests exist—viz., to the palm-grove beyond Pharan,—should make the writer come to a *right* conclusion, when he might originally have done so, without the fatigue of so long a journey—if he had read Diodorus's account with due attention, and compared the same with a modern map of the Sinaic Peninsula. The

fact appears to be, that Mr. Stanley preferred to follow his friend *Bunsen's* view, who himself had doubtless taken up his countryman's (*Tuck's*) mistaken identification (*Sinait. Inschrift.*, p. 35), instead of my own decision, which was made in the spring of 1852. (See *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. v., p. 54). But Mr. Stanley, in the *fourth* edition of his same work, seems now inclined to revert to his *first* view, which was taken previous to his travels; for I was much surprised to find, that he has substituted for the previous passage the following, in his *last* edition, 1857,—“In speaking of the sacred palm-grove on the south-west shore of the Peninsula, (possibly *Feirân*, but more probably *Tôr*), Diodorus says, ‘there is also an altar of solid stone, very old, inscribed with ancient unknown letters.’ As the locality is uncertain, we cannot identify this with any existing inscription.”—(p. 57.)

In concluding this paper, I will make two more observations, which Mr. Stanley's remarks call forth.

First, this traveller states, (*ibid.*, p. 40, note 4), “If *Feirân* be *Rephidim*, a difficulty arises from the *abundance* of water in a spot where Israel is described as *wanting* water.”

This is correct; and moreover Dr. Lepsius, by fixing the spot for the *issuing* of the water from the stroke of Moses's rod to the west of Pharan, at *El Hessue*, has fallen into an error, as the stream there runs the wrong way, and *disappearing* in the cleft of the rock, is seen no more. On the other hand, I have considered that *Rephidim*, and the miraculous *issue* of water, to have been a little to the west of *Wadi Rattame*, where the clear rivulet, according to Lepsius, is still seen to *gush forth* from the ground in a *remarkable* manner. (See the “additional notes” to my first Memoir in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. iii., second series.) This beautiful stream flows through the palm-grove east of Pharan, passing the ruins of that city, and then at about an hour's distance on the west, loses itself in the rocky ground of Wadi Firan, at El Hessue. Consequently before and on the arrival of Moses upon that spot “there was *no water*” to drink. Nor indeed, at that time, could the extensive garden of the manna tamarisks and date palms near Pharan have existed, because those trees cannot flourish *without* moisture. In fact this palm tree, known to the Arabs by the name of *Nakhl*, when growing even in the arid desert, is a *sure* indication that a spring, or water, is *present*. But I may observe *Nachl* or *Nachal* in Hebrew, means a *Wadi*, water-course, or brook, or water itself; indeed in the Septuagint there occurs, *νάχαι Κέδρων*, *nachal Kedron*, the *brook* Kedron, in Jeremiah, chap. xxxi. 40. Hence, possibly the Arabic may be taken from the Hebrew, and so used for a tree, which of all others in that country grows in or near water, *i. e.*, the *water-tree*, and which is alluded to by Jewish authors as the “valley-tree,” or *nachal-tree*. So I think it is perhaps intended for the “tree” mentioned in Jeremiah (xvii. 8), “planted by the *waters*, that spreadeth out her^d roots by the river . .

⁵ This tree being called by the prophet Jeremiah a *female* (*her*), seems to me to give much force to my supposition. The date-palm tree, *Phoenix dactylifera*, is not like the olive or the almond, a *bisexual tree*—*i. e.*, one in whose flowers both male and female portions are present together, but it is strictly *unisexual*, or the male and female

... (and) her leaf shall be green; . . . neither shall (she) cease from yielding fruit;" and again in the third and fourth verses of the first Psalm. Whilst the Hebrew appellation *tamr* or *tamar* signifies this palm tree, the Arabs retain the latter word (tamar) for the date, or the fruit when *dried*. So likewise the *tarfa* or manna-bearing tamarix requires much moisture.

And *secondly*, "Serbal," says Mr. Stanley, "was undoubtedly identified with *Sinai* by Eusebius, Jerome, and Cosmas; that is, by *all known* writers till the time of Justinian."—(p. 40.)

Hence in justice to myself, I must beg to remind the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, that in 1847 I brought forward in two essays the most ancient *proofs* of its identification, which have since been considered satisfactory. Two able authorities (to both of whom I am personally unknown), bear witness of my success; and these are Prof. Lepsius in his *Letters from Egypt, etc.*, translated by Horner, p. 541, and the writer (the Rev. Geo. Williams,) of the article "*Sinai*," in pp. 1004—5, vol. ii., of Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

And as I learn from the same work of Chevalier Bunsen, that Prof. Tuch is now engaged in deciphering a large number of the Sinaic inscriptions, which Dr. Lepsius and M. de Laval respectively copied during their late journeys in the Peninsula, I may probably, after they shall have been published, trouble you with another communication on their language and interpretation.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours truly,

JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S.

*Norton House, Stockton-on-Tees,
August 28th, 1858.*

ON THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—In commencing my reply to H. M. G., I must make two acknowledgments. First, I own that Augustine and Sulpicius Severus were more nearly contemporary than I formerly supposed. In January I was under the impression that it was only the latter years of Augustine which coincided with the earlier years of Sulpicius Severus. On reference to Cave I now find that H. M. G. is correct, and that "Augustine and Severus were contemporaries for a good many years, both in age and authorship."

The second point which I have to acknowledge is that I have partly misunderstood the drift of H. M. G.'s argument. My excuse is that it is not always easy to discover what is his meaning.* The clause which he

are on separate trees—the former of course yielding no fruit. It belongs to the class *Dioccia* of botanists. This separation of the sexes in the palms was well known to the ancients.

* For instance, in his list of consuls, he places the beginning of John's ministry in the consulate of M. Asinius Agrippa and Cossus Corn. Lentulus. Yet *J. S. L.*, October, 1857, p. 74, he says "the commencement of John's ministry being dated, for its

most bitterly complains of my assailing is the following,—“Sabinus and Rufus, under whose consulate, without question, Christ was born, for it was ‘the year of the taxing.’” I understood H. M. G. to mean—and I still think that it is the obvious meaning of his words—that, the year of the taxing being a well-ascertained date, the date of the nativity could “without question” be ascertained therefrom. It now appears that H. M. G. meant to express something of this sort, that, as several of the early fathers allude to the records of the taxing, they must have known the consular year of that taxing: and that since Sulpicius Severus names the consulate of Sabinus and Rufus as the year in which Christ was born, he must have stated this on the authority of this popular tradition. Now it is true that the authorities cited by H. M. G. prove that the early Christians believed such record to exist; but they do not prove that these early Christians were unanimous as to the date of the ἀπογραφῇ.^d On the contrary, their mention of it rather negatives than confirms the notion, that the tradition about the date of the ἀπογραφῇ was at all uniform. None of them professes to have seen the record; and, while Justin Martyr and Eusebius place it, in accordance with St. Luke, under the presidency of Cyrenius, Tertullian tells us that it took place under Sentius Saturninus. Even if their tradition were more uniform, it would not clear up all the difficulties which embarrass this perplexing question of the ἀπογραφῇ. Notwithstanding H. M. G.’s laboured argument, I still think that the early churches held no very certain tradition as to the date of the nativity. I think with Clinton, that the early fathers knew little or nothing upon this subject except what was derived from the Scriptures which we now possess. H. M. G. acknowledges that the Eastern churches held no such tradition up to the close of the fourth century. This of itself affords a strong presumption against the existence of any such tradition among the Western churches. Besides, even among the Latin fathers we find contradictory statements on this point. Tertullian, for instance, (whose own statements about dates are not very easily reconciled with one another), states (*Adv. Judeos*, c. 8), that Augustus survived the nativity fifteen years. This implies that our Lord was born at least fifteen years before August, A.D. 14, *cons. duobus Sertis*, and will allow of our placing the nativity in the early part of the year B.C. 2—say in the early part of the consulate of Augustus XIII. and M. Plantius Silvanus. Yet, as H. M. G. shews, Sulpicius Severus places it two consulates earlier, *cons. Sabino et Rufino*. Irenæus too could scarcely have known of any such tradition in that part of the Western Church over which he presided, else he would not have written what we read in the 39th chapter of his second book

earliest possible period, at the commencement of the consulate of Gætulicus and Sabinus.” But Gætulicus and Sabinus were consuls the year after Agrippa and Lentulus.

^d H. M. G. must not suppose that I was ignorant of such mention of the ἀπογραφῇ. Indeed, as he himself reminds me, I have quoted a passage of Eusebius, in which it is mentioned. My reason for not alluding to it in January was because I did not then see how it bore upon the argument. I now see the bearing of these allusions to the ἀπογραφῇ, and consequently notice them. With respect to that passage of Tertullian, which he blames me for not noticing, it would have facilitated my reference if he had given the chapter correctly.

against the heretics. It seems therefore that H. M. G. is scarcely warranted in saying, *J. S. L.*, October, 1857, p. 68, that "the year in which his (our Lord's) birth happened, must have been quite undisputed among the early churches; or in asserting that "without question" Christ was born under the consulate of Sabinus and Rufinus.

To proceed with H. M. G.'s letter, we may pass over pages 441, 442, 443, and the greater part of 444, as irrelevant to the question in dispute between us. The earlier part of these pages refers to the date of the crucifixion. As I have expressed no opinion as to the date of that occurrence, or as to the possibility of ascertaining it, I do not see why H. M. G. should be so anxious that I "should change my opinion on this subject."

The latter part of these pages is devoted to a discussion on the authority of Scaliger. Very remote indeed must be the effect which H. M. G.'s opinion of Scaliger can have on the settlement of the date of the nativity. Perhaps, however, he will permit me to remind him that he has mis-represented Scaliger's opinion as to that date. Scaliger does not place the nativity four years, but only about two years before the vulgar era.

In page 444, H. M. G. touches upon another point of my "refutation."* In January I asked, "What other writer dates the years of Tiberius from three years before the death of Augustus?" I again ask the same question now. H. M. G. acknowledges that the Latin authors and many of the Christian writers date the years of Tiberius from the death of Augustus, not from three years before his death. He gives not a single instance of any author dating the years of Tiberius *directly* from any earlier period than the death of Augustus. He merely quotes a passage from Clement Al., from which he indirectly infers that Clement must have intended to date the beginning of the reign of Tiberius from an earlier period. Yet, curiously enough, with this very passage H. M. G. is so dissatisfied, that he says that it requires emendation. Let him produce a single author of the first century who *directly* dates the years of Tiberius from a point prior to the death of Augustus, then my opinion will be shaken: but till then I shall continue to believe that by "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar," St. Luke meant the fifteenth year after the death of Augustus.

Not having access to the *Chronicon*† of Eusebius, I cannot follow H. M. G. through his observations upon it. I may remark, however, that the forty-second year of Augustus would not exactly coincide with the consulate of Lentulus and Messala. It would be from the ides of March in that year to the ides of March in the following year, and would include the times to which I have assigned the birth of our Lord and (probably) the death of Herod the Great.

H. M. G. refers me to Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii. 4, 6, for a proof that, when that author speaks of a certain number of years, he means years current—not complete. If H. M. G. had read my article of January,

* I beg to remind him that "refutation," like "grand secret," though marked by him with inverted commas, is *his* expression, not mine.

† Surely H. M. G. is under some mistake as to the recent discovery of the *Chronicon*.

1855, as attentively as he professes to have read it, he would have seen that I admit the thirty-seven years of Philip's reign to be years current. But, because Josephus in this one instance means years current, it does not follow that he never means years complete. H. M. G. says, "In all instances, when Josephus gives the years complete, he adds the months and days to his account;" but he surely is not consistent with himself in this remark; for, *J. S. L.*, October, 1857, p. 70, he says that the deposition of Pontius Pilate "must have been in his eleventh year." Now as Josephus says that Pilate "tarried ten years in Judæa," he must according to H. M. G. have meant ten years complete; and yet there are no months or days "added to the account." In giving the length of the reigns of the Cæsars, Josephus mentions the months and days, but not, so far as I recollect, in any other cases, certainly not in the case of any of the Herods.

H. M. G. acknowledges that he was mistaken as to the prænomen of Vitellius and his assumed identity with the emperor of that name. I should not have noticed his sneer at me on this subject, if he had not charged me with want of candour in not "saying that the error made no difference to the argument;" for that "Lucius Vitellius the consul was equally the survivor of Tiberius, being the procurator (qu. president?) who displaced Pontius Pilate in the government of Judæa, and therefore living when Tiberius died." Now I certainly am not chargeable with want of candour in not saying this, for I did not, nor do I now, believe that Vitellius the consul and Vitellius the president were identical. H. M. G. ought to have given some proof of this, and also of my knowledge of it, before he accused me of want of candour. As to the supposed "double eclipse," since H. M. G. refers me to "Peter Parley," he will perhaps permit me to refer him once more to "an earlier and greater authority." If he will look into the *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xlii., 150, he will find a list of the eclipses which actually *did* take place, (not which, as H. M. G. supposes, *might* have taken place,) as calculated by an eminent French astronomer, Pingrè, I believe. That list I cannot consult without a purpose journey to the British Museum; but from my notes upon it, I collect that there was no lunar eclipse in September, A.D. 1, which (as I now understand him) is the year which he considers to have preceded the year of the death of Herod. He had better however consult this table of eclipses for himself.

Having now noticed the answers which H. M. G. has given to my "strictures," I will now refer to some others of my "strictures" which he has *not* noticed. He has not given any reference by which I might determine whether it was in June or September that Herod was elected. He has not replied to my strictures on his observations as to the length of the reign of Tiberius. Nor has he noticed my observations (not indeed immediately relevant to the question before us,) on the translation of Matt. ii. 1, and on the words of the third verse of that chapter, "and all Jerusalem with him."

H. M. G. is very indignant that I did not "enter the arena against him" on his first article, instead of "attacking him on some details." If I understand H. M. G. aright (and I again say that it is not always easy to understand what he means), his argument may be condensed as follows:

"Sulpicius Severus says that the nativity was in the consulship of Sabinus and Rufinus. Now I have shewn that that consulship corresponded to a certain year. Therefore the nativity was in that year." Now surely I was at liberty to attack either of these premises. If either link fail in his chain of argument, his conclusion falls to the ground. Surely I had a right to assail either of his premises. He has no right to choose the point at which I shall attack him. This would be as absurd as if the Russians, when baffled at Sebastopol, had said, "Oh! but it was at Cronstadt that you ought to have attacked me." Surely I was at liberty to try to break down that branch of his argument, in which I thought that I detected a flaw.⁹ Whether I have been successful in pointing out that flaw, it rests with your readers to decide: for I do not, like H. M. G., take upon myself the office of judge in my own cause, and pronounce my adversary "not competent."

In conclusion—for this must be my concluding paper: ere any rejoinder from H. M. G. can appear in your pages, many thousands of miles of ocean will probably intervene between him and me—in conclusion, I say, let us part in peace. Bitter thoughts and rough words cannot advance the cause of Christian truth. If H. M. G. thinks that I have been too sarcastic upon him, I hope that he will forgive me. I wrote in haste, as I do now, in order to be in time for the succeeding number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. If I had, like H. M. G., waited for the next number but one, I might perhaps have moderated my tone. I can only say that I hope that he will forgive me, as I forgive him for his harsh expressions respecting myself.

He ought, however, to remember, that if an author publishes his opinions to the world, he ought to be prepared to find those opinions called in question. *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, as he observes, affords "an open and safe field to all legitimate inquiry," even if it proceed from such an unworthy individual as,

Your obedient servant,

Burton Pedwardine.

H. H. B.

P.S. Since I am twitted with casting "*unsupported* stricture," etc., I must, in justice to myself, remind your readers of the reason which, in January last, I gave for not bringing forward further arguments in support of my views. Having already submitted those arguments to the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* (January, 1855), I thought it better to refer to that article, than again to trespass upon your space with any full detail of my arguments.

For the benefit however of those who have not time or opportunity to refer to the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, January, 1855, I subjoin a short summary of the chief reasons which induced me to place the birth of our Saviour on or about January 1, B.C. 2, and his baptism on or about January 1, A.D. 29.

⁹ That flaw is that Sulpicius Severus is a "late" authority as compared with the fathers who lead us to a different conclusion, and that H. M. G. owns that the rest of his testimony is not trustworthy.

St. Luke states that our Lord was about thirty years old at his baptism; and that John began to baptize "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar." Now the obvious meaning of St. Luke is, that John began to baptize (and in all probability that Jesus was baptized) in the fifteenth year after the death of Augustus, the predecessor of Tiberius. Consequently, since Augustus died August 19, A.D. 14, our Lord must have been baptized on some day (probably about Christmas or Epiphany,) between August 19, A.D. 28, and August 20, A.D. 29.

Let us then place the baptism of our Lord on or about January 1,^a A.D. 29; and then let us see how this date falls in with other data for determining the date of the baptism.

First, we find that January 1, A.D. 29, is early in a new week of years; and this agrees very well with the words of Daniel (ix. 24 and 25), who seems to imply that the anointing of the Most Holy and the coming of the Messiah (Anointed) Prince, would be soon after the expiration of the sixty-ninth week of years. Secondly, it brings the baptism within the procuratorship of Pilate, who seems to have entered on his office A.D. 26 or A.D. 27. Thirdly, it corresponds very well with the words of the Jews, who at the following passover said that the temple had been forty-six years in building. The Passover, A.D. 29, was exactly forty-six years after that spring in which Herod began to build the temple. Fourthly, a large portion of the fathers concur in giving evidence in favour of these dates of the nativity and baptism.

There is positively nothing^d direct^e to be alleged against these dates except certain statements of Josephus, which have induced a general belief that Herod the Great must have died before January 1, B.C. 2. I have tried to shew that this opinion is unfounded, that Josephus not only might, but *must* (as appears from his statement respecting the eclipse, January 19, B.C. 2,) have meant to place the death of Herod about the end of February or the beginning of March, B.C. 2. His statements about the length of the reign of Herod's sons are to be solved on the Mischnical principle, "*Primo die mensis Nisan, regum et festorum principium anni est.*"—*Surenhusii Mischna*, vol. ii., p. 300.

If then Herod did not die till (say) March 1, B.C. 2, there is positively no reason at all why we should not take the words of St. Luke in their natural sense, and place the birth of our Lord on or about January 1, B.C. 2, and his baptism on or about January 1, A.D. 29.

^a This particular day is named solely for the purpose of avoiding the fraction of a year.

^d Always excepting the knotty question of the taxing under Cyrenius, a difficulty which applies with equal force to all the other dates to which the nativity is usually assigned.

^e I say "direct," because an indirect argument may be drawn from the date, or supposed date, of the passion. I have tried to shew that there are many points to be proved before this indirect argument can be used as a lever for upsetting the obvious meaning of St. Luke.

LORD ARTHUR HERVEY AND SCRIPTURE GENEALOGIES.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

DEAR SIR,—It may be in the remembrance of some of your readers that in your No. for January, 1856, a correspondent signing himself H. M. G. impugned the argument drawn by me (in my book on the *Genealogies of our Lord*, and in a letter to your Journal of October, 1855) from divers genealogies, in favour of a much shorter time between Moses and David than is supposed in the common chronology, by adducing the genealogy of Jerahmeel's posterity given in 1 Chron. ii., in which H. M. G. alleged were twenty-four generations from the patriarchs to David, instead of only fourteen, as in those referred to by me. And he argued that this one longer genealogy was sufficient to shew that the argument drawn from the shorter ones was not to be relied upon. In my reply (April, 1856) I first excepted to your correspondent's gratuitous assertion that the genealogy in question ended in the time of David, on the truth of which the whole force of the argument lay, but of which, I averred, there was no proof whatever, and which could not be assumed without proof, as the genealogies in the book of Chronicles terminate, some in the time of Hezekiah, some at the captivity, some at other times. I then added that not only was there no proof that this genealogy of Jerahmeel terminated in the time of David, but that there was most distinct proof that it did not, inasmuch as the fourteenth person in the series, Zabab, the son of Attai, was a well-known individual, being one of David's mighty men, and therefore contemporary with him. And I concluded that this genealogy, so far from overthrowing the argument deduced from the others, does in the most remarkable manner confirm it, inasmuch as it shews the fourteenth generation to be contemporary with David, which is exactly the number to which the other genealogists point.

I had not the good fortune to convince your correspondent, as appears by his letter in your Journal for January, 1857. But as I had no new evidence to adduce, I did not think it advisable to continue the discussion.

I have since, however, found so striking a confirmation of the truth of the view taken by me of Jerahmeel's genealogy, that I think it worth while to ask for a small space in your Journal to lay it before your readers.

In 1 Chron. ii. 39, occurs the name of AZARIAH, as one of Jerahmeel's line, and it appears, from ver. 38, that OBED was his grandfather. But we learn from 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, that "Azariah the son of Obed" was a captain in the time of Athaliah. And there are six names in this genealogy after Azariah: how then can it end in the time of David?

But it will not now be difficult to ascertain in whose time it really does end, or, in other words, in whose reign it was drawn up. One is ready to guess at once, that as it was not drawn up in David's time, it very likely was in the reign of Hezekiah, as we know how active "the men of Hezekiah" were in drawing up genealogies. Accordingly, to test it, we count the generations of the kings, beginning with Joash, who was a child of seven years old when Azariah was a captain of a hundred, and

we find (1) Joash, (2) Amaziah, (3) Uzziah, (4) Jotham, (5) Ahaz, (6) Hezekiah, *exactly corresponding* with the *six* names which follow Azariah in Jerahmeel's genealogy. Again, ascending, we count between Joash and David, (1) Ahaziah, (2) Joram, (3) Jehoshaphat, (4) Asa, (5) Abijah, (6) Rehoboam, (7) Solomon, answering to the *six* names from Azariah to Zabad inclusive; an agreement, which, though less exact, may be deemed satisfactory, when the extreme youth of both Ahaziah and Joram, and the consequent crowding of the generations in the royal line, are taken into account. Besides, in any single genealogy, we can never be quite sure that one or more generations is not omitted by accident or design.

It appears, then, with perfect certainty, that this genealogy of Jerahmeel's family was compiled in Hezekiah's reign, and NOT IN DAVID'S; that it exhibits thirteen or fourteen generations from Judah to David, twenty-four to Hezekiah, and, consequently, that it confirms with singular force the argument from ALL THE OTHER GENEALOGIES EXTANT, as to the shorter interval between the Exodus and David, for which I have contended. I may just add, that the fallacy of some of your correspondent's other chief arguments arises from his having mistaken certain names of towns, as Beth-lehem, Kirjath-jearim, and Beth-gader, for names of men, in consequence of such phrases as Salma the father of Beth-lehem, etc. It is this singular mistake which caused the obscurity of which I complained in a former letter, but of which I did not know the cause till I read H. M. G.'s letter in your No. for January, 1857 (pp. 441 and 447). By restoring these names to their proper class, which their Hebrew meaning makes sufficiently clear, your correspondent will be able to receive the book of Judges as a real (not an *ideal*) history, and yet at the same time to believe that Salmon the son of Nahshon is what he everywhere is represented as being, the same person as Salmon the father of Boaz, and that Rahab, who bare a child to Salmon the son of Nahshon (according to St. Matthew), is the same person as Rahab, who was the celebrated contemporary of Salmon the son of Nahshon, according to the book of the Old Testament, and the only person of that name mentioned in Scripture.* I would also remind him that, even supposing he could make two Salmons and two Rahabs, in order to evade the force of David's genealogy, he would have to repeat the same process with each of the other EIGHT genealogies extant, which all point with perfect unanimity to the same length of time as David's does.

I remain, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR HERVEY.

DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

DEAR SIR,—Your No. for July contains a very interesting article on "The Chronology of our Lord's Birth, Death, and the Duration of His

* If Rahab in St. Matthew were not "Rahab the harlot," what possible object could St. Matthew have in mentioning her name?

Ministry." Having a work in the press in which that subject is fully considered, may I be permitted to shew some reasons why, as I think, both the birth and death of our Lord should be dated some years earlier than R. N., the writer of the above article, is inclined to allow?

The conclusion at which R. N. arrives will be best stated in his own words. "First, that the birth of Christ took place about the close of B.C. 4. Secondly, that John commenced his ministry in April, A.D. 26, and continued for about three years and a half. Thirdly, that Christ was baptized probably in October, A.D. 29, and after a ministry of about three years and a half, died in April, A.D. 33. The preceding statement of months is founded on the *universally acknowledged fact*, that the crucifixion took place in April" (*J. S. L.*, July, 1858, p. 383.)

Premising that nothing is said in Scripture respecting the duration of John the Baptist's ministry, and thinking to be able to shew that the statement of the crucifixion having occurred *in the month of April*, can hardly be termed an "universally acknowledged fact," I proceed to notice some reasons,

I. Respecting the time of the Incarnation.

(1.) It is evident from Matt. ii. 16, that Christ was born some time, probably upwards of "two years," *before* the death of Herod the Great. Some have endeavoured to lessen the force of this inference by a passage from Aristotle, wherein he speaks of stags of the *second year* (*διετείς*, the same word as the Evangelist uses) beginning first to produce horns, which they are known to do at the *commencement* of the second year, but Benson, in his Essay on *The Chronology of our Saviour's Life*, has justly pointed out, that both in sacred and profane authors, and in all the Fathers, the word is used in the sense which our Version gives. An editor of Parkhurst remarks that "Schleusner, Wahl, and Bretschneider, all agree that *ἀπὸ διετίως* is for *ἀπὸ διετών*, *all the children of two years old*." The remarkable testimony of Macrobius, a heathen writer of the fourth century, confirms both this view, and also the fact which St. Matthew records. He writes, "When Augustus heard that among the male infants *about two years old*, which Herod, the king of the Jews, ordered to be slain in Syria, one of his sons was also murdered, he said, 'It is better to be Herod's hog than his son.'" (*Saturnalia*, i., ii., c. 4.) As the flight into Egypt took place after the slaughter of "the Innocents," and Joseph and Mary remained some time in Egypt, before they were told in a dream that "*they* (viz., Herod, and his son Antipater, whose death preceded his father's just five days, according to Josephus, *B. J.*, i., xxxiii. 8.) are dead which sought the young child's life," we may fairly conclude that our Lord was more than two years old at the time of Herod's death. The question then to be decided is the exact date of that event. Josephus, without stating positively when that occurred, affords a clue for our guidance. It must have happened shortly before one of the passovers, for Archelaus, his son and successor in the kingdom, appears to have kept a passover in Judæa after his father's death, and before he went to Rome, which the historian describes him as "proposing to do immediately, to look after Cæsar's determination about him." (*Jos., Antiq.*, xvii., ix., 1.) Josephus likewise mentions that *an eclipse of the moon* occurred on the night in which Herod

caused the High Priest, Matthias, and some Rabbies, to be put to death (*Antiq.*, xvii., vi., 4); and it is clear that Herod did not survive their execution a full year. It is generally supposed that the eclipse alluded to by Josephus, was that of March 13, A.U.C. 750, or B.C. 4; but as the pass-over of that year fell on April 11, it is impossible to crowd into the short space of one month all the events of Herod's closing days, which Josephus records *subsequent* to the death of the Rabbies, and *previous* to the pass-over which Archelaus attended before his journey to Rome. *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, records another lunar eclipse of the previous year—viz., “J.P. 4709, 5 A.C., March 23, à 6 et 3 qr.” the elements of which more accord with Josephus' words, than that of the succeeding year, and this, I have little doubt, is the eclipse referred to by the historian. Taking this, then, as a guide, we may reasonably conclude that Herod's death occurred either at the close of B.C. 5, or very early B.C. 4, and this agrees with the date which we gather from both Josephus (*Antiq.*, xviii., xiii., 2), and Dion Cassius (lv. 2), for the commencement of the reign of his son Archelaus, who “did reign in Judea in the room of his father Herod.” (Matt. ii. 22.) Hence, according to the inference, that our Lord's birth preceded the death of Herod upwards of two years, it must be dated as early as A.U.C. 747, B.C. 7.

(2.) The true date of “the taxing,” mentioned by St. Luke ii. 2, may assist us in our search for the date of Christ's birth. Lardner has proved, with the greatest ability and critical skill, that the words of St. Luke may be read thus—“This was the first assessment (or survey) of Cyrenius, who was governor of Syria” (*Credib. of Gosp. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 335), meaning that it was the first assessment made by him in Syria, who subsequently became its governor, for it is clear from the language of Josephus (*Antiq.*, xvii., xiii. 5, and xviii., i., 1), that Cyrenius did not become governor of Syria until Archelaus was banished by the emperor Augustus, which, according to Dion Cassius (Lib. 55) happened A.U.C. 759, A.D. 6, and also from the statement of Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 19), that Sentius Saturninus was governor of Syria at the time of our Lord's birth. Reconciling, therefore, the apparent discrepancy of these statements, by supposing that Cyrenius was sent expressly to make this taxing or *enrolment* (Dionysius Hal. describing the duty of citizens to enrol or register their estates, uses the same word ἀπογραφῆσθαι—*Ant. Rom.*, iv. 15, that St. Luke does) during the time that Saturninus was governor of Syria, we must endeavour to discover when his period of office expired, in order to obtain an approximation to the time of our Lord's birth. Josephus relates (*Antiq.*, xvii., v., 2) that Varus succeeded Saturninus as governor of Syria, without specifying the date of his arrival; but there are extant some ancient coins with the name of Varus, and a figure representing the city of Antioch, with a date XXV in Greek numerals, which demonstrate that Varus became governor of Syria before Sept. A.U.C. 748, B.C. 6, for the era referred to the date of the battle of Actium, Sept. 2, B.C. 31, then in use amongst the people of Antioch. The year XXV of this era would extend from Sept. B.C. 7 to Sept. B.C. 6. Hence, as Saturninus must have left Syria, and the taxing made by Cyrenius during his government, occurred before Varus's accession to office, we may fairly place the

nativity as early as A.U.C. 747, B.C. 7. This is further confirmed by what Josephus (*Antiq.*, xvii., ii., 4) relates concerning the "whole Jewish nation taking an oath to be faithful to Cæsar," which Dionysius tells us, in a passage already referred to, was done at the time of an enrolment of Roman subjects, which the Jews then were. For this solemn act of the Jewish people occurred before Antipater sailed for Rome, which, we gather from Josephus, must have been nearly two years previous to his father's death. We have additional evidence for dating Christ's birth as early as B.C. 7. Thus Mill, in his work on the birth and death of Christ, observes, "At Jramento astricti sunt Judæi, A.U.C. 747; quare descripti simul sunt, et Christus natus eodem anno." (*De Veris Annis D. N. J.*, x., p. 68.) And the learned abbot Sanclemente, in his treatise, *De Æra Vulgari*, assigns the census made by Cyrenius, and the nativity of Christ, to the year A.U.C. 747, on the authority of a fragment of an ancient inscription, which is given in Canon Browne's valuable *Ordo Seclorum*, p. 48.

(3.) The star which guided the magi to Bethlehem, is another ground for assigning this date to the year of the nativity. There is nothing in the simple record of the evangelist (Matt. ii. 9, 10) to intimate that a star was created expressly for the purpose. To argue so rather tends to support some of the extraordinary stories which have been invented in order to impose upon the simple; such, *e.g.*, as one among the ancients, where the writer (Auctor operis imperfecti in Matthæum, quoted by Whitby *in loco*) cites an apocryphal history, "*This star appeared in the form of a child, holding a cross in his hand*, and telling them that Christ was born, and that they should go to Jerusalem to worship him." Remembering that the Almighty never *unnecessarily* works a miracle, may we not reasonably conclude that the appearance of the star, and its transit, may be accounted for, and explained, on purely astronomical principles? If so, it will aid us very materially in our search after the true date of the nativity of Jesus Christ.

We learn, from the address of Stephen to the elders of Jerusalem, that the Jews had a peculiar reverence for a star, which he calls "the star of your God Remphan" (Acts vii. 43), evidently alluding to Amos v. 26. "Moloch and Chiun, your images the star of your god." In place of "Chiun" the LXX. have "Rephan," which some MSS. of Acts vii. 43, read instead of "Remphan." Aben Ezra informs us that "Rephan" signifies *Saturn*, and with great probability, as it is so called in the Arabian, Persic, and Coptic tongues. Abarbanel declares that nothing in astronomical science could be of greater importance than the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, and that these planets were in conjunction before the birth of Moses, in the sign Pisces, remarking, that the sign was a most significant one for the Jews. From this he argues, that the conjunction of those planets in that sign, in his own time (A.D. 1463), betokened the near approach of the Messiah, whom they expected.

Now, did such a conjunction take place when the true Messiah was born? Ideler, in his *Manual of Chronology*, having procured from Encke an exact calculation of the conjunction, as investigated by Kepler, says, "The two planets (Jupiter and Saturn) came in conjunction May 29th,

B.C. 7, in the 21st degree of Pisces, and were visible in the east before sunrise, and only one degree apart. On October 1st, a second conjunction took place in the 18th degree of Pisces, and on December 5th, a third in the 16th degree. . . . The first conjunction in the east (ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ) excited the attention of some magi. They were expecting the Messiah. . . . On their arrival at Jerusalem the planets were once more in conjunction, and in the *south* at evening. They followed that direction, and it brought them to the place." Ideler, therefore, conceives that the arrival of the magi in Jerusalem occurred late in the year B.C. 7. If, then, it be admitted that this remarkable threefold conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, represented the star which guided the wise men from the east to the cradle of the infant Saviour, the date of the nativity may be fixed, beyond all doubt, as having occurred late in the year A.U.C. 747, B.C. 7.

(4.) Lastly, we have one more reason for arriving at this conclusion respecting the date of Christ's birth. It has reasonably been supposed, from the language of Isaiah ix. 6, 7, that the birth of the Messiah must have taken place at a time when universal peace prevailed throughout that vast empire, which possessed the sovereignty of the known world. The Romans had a marked way of shewing to the world when peace prevailed, by closing the temple of Janus. Augustus did this no less than three times during the course of his reign. The first time A.U.C., after the battle of Antioch and the celebration of his three triumphs, B.C. 29. The second after subduing the Cantabri, B.C. 25. The third and last time, after the war in Germany, B.C. 8. Grævius says of the third time, "Iterum sub Augusto Dacorum et Atheniensium tumultu sedato, idque sub presidio Cycini factum. *Dion.*, l. 54, A.U.C. 746." (*Thesaurus, Antiq. Rom.*, vol. xii., p. 530, § 46). And Dr. Jarvis, speaking of the same event, comes to the conclusion that "the earliest date of this period was in the year of the city, 746-7." (*Chron. Introd. to the Hist. of the Christian Church*, c. ix.) The Monumentum Ancyranum, with its inscription, supposed to be written by Augustus, supports this view of the time when the temple of Janus was closed for the third time, if the conjectural restorations by learned scholars, of those parts now imperfect, can be depended upon. We may therefore fairly conclude, that very soon after such a public declaration of the prevalence of universal peace, the angelic messenger announced to the Virgin Mary the birth of the long expected "Prince of Peace," and in the course of the following year, A.U.C. 747, B.C. 7, Christ was born.

Considering, then, that Christ must have been born at least "two years" before the death of Herod, which cannot be dated later than the close of B.C. 5, or the beginning of B.C. 4—that "the taxing" mentioned by St. Luke refers to the oath to be faithful to Cæsar, recorded by Josephus, must have occurred, also, about two years prior to the death of Herod—that the remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, thrice in one year, may explain the appearance of "the star" which guided the wise men on their way to Bethlehem: and, lastly, that the temple of Janus was shut at the time of the birth of "the Prince of Peace;" the reasons are certainly very strong, I think we may say almost irre-

sistible, for dating the nativity towards the close of the year A.U.C. 747, B.C. 7.

II. Respecting the time of the Crucifixion.

Before attempting to shew grounds for dating that event, A.D. 29, let me notice an argument against so late a date, as the commonly received one of A.D. 33, which R. N. upholds, by affirming "Christ died in April, A.D. 33." The well-known story of the Emperor Tiberius's proposition to the Roman senate to admit Christ, with the other heathen gods whom they worshipped (see Tertul. *Apol.*, c. 5), is declared by Orosius to have failed "*through the obstinate opposition on the part of Sejanus, the prefect of Tiberius.*" (Oros. *Hist.*, vii. 1.) Now the date of Sejanus's death is fixed by Tacitus (*Ann.*, vi. 25) to xv. Kal. of Nov. A.U.C. 784, i. e., Oct. 18th, A.D. 31, or two years *before* the crucifixion is supposed to have taken place. So Eusebius considers the calamities which befel the Jews "through the hostility of Sejanus," as a judgment upon them for their treatment of Christ. (*Ecc. Hist.*, l. ii., c. 5.)

(1.) The first argument in favour of dating the crucifixion, A.D. 29, may be founded on Daniel's famous prophecy of the "seventy weeks," which Sir Isaac Newton justly pronounced to be "the foundations of the Christian religion." This prophecy states, that after a certain decree to build Jerusalem (an Italian MS., marked No. 249, in Kennicott's *Gen. Dissert.*, p. 127, has the word "wall" before "Jerusalem," a reading which the context supports), 69 heptads, or weeks of years, were to elapse, when "Messiah should be cut off." Let me notice here the common mistake made by many, who calculate the crucifixion as if the prophecy foretells its occurrence *in the middle* of the last week of years, or *at its expiration*, whereas the language of Daniel is sufficiently definite. "After *THE* threescore and two weeks," or as the real LXX., Aquila's version and the Arabic, read it, "after *the seven* and threescore and two weeks," to prove the sequence of the whole 69 weeks, and that *at their expiration* the crucifixion would take place. Now there are four decrees alluded to in Scripture, but only one, viz., the last, which has any reference to building up the walls of Jerusalem. The dates concerning them read as follows:—

1. The decree of Cyrus for building the temple (Ezra i. 2), issued B.C. 538 + 69 heptads, or 483 years = B.C. 55.
2. The decree of Darius for resuming the work (Ezra vi. 1—8), issued B.C. 520 + 483 years = B.C. 37.
3. The decree of Artaxerxes for beautifying the temple (Ezra viii. 7—27), issued B.C. 457 + 483 years = A.D. 26.
4. The decree of Artaxerxes to Nehemiah (chap. 2) for building the wall, issued B.C. 455 + 483 years = A.D. 29.

It will be seen that I have dated the first and second decrees of Artaxerxes, passed respectively in the seventh and twentieth years of his reign, in a different manner. The first is, according to Ptolemy's canon, the commonly received guide in the chronology of that period. But as Ptolemy lived between five and six hundred years after the time of Artaxerxes, we are compelled to accept the authority of Thucydides, almost a contemporary historian, who, by incidentally mentioning the

time of Themistocles' flight into Persia, places the commencement of Artaxerxes' reign about nine years earlier than the canon of Ptolemy allows. Assuming, therefore, that Artaxerxes began to reign (possibly during the lifetime of his father Xerxes) before the passover, B.C. 473 (the year, by the way, in which Eusebius dates the flight of Themistocles—*Olymp.*, lxxvi. 4), his seventh year would be B.C. 468, which, added to the 483 years, would reach to A.D. 15, which we know was not the date of the crucifixion. His twentieth year, according to the same computation, fell B.C. 455, which, added to the 69 heptads, or 483 years, brings us to A.D. 29, the true date, as I believe, of the crucifixion. There is, also, this remarkable coincidence respecting these dates. The passover, in both instances, took place on the same day of the year; i. e., the new moon (by which the Jews regulated the beginning of the year) commenced both B.C. 455, and A.D. 29, on the 4th of March, consequently on the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the command of God, i. e., *on the 17th of March*, the passover must have been observed in both these years. It would appear, therefore, supposing the commission given to Nehemiah "in the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king," was given on the fourteenth day of that month, when the passover was kept, that *on that very day 483 years* afterwards, the prophecy was fulfilled to the letter, when the "Messiah was cut off" on Mount Calvary. And it is worthy of note that some of the copies of the *Acta Pilati* read "the sixteenth of the kalends of April, i. e., *the 17th of March*, as the day of the crucifixion, when it was observed by some of the Quartadecimans, in Cappadocia, during the earliest ages. (See Bingham's *Antiq.*, xx., c. 5.)

(2.) This agrees with what may be termed the astronomical view of the subject. It is true that the commonly received date of A.D. 32, rests very much on the opinion set forth by that distinguished astronomer Fergusson, who says, "I find, by calculation, that *the only passover full moon* that fell on a Friday, for several years before or after the disputed year of the crucifixion, was on the third day of April, A.D. 33, *in the 490th year* after Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign, had given the commission to Ezra." (See Fergusson's *Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles*, vol. i., c. xxi.) There appears, however, to be two reasons against accepting this interpretation. First, as I have already noticed, Daniel's prophecy speaks of the Messiah being "cut off" *after* the 483rd year, dating from the decree to build the wall of Jerusalem, and not, as Fergusson interprets it, *during* the 490th year, dating from the decree for regulating the worship in the newly-built temple. Secondly, the guide for fixing the time of the passover was not "the full moon," as Fergusson assumes, but, as it is distinctly declared in Scripture, Exod. xii. 6, 18; Lev. xxiii. 5, 6; Numb. ix. 5, etc., that the passover was always to be kept "*on the fourteenth day of the month*," which generally was one day, and sometimes even two days, before the moon was full; the real test, as regards the passover, when "Christ our passover was sacrificed for us," is the exact day when that ordinance was kept. Remembering that Christ repeatedly stated, that "after three days and three nights" He would rise from the dead; and it being universally admitted

that the resurrection took place on Sunday, as St. Luke expresses it, "very early in the morning," we must find a year, if possible, when the passover (the fourteenth day of the moon), or the day of crucifixion, occurred on the 17th of March, according to the *Acta Pilati*, and when the seventeenth day of the moon, or three days after, fell on a Sunday, the day of Christ's resurrection from the grave. These conditions are alone fulfilled, A.D. 29. I subjoin a list of the several years in dispute, calculated from Fergusson's Tables, in support of that year, being the true date of the crucifixion.

A.D.	March New Moon.				1st of Nisan.	14th of Nisan, or Passover.	17th of Nisan.	Dominical Letter.
	D.	H.	M.	S.				
28.	14	3	30	21	March 14	Sat., March 27	Tues., March 30	C.
29.	3	15	17	53	" 4	Thurs., " 17	Sunday, " 20	B.
30.	22	10	1	37	" 22	Tues., April 4	Fri., April 7	A.
31.	11	18	50	14	" 12	Sun., March 25	Wed., March 28	G.
32.	0	3	38	51	" 1	Fri., " 14	Mon., " 17	E.
33.	19	1	51	31	" 19	Wed., April 1	Sat., April 4	D.
34.	8	10	0	7	" 8	Sun., March 21	Wed., March 24	C.

As the result of these calculations shew the passover-day, A.D. 29, to have fallen on Thursday, and not on Friday, which has been so long and so universally acknowledged as the week-day of the crucifixion, and will, therefore, be objected to by many, I will merely content myself by quoting the admission of the very learned Bishop Pearson, though he adopts Friday as the day of the crucifixion, with regard to the possibility of its having happened a day earlier. He says, "*The expression, the third day, being capable of some diversity of interpretation, it is not so easily concluded how long our Saviour was dead or buried, before he revived or rose again. . . . Some have conceived, that as our Saviour rose on the morning of the first day of the week, therefore it must necessarily follow, that he died and was buried on the fifth day of the week before, that is, on Thursday; otherwise it cannot be true that he was in the grave three nights.*" (Pearson on the *Creed*, art. v.)

(3.) The consular years support the date A.D. 29, as that of the crucifixion. R. N. has shewn in his tabular list (see *J. S. L.* for July, 1858, p. 374), that all the early authorities who name the consuls, with the exception of Epiphanius, place the crucifixion during the consulate of the Gemini. The best authority, I conceive, as a guide on this point, is that of Tertullian, on account of the age in which he lived (having been born, as some suppose, before the middle of the second century), of his profound learning, which is so highly extolled by Jerome (*Ad Magn. Orat. Ep.*, 84) and Origen (*Commen. Adv. Hæres.*, c. 24), and, also, as either having seen, or known the contents of the *Acta Pilati*, which recorded events connected with the crucifixion, and which existed at Rome in his time. We gather this from his own words: "At the moment of Christ's death, the light departed from the sun, and the land was darkened at noon-day . . . which wonder is related in your own annals, and is preserved in your archives to this day. . . . Pilate, who in his conscience was a Christian, sent Tiberius Cæsar an account of all these proceedings relating to Christ." (*Apol.*, c. xxi.) Now the testimony of Tertullian is per-

haps the most precise of any of the writers, who allude to the date of the crucifixion, for he mentions the year of the reigning emperor, the prophecy of Daniel, the names of the consuls, and the Roman month when the passover was kept, at which it took place. His words are, "*In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, Christ suffered, whose sufferings were completed within the time of the 70 heptads, under Tiberius Cæsar, Rubellius Geminus, and Rufius Geminus, being consuls, in the month of March, at the time of the passover.*" (*Advers. J. Ad.*, c. 8.) As the year A.D. 29 is the only year which fulfils these three conditions, viz., the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius, the consulate of the Gemini, and a March passover, it will naturally be deemed conclusive, by many, as to the true date of the crucifixion, and may, perhaps, incline R. N. to reconsider his statement, as to its being "the universally acknowledged fact, that the crucifixion took place in April." (*J. S. L.*, p. 383.) I have long considered the arguments of Dr. Jarvis for reducing the chronology of this period by *one year*, and for placing the consulship of the Gemini A.D. 28, but do not think they are sufficient to overthrow the still stronger arguments of Clinton (see *Fasti Romani*), who rightly places it A.D. 29.

(4.) The archives of Edessa, as well as those of Rome, afford an incidental testimony to the crucifixion having taken place A.D. 29, if the testimony of Eusebius is to be depended upon. In his *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. i., 13), he quotes "The epistle of Abgarus, king of Edessa, to Jesus, and the receipt of Jesus to Abgarus," which "letters," he says, "were taken by us from the archives (of that city), and translated word for word from the Syriac language." After quoting these letters in full, Eusebius goes on to say, that "the following things are subjoined in the Syriac language;" viz., that *after the ascension* the apostle Thaddeus was sent to Edessa, where he performed many wonderful cures, and, amongst others, healed the king Abgarus of his distemper, which, he says, "*were done in the 340th year*," adding, "These things, translated from the Syriac language word for word, we have placed here, as we think, not improperly." The year mentioned by Eusebius is the era of the Selucidæ, or the Edessens. That era commenced Sept. 30, B.C. 312; consequently, "the 340th year" extended from Sept., A.D. 28, to Sept., A.D. 29, during which the crucifixion, the ascension, and the visit of the apostle Thaddeus to Edessa, must have occurred according to the archives of that city. Having thus noticed what may be termed the Prophetical, and the Astronomical, as well as the Historical Evidence, respecting the date of the crucifixion, I leave it to your readers to decide whether we can accept the conclusion at which R. N. has arrived, when he writes that the death of Christ in April, A.D. 33, is "settled on the firm foundation of both history and Scriptures, and in accordance with the principles both of reason and consistency."

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

B. W. SAVILE.

Newport, Barnstable,
July 30th, 1858.

CYRUS THE GREAT.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—It may really appear to be an unfair trespass upon the columns of your Journal to request the insertion of the following explanation of a note to my remarks on the *Cyropædia*, in the last number, p. 497. I had there written, "The fair conclusion to be drawn from the arrangement of names in the phrase 'laws of the Medes and Persians' (Dan. vi. 8), is, that the courtiers employed such arrangement in compliment to Darius, as being a Mede by birth and descent. We have no reason to conclude from secular history that Phraortes (who subdued the Persians), Cyaxares I., or Astyages, would have condescended to use language which put the Persians almost on an equality with the Medes."

This point cannot be positively decided. Yet, if we examine our highest secular authority Herodotus, we shall think it very improbable, even if such a formula might possibly have been employed by Phraortes and his successors in matters which only concerned the Persians, that it should be in general use also in Media. This would have placed the Persians on a level with the Medes, as if Phraortes, instead of invading and subduing Persia, had prevailed upon the Persians to enter into an amicable union with their powerful neighbour on equal terms, except that the sovereign of Media was also to be king of Persia. The Mede (if such language may be used where only two parties are concerned,) would thus, in reference to his Persian confederate, be very little better than *primus inter pares*.

The more natural and obvious conclusion from Herodotus would therefore be, that the triumph of Cyrus, who had subdued Media as Phraortes had formerly conquered Persia, had *forced* this phraseology on the Medes; and that the use of the formula in question beyond the limits of Persia and Media, and in the Chaldean metropolis, at a time when a Mede by birth and descent, and of the blood-royal of Media (whether legitimately or illegitimately,) was reigning there, would seem to be far more favourable than otherwise to the notion that the Persian Cyrus, having made himself master of the Median throne, had conquered the Chaldeans at the head of the Medes and Persians, and from motives of policy or kindness, or both, had bestowed on Darius, a Median prince, the throne of the vanquished and slain Belshazzar, which he could easily have retained in his own possession without the slightest fear of any competitor.

Cyrus, contented with being the acknowledged sovereign of Media and Persia, would probably be not unwilling to conciliate his new subjects, by allowing the use of phraseology, which would spare them from being continually and unpleasantly reminded of their recent humiliation. It was one thing for the Medes to accept for their sovereign Cyrus, the bravest and most aspiring, the most skilful, energetic, and successful warrior of his day, and quite another thing to submit to yield the precedence to the Persians, a nation inferior in numbers and power to the Medes, and whose country had been only a provincial portion of the Median dominions before

the victory of Cyrus over Astyages. Whatever, therefore, may have been the usage in Persia from that time onward, it does not appear to be at all inconsistent with the idea that Cyrus, when he overthrew Astyages, at once put an end to the Median dynasty, and himself assumed and retained to his death the sovereignty of Media, if we think that, in Media at least, even if it were otherwise in Persia, he allowed, perhaps encouraged, the use of the formula of "the laws of the Medes and Persians." The former could not object to see the nation to which their new sovereign belonged, elevated into a sort of fraternal union with themselves; while Cyrus could not well be dissatisfied with an arrangement which marked the new relation of the Medes and Persians to be no longer that of superiors and inferiors, but of elder and younger brethren. If the Chaldean throne, rendered vacant by the fall and death of Belshazzar, had passed into the hands of a powerful and independent sovereign of Media, whom the illustrious Cyrus himself, though unrivalled in renown, regarded as his superior in regal position and dignity, we might find it less easy to understand and explain the language of Darius and his courtiers, which seems to recognise the almost fraternal equality of the Median and Persian name. If, however, we admit the combined testimony of Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, to the disastrous and utter overthrow of Astyages and the conquest of Media by Cyrus and the Persians, and also understand the phrase, "*laws of the Medes and Persians*," not as marking the inferiority of the latter to the former, but as a public and established confession of the fraternal equality of the two nations, forced upon the Medes by the triumphs of Cyrus, our difficulties seem to be materially diminished. After carefully considering the question, I find myself unable to agree with Mr. Savile in thinking that Daniel's invariable mention of the Medes before the Persians, tends to prove the preeminence of the former over the latter until the fall of Babylon and the reign of Darius the Mede, so that "the Median kingdom was not overthrown or absorbed by the Persian Cyrus previous to the first siege of Babylon." I am rather inclined to think the very fact, that the once comparatively obscure and provincial Persian name, was so formally, honourably, and (so to speak) fraternally united with the Median, by Darius and his courtiers, to be no unimportant presumptive evidence in favour of the view that Cyrus, after the defeat of Astyages, conquered Media, and became king of the Medes as well as of the Persians, and that the vacant throne of Belshazzar was the illustrious Persian's gift to Darius. And as the conqueror, while he required his Persian to be publicly recognised as the equals of his new Median subjects, could not improbably concede, at least in Media, the use of the formula, "the laws of the Medes and Persians," the Median Darius and his courtiers would be at liberty to use the same formula in Chaldea.

Mr. Savile also refers to the mysterious hand-writing on the palace wall, addressed to Belshazzar, "Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians." If we had nothing but the words of the hand-writing to guide us, we should naturally understand the terms, "Thy kingdom is divided" (רָחַק), to signify that the Chaldean realm was to be divided into two portions, of which one was to be given to the Medes and the other to the Persians. But this interpretation would be incon-

sistent with the recorded fact that Darius the Mede took the kingdom (doubtless the whole kingdom) of Belshazzar. The language of Darius and his courtiers leads us to conclude that, as Babylon was now under the law of the Medes and Persians, the realm of Belshazzar was really given over to the Medes and Persians when it came under the sceptre of Darius. Some time before Belshazzar's feast, Daniel had been divinely taught in a vision that Media and Persia formed one united realm under the supreme administration of the higher and newly risen Persian horn. This would lead us to suppose that in the mysterious and heaven-sent hand-writing, the Medes and Persians are not spoken of as two distinct nations, each under a separate king, but, in accordance with the vision, as two united nations under one supreme sovereign, Cyrus, represented by the higher horn. When, therefore, at Belshazzar's death, Cyrus became master of Babylon, the Chaldean realm became the property of the supreme lord of the Medes and Persians, and when Darius the Mede received it as the Persian's gift, and by the Persian's appointments, the conquered realm came formally under the law of the Medes and Persians. And it seems reasonable to think that, in such a matter, a messenger from heaven would be directed to follow the prevailing usage among those to whom his message was addressed, and speak of the Medes and Persians, rather than depart from that general usage without any apparent necessity, and, reversing the order, speak of the Persians and Medes.

27th July.

G. B.

THE ESSENES.

DEAR SIR,—As the writer of the article entitled "The Essenes," published in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, when edited by the late Dr. Kitto (N.S., vol. ii., 1852), I request the insertion of the following remarks in an early number of the *J. S. L.* The article alluded to controverts the arguments brought forward by a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1840, "supposed to be Thomas de Quincey." This gentleman has now asserted that he is the author, as the arguments are reprinted in the seventh volume of his collected works, with the new title, "Secret Societies." The reprint contains no new argument, and only differs from the original form in having two or three additional sentences: no notice is taken of any published reply to Mr. De Quincey's exceedingly strange assertions and dogmatic statements.

In the first volume of Mr. De Quincey's collected writings, entitled *Autobiographic Sketches*, the reader will find some observations on "Essenism;" I say observations, seeing they cannot be called additions, as the same assertions appear in *Blackwood* and the volume already mentioned; the only difference being that the statements are not given in exactly the same words. The allusion to the "significant fact" that the infidel Strauss is of the common opinion, cannot be considered as an argument of any value, being an *argumentum ad populum*. "This monstrous fable of Essenism, Dr. Strauss," says Mr. De Quincey, "coolly

adopted, no questions asked, as soon as he perceived *the value of it as an argument against Christianity*." It was not because he considered it to be of use in his attacks on Christianity that Strauss believed the Essenes to be Jews, but because his common sense would not permit him to call in question a great historical fact.

It has been stated that in the schools of the prophets "Mr. De Quincey and the Romanists might have sought the origin of monastic institutions in a higher and purer source than the later Essenes" (*J. S. L.*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 173). Now "sons of the prophets" were married men (2 Kings iv. 1), not so the Essenes; monastic institutions, as understood by Romanists (institutions where marriage is unknown), cannot therefore I think be considered as at all similar to, or as arising from, these schools; Roman Catholic writers knowing that the sons of the prophets could marry, do not seek in them for the origin of monastic institutions.

Yours, etc.,

Sept. 14th, 1858.

P. S.

HEBREWS IX. 16, 17.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Several of your correspondents having recently given expression to their views on Heb. ix. 16, 17, I have been, in consequence, induced to state the conclusions to which I was led, some time since, by long consideration of this important and difficult passage. In doing so I have no wish to prolong the discussion; the arguments by which I support my conclusions being brought forward with no direct reference to those contained in the previous letters, but under the persuasion that the cause of sacred truth may be advanced by the mere exhibition of independent trains of thought and reasoning on points of difficulty in the Scriptures.

The whole difficulty of this passage, as it appears to me, turns upon the meanings to be given to the words *διαθήκη* and *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*. In attempting to decide what are here the appropriate senses of these words, I shall proceed on a principle of investigation which seems to be especially applicable to the language of the Bible. It is too patent to require proof, that Scripture language deals largely in terms and significations immediately derived from the facts of experience and the external world. In writings which extend over all the earlier period of the world's history, it could hardly be otherwise, the first steps of knowledge being necessarily imparted by the intervention of sensible objects. Although the language of the New Testament is more abstract than that of the Old, the intimate connexion between them causes the former to partake of the distinguishing characteristic of the other. Hence, in any enquiry into the meanings of passages, whether in the Old or New Testament, it is generally important to ascertain the *original* significations of the words, the probability being that these, or significations not far remote from these, apply to the subject of enquiry. On this principle it will have to be borne in mind, that *διαθήκη* is derived from *διατίθημι*, to *dispose, order, arrange*.

There is a received theological meaning of *διαθήκη*, viz., *dispensation*, which is very close to its original sense. We speak of "the first dispensation" and "the new dispensation," and these may be regarded as strict translations of the terms *ἡ πρώτη διαθήκη*, and *ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη*, which occur in Heb. ix. 15. If this be admitted, it is very important for understanding the two following verses, to ascertain what these two dispensations are. Now, the tenor of ver. 15, as well as that of the preceding passage (ver. 11—14), seems to shew that *mortality* is characteristic of the first dispensation. Every one born into the world is under a dispensation which terminates in death. The son of Sirach employs the word *διαθήκη* with reference to this very subject in that remarkable passage (xiv. 17). *Πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιοῦται· ἡ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος, θανάτῳ ἀποθανῇ*. It would appear that when *διαθήκη* refers to what is *actual*, it merely signifies disposition or arrangement, nearly in the sense in which we say of God, that he orders all things and is the disposer of all events. Thus, in Jer. xxxiii. 20, "If ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, that there should not be day and night in their season," etc.; the Hebrew word, which is translated "covenant," and which is the equivalent of *διαθήκη* in the Septuagint, appears to mean the arranging of what is ordinarily called "the course of nature." But if the word refers to an arrangement of something *future*, it is properly translated by "covenant," or perhaps better by "engagement." The latter word is the more distinctive, because "covenant" (from *convenire*) generally means a compact or agreement made by two parties on equal terms, in which each engages to perform something to the advantage of the other. There is nothing analogous to this in the divine economy. Our Creator *engages* to redeem us from death and destruction of his own will and in his own way, and our part is only to look forward, by faith, to the fulfilment of the engagement. On this account it is called *ἐπαγγελία*, a promise, and is confirmed by oath on the part of God alone. (See Heb. vi. 17.)

When, however, *διαθήκη* refers to what is future, it does not lose the signification of "dispensation." It means a new order of things, which, though at present under promise, has been arranged and disposed by God for the eternal benefit of those, who, by faith, lay hold of the promise. The Old Testament dispensation is spoken of, by theological writers, as distinct from the New Testament dispensation. But surely these expressions can only mean that, by the coming of Jesus Christ into the world, the way of entering into and receiving the benefit of the new dispensation was more clearly revealed than at any former period, and the fulfilment of the covenant made more sure. So long as sin has had dominion in the world, all, whether Jews or Christians, have been under the first dispensation, and subject to death. And this dispensation of death appears to be a necessary antecedent of the dispensation of life. To borrow an illustration from St. Paul, the seed must die before the living tree springs from it. The words of the apostle in ver. 15 are, *θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων*, "death having taken place for release from the sins under the first dispensation." And with this agrees Rom. vi. 7, "He that is dead is justified from sin."

But, respecting the new dispensation, the Author of it Himself declares (Jer. xxxi. 33, as quoted in Heb. viii. 10), "I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people." This passage, the latter part of which is quoted in Rev. xxi. 3, with reference to the promised "new heavens and new earth," clearly describes a spiritual state, which neither Jew nor Christian has had experience of in this sinful life, being one which is fully realized by the faithful only after death. And here I take occasion to remark, that much obscurity on this point of doctrine has arisen from the too prevailing disposition to regard (in opposition to the spirit of Article VII. of the English Church) the Old Testament as contrary to, or diverse from, the New, and to believe that "the old fathers only looked for transitory promises." A passage like that above quoted might lead the intelligent and thoughtful of every age, who felt the sinfulness of their own hearts and saw the wickedness of the world around them, to expect another and a better dispensation after death. The reasons for this relief were, however, made much more evident by the coming of the Messiah, who, by suffering the death which is the consequence of our sins, consecrated this way to life, and became the mediator of the new dispensation. By his death he fulfilled the terms of the oath which declared, "Thou art a priest for ever." For being constituted priest by offering no less a sacrifice than the sacrifice of himself, he ever lives to intercede for, and to sanctify, those who are called to be partakers of the "eternal inheritance."

Having thus briefly stated the arguments in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which bear upon the passage under discussion, I next remark that the intention of the passage is to illustrate one point only of the previous doctrine, viz., that death necessarily intervenes between the first covenant and the new covenant, or that through death those living under the present dispensation become partakers of the blessings of the new dispensation. The illustration is drawn from *the practice of making wills*, which must have been generally understood in the apostle's time, having prevailed from an early age and in various countries. There is no doubt that it was known to the Greeks, and that the word by which they signified a will was *διαθήκη*. It is a peculiarity of this practice that the person who makes the will disposes of his property in his own way and according to his own pleasure, the written document being called "a will" from this very circumstance. In this respect the human transaction is like the arrangement of the new dispensation, which God alone orders for the benefit of those whom he chooses for inheritors. A will is also called a "testament," because as it takes effect after the death of the testator, there must be living *witnesses* to testify that such was his will. In this respect it differs essentially from the voluntary disposal of property during life, because in this case the disposer is himself alive to testify of his gift.

Here again, in respect to requiring surety, there is an analogy to the divine economy, although in the latter the surety is of a different kind, the promise being confirmed by oath, and its fulfilment made certain by the intervention of a mediator. But the chief point of analogy between the human and divine transactions is, that *death* must take place before the inheritance is received. This essential particular being distinctly indicated by the illustration, it would answer no purpose to seek for any analogy in

the fact that the testator himself dies, because in respect to God, the Author and Disposer of the heavenly inheritance, all such analogy is evidently excluded. The sacred writers, in selecting objective exemplifications of doctrine, are guided by the principle of illustrating with distinctness some particular which more especially requires explanation, without intending that the objects or transactions referred to should be analogous in all points. A like instance occurs in Rom. vii. 1—4, where the doctrine that the law has rule over a man only so long as he lives, is exemplified by the fact that a certain law—that which binds the wife to the husband—is dissolved by death, the death of the husband. To enquire here who are represented by the husband and wife, and what the relation between them signifies, would be wholly beside the purpose. That the point which is intended to be exemplified in the passage under discussion, is one which in the apostle's day, when Christian doctrine was newly promulgated, required especial explanation, may be inferred from the circumstance that even in our own time the doctrine that death separates between the old and the new covenant is not often distinctly apprehended or admitted. Hence, as I think, much of the difficulty of understanding this passage has arisen.

I pass now to the consideration of *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*. Here I at once admit the correctness of the remark made in Schleusner's Lexicon, that *οἱ νεκροί* is sometimes put for *θάνατος*, *mors*. This may be accounted for on the principle stated in the beginning of this letter, according to which we might expect in Scripture language that the objects (dead bodies) which most sensibly exhibit death should be put for death itself; according to this meaning, the translation of *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς* would simply be "at decease," or, as given in the English version, "when men are dead." This translation may be supported by reference to other places in which the same sense of *νεκροί* applies. The relation of 1 Cor. xv. 29 to the context will be at once seen by translating *οἱ βαπτίζομενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*, "they who are baptized on account of death." This translation is not attended with difficulty if it be recollected that in Rom. vi. 2—4, St. Paul has expressly connected baptism with death, and in all probability had taught the Corinthians the same doctrines. In Rom. vi. 13, *ὡς ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας* seems to mean, "as those that are alive after death." The expression "resurrection *from* the dead" is familiarly used as equivalent to "resurrection *of* the dead." But it is not generally considered that these two expressions cannot be equivalent unless *ἐκ νεκρῶν* means "after death." The concrete terms of the Greek have been adopted in our language, and without noticing that they are such, we use them in an abstract sense.

The word *φερεσθαι* (v. 16), is apparently to be taken in the proper sense of "inferred," that is, brought in, which in modern writing is usually expressed by "implied" or "involved."

According to the foregoing exegesis the translation of verses 16 and 17 is as follows :—

"For where there is a testament, of necessity the death of the testator is implied: for a testament is valid at decease, seeing that it is not at any time in force when the testator is living."

This translation does not differ materially from that of the English version.

J. C.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

An Introduction to the Study of Dogmatic Theology. By the Rev. ROBERT OWEN, B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. London: Masters. 1858. pp. xxiv, 496.

THERE is so much in Mr. Owen's views and feelings with which we coincide and sympathize that in our careful examination of his work we have been slow to *entertain* objections. We are always thankful to meet with an able and well-furnished writer earnestly engaged on the conservative side.

We cannot say, however, that Mr. Owen has increased our partiality for dogmatic theology. We do not indeed think that the productions of able writers on this subject can be neglected by an accomplished divine, or that it can be studied without profit; but we doubt whether systematic theology, or rather the various treatises which have been the exponents of that science, have not entailed more mischief on the Church than heresy itself. In proportion to the amount of truth they may have contained, and the skill and power with which the system has been constructed, has been the influence of the error which has been built up into it; and, unfortunately, such is human nature, that these very errors, perhaps in an exaggerated form, have by many been chiefly fixed upon for approval, while, on the other hand, they have given occasion for the enemies of the truth to blaspheme.

The only systematic treatise since the Reformation which Mr. Owen mentions for approval is the *Institutes* of Calvin; a work which, doubtless, for its excellencies deserved the applause which it received. But it was its false philosophy, which yet was not peculiarly his, that became connected with the name of Calvin, and which acquired an influence which it probably never would have had but for the power of his *Institutes*. Concerning his writings Hooker remarks,—“Of what account the Master of Sentences was in the Church of Rome the same and more amongst the preachers of the reformed churches Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they who were skilfullest in Calvin's writings; his books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by.”

It has always appeared to us a distinction in favour of the Church of England that no one dominant name has been imprinted on its teaching; and we confess we do not regard it as a matter of absolute regret that our greatest men have not thrown their energies into the construction of bodies of divinity. The “noble theological treatises” which, as Mr. Owen allows, the divines of the English Church have produced, have answered a better purpose, and have been more in accordance with the practical tendency of Anglican pursuits. Mr. Owen does not appear to think so; he considers that for want of atten-

tion to systematic divinity among us theology has been neglected. He says :—

“ In England Bishop Jewell's *Apology* and the *Defence* of it against Harding were the books which obtained somewhat of authoritative sanction from the rulers of the Church; but it is plain they were cherished as polemical manifestos to justify the separation from Rome, and not as a summary of Christian doctrine. Since that time the divines of the English Church have produced noble theological treatises; but they have (with the exception of Bishop Pearson's on the creed) been either devoted to the illustration of special subjects, or have belonged to the class of exegesis, or have been largely tinged with a polemical colour.”

On these accounts Mr. Owen seems to think the English theological student is quite at sea. He goes on to say :—

“ In our zeal for liberty and purity, and jealousy of prejudicing the virgin soil with inherited traditions, it too often comes to pass, that, while we invite the student to examine for himself on every point, it ends with his not examining at all. Or, again, we remit him to some patristic treatise on the Blessed Trinity, or an elaborate argument in favour of episcopacy by divine right, or a volume of sermons on sacramental grace; and he is left to suppose that he has taken a full survey of the field of theology. So far as a student has accurately examined some special department, it is an invaluable advantage to him; but it never will atone for ignorance of the general bearings of the whole. Let him study theology ever so extensively he will be sure to feel drawn by taste or circumstances to some special branch of it. It is vain to pretend to freedom from bias or propension; but it is wise and righteous to endeavour to check its vicious exaggeration by a knowledge of the universal as well as of particulars.”

We do not see, however, exactly what the imperfect way in which theological studies may have been conducted has to do with the character of our theological literature; and, after Mr. Owen has ably endeavoured “to supply the deficiency in this department,” we fear that those who are content with slipshod reading will be as little inclined to study his useful book as to disturb the venerable dust under which so many noble theological treatises have been long time buried.

There is one merit of this work—the only one which Mr. Owen desires to claim, to the credit of which he is well entitled :—“That the patristic authorities so frequently cited have not been borrowed to sustain any preconceived theories at all risks, but are the results of careful perusal, diverted to this particular channel.” In this respect his work differs from some modern writings, the authors of which have much paraded the Fathers, but appear rather to have culled by easy methods what seemed adapted to their purpose, than manifested a genuine acquaintance with the ancient writers; and apart from the object which Mr. Owen has in view, his citations from the Fathers and other less ancient writers, which constitute a considerable portion of his work, render it both interesting and valuable.

In his reference to antiquity, however, he takes a much wider range than is commonly taken by Anglican writers. He says :—

“ I reject the notion of a peculiar veneration for the first three centuries only. What are we to think of a theory which deprives us of the example of the catholic church at the very juncture when she displays her mission on a large scale, and under circumstances analogous to our own? Or which would under

pretence of purity deprive us of the four great Fathers of the Greek Church, Epiphanius, Basil, Nazianzen, and Chrysostom, and of the four doctors of the Latin Church, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory!"

The author's "appeal to the undivided Church" extends to the first five centuries, while other and later writers are freely employed for the sake of illustration, or for historical reasons, or because he chooses to adopt their language, not as exhibiting the consent of the Catholic Church.

This consent, then, to be found according to Mr. Owen in the first five centuries, is sought as a means of coming to a termination of difficulties which cannot be solved without it.

"Christendom is split up into fragments, and present unity is but a dream; some will bid him (the theologian in the position of a minister of the Church of England) to take his stand on the Bible only. True; but he finds that all the great Christian communities agree in reverencing the inspired Word of God as the ultimate rule of Christian faith. But how shall they have a chance of agreeing on a common interpretation on a common dogma?"

Surely the chance is much in their favour as compared with that of those who are seeking agreement elsewhere. Mr. Owen is for introducing several elements of uncertainty instead of one.

The Scriptures are allowed to be in agreement with themselves, and, *in theory*, the whole of Christendom is agreed in making the written Word the rule of faith. But what is called catholic *consent*, especially within the sphere which Mr. Owen claims for it, is at the best very imperfect. Its exponents are often inconsistent with themselves, and still more so with each other, on the very points of their alleged agreement. And then, supposing a rule of faith like this be assumed to exist somewhere else than in the written Word, who is to decide between Mr. Owen and others as to the ancient limits within which it is to be found? And, further, there is still the *difficulty of interpretation*, which is at least as great for the individual enquirer in regard to the patristic scriptures as to those which are "able to make a man wise unto salvation." Mr. Owen has stated no logical *principle* whatever on the ground of which he prescribes his limits for "primitive antiquity." His choice of these limits is entirely subjective and arbitrary; recommended, as it appears to us, by his partiality to doctrines and practices which are found more developed in the fourth and fifth centuries, but of doubtful existence in an earlier period.

We suspect, too, that it is partly for this reason that Mr. Owen finds fault with "the plan of Anglican divines to comment on the Apostle's or Nicene Creeds as if they were a complete summary of theology." Now we think there is a principle to be found according to which our reformers and those of our Anglican writers who entered into their spirit preferred the testimony of the early Church, and preferred to develop the Christian doctrine from the germs of it which are found in the creeds. They were not, like Mr. Owen, seeking for authorities for fixing the interpretation of Scripture, still less for respectable endorsements for favourite doctrines and practices. They sought the *witness* of the early Church in respect to matters for which

their testimony is the main external evidence, and in respect to doctrines of fundamental importance which had been all but immediately derived from the preaching of the apostles.

A very important advantage belongs in fact to the doctrinal testimony of those earlier ages. They received the apostolic teaching, whether oral or written, without *speculating* upon it. They did not enquire into the *rationale* of things which reason had not discovered and could not have devised. They received the atonement and built their faith upon it without enquiring *how* the passion of Christ was the life of the world. They did not ask *how* the righteousness of God was compatible with the justification of sinners. Still less did they

"Reason high

Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate,"

or engage in the dark speculations connected with the "doctrines of grace."

But all such questions were rife in the fourth and fifth centuries; they engaged the attention of St. Augustine to a degree which entitled him to considerable rank as a "speculative philosopher." His later system, which differed in important points from his earlier tenets, became the text-book of dogmatic science in the west. Now, however general the opinions of St. Augustine may have become in the west, it is surely an abuse of terms to call them catholic—his doctrine is not his *testimony* to catholicity; in proportion as men have become *inventors* of dogmas instead of channels of catholic tradition, their testimony becomes weak and unworthy to be received in the court of conscience.

There appears a similar principle by which our best Anglican writers have been guided in taking the Creed as their basis in constructing a system of Christian doctrine. It contains the germs of all true catholic doctrine. As St. Cyril (quoted by Mr. Owen) remarks—"Not as it seemed good to men were the articles of the faith composed; but the most opportune matters, having been collected out of all Scripture complete as one, were the teaching of the faith. And as the mustard seed contains in a small grain its many shoots, so also this faith hath enfolded in a few words the knowledge of piety in the Old and New Testaments." We doubt, however, whether the Creed was the result of the *exegesis* of the written Word. Long after the time of the apostles the preaching of the Gospel was a *κήρυγμα*; the hearers were *κατηχοούμενοι*; the main truths of the Gospel, "the things most surely believed" in the Church, while yet the New Testament Scriptures were not generally accessible, were thus *proclaimed* and iterated for the implicit reception of the faithful. The pronouncement of the Creed is thus the remains in the Church of the ancient method of proclaiming the faith, and is the purest form of undoubted catholic tradition, in the reception of which all Christendom is agreed. A genuine development of the Creed would thus be a true exposition of the catholic faith; and on some such grounds as these it has probably been chosen as a basis for some of our best treatises on Christian doctrine.

On the subject of "catholic tradition" Mr. Owen has shewn by a

large citation of witnesses that the Catholic Church knows of "no concrete and tangible forms of tradition which can be proved beyond mere presumption to have descended from the apostles themselves, and that with anything approaching the sanctions which attend cononical Scripture." "No trace exists of any unwritten tradition co-ordinate in dignity with Holy Scripture, and claiming to share along with it our divided allegiance." Yet he thinks that though the erroneous holding or rejecting traditions which are not propounded as matters of faith, are not sins against the faith, "they *do* induce a habit of mind which disposes men to tamper with or to reject what is matter of faith." Mr. Owen instances, however, only the *rejection* of such traditions, and intimates that it may entail the heavy penalty of weakening the faculty of the soul for the reception of matters of faith.

No doubt the sceptical habit of mind which rejects the well-sustained testimony of antiquity as to matters respecting which that testimony is the only evidence, is dangerous in this direction; it exists commonly in the case of those who have created to themselves a subjective idol before which all evidence must bow; and in such minds objective truth is easily rejected. But surely it betrays an equal want of loyalty to the truth to admit without scruple everything which pretends to be such; and history shews that divine truth has suffered far more from this want of care or want of honesty in accepting specious principles without a title, than from the direct attacks of its enemies. It is surely "tampering with the faith" to admit by the side of divine truth, or to substitute for it, in the heart's regard, opinions and practices, however prevalent they may have become, which have no original relationship with that truth, and to be willing to allow them the feeblest claims for being entertained. The poverty of the arguments which have satisfied men in accepting what was questionable, will, in such cases, be equally apparent in their attempt to establish what is divinely true; and as far as they are concerned suspicion is engendered as to the stability of the evidence on which the truth is resting. Ages of this sort of faith have been constantly followed by periods of doubt and infidelity.

While then we agree with Mr. Owen in deprecating a rash rejection of the testimony of antiquity, we are equally convinced that that sort of *reverence* for mere antiquity which induces an *indiscriminating* favour for every growth of it, leads to the abandonment of that intellectual, we might say moral, *caution*, without which a man will allow himself to be imposed upon by counterfeit objects of faith. We must say that this want of caution is too apparent in Mr. Owen himself. He does not seem to imagine that any of his ancients could be guilty of undue speculation, of reasoning falsely, of misinterpreting Scripture, of a misapprehension and abuse of figurative language, or of an excessive attachment to ritualism. And as Mr. Owen's sentiments are to a great extent expressed in the language of his ancients, it is really as difficult to enucleate from his statements his ultimate views as it is to obtain well-defined ideas from the mass of mediæval writings.

There is a series of subjects made of prominent importance in Mr. Owen's theology which involved the most important points of difference between our English reformers and the then Church of Rome. Intent on *reforming* instead of *revolutionizing* the Church, our reformers conscientiously endeavoured to retain in their theology whatever was at once catholic and Scriptural; and as the papal party made their chief appeal to the Fathers, our reformers felt it necessary to meet them on their own ground, and to shew that the most eminent of these had testified to the views which they had adopted. But in doing this they were obliged to eliminate from the language of antiquity much which was either apparently or really inconsistent with the genuine doctrine of the Church. When the Anglican Reformation was in some degree established, antiquity, though still respected, was more sparingly alleged, and the appeal was more directly and boldly made to the universally acknowledged canon of Scripture. And the system of the Church of England as contained in its authoritative documents, and in the writings of its most eminent exponents, is one which commends itself to the understanding and the conscience as well of the true catholic as of the earnest student of God's Word.

There have been, however, from time to time, manifestations of discontent with the Anglican Church, in those aspects of it in which it was most antagonistic to the Church of Rome. The cry has been for more catholicity; by which was meant the revival of certain doctrines and practices which the Reformation had abandoned, and a return to that implicit reception of the *authority* of certain ancient writers, which practically leaves the Written Word in abeyance; a tendency, in fact, to mediæval Christianity.

Such a tendency existed in considerable strength in the time of Charles the First. The excesses of the Puritans in decrying the authority of the Church was met by the opposite excess on the part of some of its defenders; those who could not, by an energetic use of sound argument, contend with the fierce assaults of fanatical opponents, either attempted to outbid them by louder assumptions, or were fain to adopt the fond expedient of hiding their heads in the bush of mediæval dogmatism. Hallam remarks, with regard to a party in the Church of England, that:—

"A change had for some years been wrought in its tenets, and still more in its *sentiments*, which, while it brought the whole body into a sort of approximation to Rome, made many individuals shoot, as it were, from their own sphere on coming within the stronger attraction of another . . . Pictures were set up or repaired; the communion-table took the name and position of an altar; obeisances were made to it; the crucifix was sometimes placed upon it; the dress of the officiating priest became more gaudy; churches were consecrated with strange and mystical pageantry. These petty superstitions, which would of themselves have disgusted a nation accustomed to despise, as well as abhor the pompous rites of Catholics, became more alarming from the evident bias of some leading churchmen to parts of the Roman theology. The doctrine of a real presence, distinguishable only by vagueness of definition from that of the Church of Rome, was generally held. Montague, Bishop of Chichester, already so conspicuous, and justly reckoned the chief of the Romanizing faction, went

a considerable length towards admitting the invocation of the saints; prayers for the dead, which lead at once to the tenet of purgatory, were vindicated by many; in fact, there was hardly any distinctive opinion of the Church of Rome, which had not its abettors among the bishops, or those who wrote under their patronage. The practice of auricular confession, which an aspiring clergy must deeply regret, was frequently inculcated as a duty."

Now, on all these points, the tendency of Mr. Owen's teaching is strongly in the direction here indicated. His subject being *Dogmatic Theology*, it was not directly in his way to insist much on the ancient customs of the Church; but it is clear that he would inculcate the continued observance of these to a considerable extent. Allowing, as he does, that many of these, which were reckoned *apostolical traditions*, "never seem to rise above the region of probability," he yet says, "*morally* and practically they possess ample claims on our reverence and *continued acceptance*;" and he gives, "as specimens of such customs," the rite of standing in prayer on the Lord's day, the various ceremonies of baptism, as, trine immersion, tasting of milk and honey, abstaining from the bath for a week; the making of oblations for the dead on the anniversary of their birth; the use of the sign of the cross at every progress and motion, etc. Of these and other similar points of discipline, "tradition is the author, custom the confirmer, and faith the observer."

But, indeed, on all those subjects which were matters of controversy between the Popish party and our Reformers, Mr. Owen's doctrine is nearly identical with mediæval Christianity.

On the subject of the Eucharist he does, indeed, object to the *word transubstantiation*; "but," he says, "while guarding against any gross or carnal notions which may have been engendered by the term transubstantiation, it is a duty of common candour to exhibit the uniform and unwavering testimony borne by antiquity to the real and objective presence of Christ in the Eucharist, under the forms or species of bread and wine;" and he says, "it can scarcely be denied that the *essence of the elements is transposed* by consecration;" and he cites from Tertullian, Cyprian, and others, language which, whatever they may have said elsewhere, asserts that the elements were so the Lord's body, that whoever handled them, even the wicked, would handle the body of Christ.

On the *sacrifice* of the Eucharist, though the author explains that he considers, and some of the ancients considered, the sacrifice commemorative; yet the language he uses and cites with approval becomes as strong as it can be in designating an atoning sacrifice. He declares that it has a better title to be called a sacrifice than the Passover; and implies that the ministers of the Church have a higher title to the character of priests than those under the law. His scriptural argument for this is a specimen of his *exegesis*, which constantly exhibits the utmost carelessness as to whether he gives the genuine meaning of God's Word or not. "The principle," says he, "of participation in the *attributes* of our Incarnate Head by his members is everywhere declared in the New Testament." Is he God as well as man? In him

we are to be "partakers of the Divine nature." The argument being, as Christ was a priest and sacrificed himself, so the *clergy* are priests and sacrifice him. This appears from the language cited from St. Cyprian. If Jesus Christ, our Lord God, is himself the chief priest of the Father, surely that priest truly performs Christ's delegacy who imitates that which Christ did; and offers, then, in the Church, a true and full sacrifice to God the Father.

This sacrifice, then, which is the appointed means for the application of Christ's atonement to living sinners, is, according to Mr. Owen's theology, equally applicable to departed brethren in Christ. It is a *sacrifice for the living and the dead*. Mr. Owen seems to think he derives some support for this from certain texts of Scripture, as, for instance: "It pleased the father . . . by him to reconcile all things to himself . . . *whether they be things in earth or things in heaven* (the italics are his), that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another." "God hath provided some better thing for us, that they *without us should not be made perfect*" (the italics are our's). Hence, he concludes, that at the sacrament "the effusion of all grace and heavenly benediction" should be solemnly impetrated on behalf of the departed. But he allows that the practice of sacrifices and prayers for the dead was derived from the synagogue; and his only direct "scriptural" authority is taken from the Book of Maccabees. The Jews, it appears, got into the way of praying for the dead, especially in cases where there was an *endowment* for that purpose. But it becomes so prevalent in the Church, and is so often mentioned by *Mr. Owen's* ancients, that it appears one of the strongest articles of his faith.

In short, the *sacrifice* of the mass, prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, intercession of saints, are all declared, either in Mr. Owen's own language, or in that of his approved authorities, in a sense which does not logically differ from those opinions which have led to the worst abuses of Popery; and this is recommended by Mr. Owen to the faith and practice of the Church of England.

Bishop Pearson went as far as most Anglican churchmen in his regard for antiquity, and has done good service in upholding the claims of the early documents of Christianity; but his "*dictum*" on this subject is far from satisfying Mr. Owen. Bishop Pearson says (cited by our author): "The saints of God, living in the Church of Christ, are in communion with all the saints departed out of this life, and admitted to the presence of God. But what they do in heaven in relation to us on earth particularly considered, or what we ought to perform in reference to them in heaven, beside a reverential respect and study of imitation, is not revealed unto us in the Scriptures, nor can be concluded by necessary deductions from any principles of Christianity."

We cannot but think that a "theologian in the position of a minister of the Church of England," who is sworn to hold its doctrines and engage in its teaching, is more in his duty by studying the

eminent and faithful exponents of that teaching, who, for extensive learning, for soundness of judgment, and for weight of character, have been unequalled as a body in any age or country of the world; than to launch with Mr. Owen without any real compass and guide upon a sea so wide, and so full of quicksands, as that which is included in *his* *acceptation* of Christian antiquity.

The Doctrine of the Atonement deduced from Scripture, and vindicated from misrepresentations and objections. Six Discourses, preached before the University of Dublin, being the Donellan Lectures for the year 1857. By JOHN COTTER MACDONNELL, B.D., Ex. Sch., F.C.D., Vicar of Lاراcon, Diocese of Meath. London: Rivingtons. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1858.

THESE lectures were written with especial reference to objections which have not long since been raised against the doctrine of the atonement, on the part, not of Socinians—whose influence, at least as theologians, is inconsiderable—but on the part of men who hold influential positions in the Church of England. “Mr. Frederick D. Maurice and others of note have taught their followers to regard everything which had been generally considered essential to this doctrine as the idle inventions of a semi-heathenish priestcraft; and Professor Jowett’s book on the epistles of St. Paul has boldly adopted statements and arguments which were before considered peculiar to the Unitarian and the Deist.”

We have a right to look to our universities for substantial help in a case like this. Oxford has done something in this way; but it has always been found that mischief, however easily done, must be elaborately repaired; and Mr. Macdonnell considers that this has not been adequately accomplished. Cambridge, though not unfruitful in valuable theological treatises, especially from the pen of its “Christian Advocate,” has scarcely addressed itself to this particular object; and, indeed, the works of Mr. Maurice are, we believe, regarded with favour by a considerable party there. As a member of the university of Magee, which in other aspects of the controversy produced the ablest defence of the doctrine of the atonement, Mr. Macdonnell comes forward, modestly, but courageously and ably, to meet the requirement of the time.

Mr. Macdonnell has done wisely in not undertaking to defend more than was well defensible; and his defence consists partly in obviating the main objections of our modern rationalists by shewing that certain notions which had grown up about the doctrine, and which they had identified with it and attacked as such, are no part of doctrine itself. “My object has been,” he says, “to restate the doctrine, and the Scriptural evidence on which it rests, in such a form as to exhibit the futility of these attacks.”

Mr. Macdonnell says, “I would gladly have made my view of the atonement more complete, by adding dissertations on subjects which

had not been touched on in the lectures, if I had felt more certain that what I had already done was likely to meet with acceptance."

We are glad to understand that these lectures have already met with considerable acceptance; and the author has, in general, done so well what he has aimed at doing, that our earnest hope is that he will be encouraged to address himself again to this important subject. The form of lectures is not the most convenient for exhibiting an argument in all its force; notes and appendices are found necessary when a closer grappling is intended; and the subject of these might often be advantageously introduced into the body of a dissertation intended only to be studied by a reader. As Mr. Macdonnell deduces his doctrine from Scripture, every thing depends upon the soundness of his *exegesis*; and while he aims to correct what may be called popular errors in the statement of the doctrine in question, it is important that he should not content himself with popular modes of interpretation. In some cases Mr. Macdonnell has made it an object to correct these, but not, as we think, in every case important to his argument. Should his work appear in a different form he will have a better opportunity for doing so.

The light in which Mr. Macdonnell regards the atonement is thus given:—

"He who has learned the doctrine of the atonement from the teaching of Scripture, not from dry, formal definitions, or barren dogmas; and who has embraced it as the one truth, which satisfies the wants of his spiritual nature, and harmonizes the jarring elements of his being; who lives by and for a crucified and risen Saviour, that man will readily brush aside the various perversions that would cloud the truth he loves. He will neither listen to those who obscure its brightness with the rust of philosophical speculation, nor to those who in their anxiety to remove the rust of centuries, destroy the substance of the truth itself."

Professor Jowett had had the temerity to say that this doctrine had been derived solely from the epistle to the Hebrews, and that this epistle in its method of stating the law and the Gospel is essentially opposed to the teaching of St. Paul. Assuming the vicarious nature of the sacrifices under the law, he declares that the Gospel as exhibited in St. Paul's writings is in this respect opposed to the law, while in the epistle to the Hebrews law and Gospel are fused in one.

Mr. Macdonnell therefore in his first two lectures investigates the real teaching of the epistle to the Hebrews. He considers that it is a detailed exposition of the relation between the types of the law and the realities of the Gospel; the ninth and tenth chapters containing the nearest approach to a complete theory of sacrifice to be found in Scripture. The epistle to the Hebrews teaches what it was the object of St. Paul to shew in the epistles to the Romans and the Galatians: that the law provided no such remission as is made known in the Gospel; that the death of Christ was a real sacrifice, and that in the fullest sense it procured remission of sins. But, according to Mr. Macdonnell, so far from fusing the law and the Gospel into one the epistle to the Hebrews speaks more strongly in depreciation of the law than any other of the New Testament writings.

This epistle, however, though giving the most complete theory of sacrifice to be found in Scripture, shews no trace of theory explaining *how* the sacrifice of Christ produced the effects ascribed to it; whether in the inferior effect of the legal sacrifices or in the stupendous results of the sacrifice of Christ, it is a matter of *divine appointment*. The sacred writer makes no attempt to shew how *any* sacrifice could procure remission of sin; to him and to those for whom he wrote this was no difficulty: but he dwells with great emphasis on the infinitely superior nature of the Gospel sacrifice, to shew how much more was to be expected from it as a matter of divine appointment. And our author well remarks:—

“If the apostle thus uses Christ’s divine nature and spiritual perfection as grounds for expecting from his sacrifice a more extensive remission than that which his readers looked for from the blood of bulls and goats, *we* may in like manner urge on those who stumble at the whole notion of atonement or sacrificial expiation as something strange and inexpiable that nothing but some great effect upon the destinies of man—an effect differing in kind as well as degree from those with which we are familiar—would seem to warrant such an interposition. What its actual results were we can learn only from revelation; but that they should transcend the ordinary consequences of human mediation, and follow different laws, seems only what might naturally be expected from the dignity of the agent, and the unprecedented nature of the means employed. If, therefore, in the Scripture account of what Christ has done for us we find statements of which the most natural interpretation points to changes in the condition of man and his relation to God unlike anything we were previously acquainted with, and in which the strangeness of the results is only surpassed by the mystery of their connexion with the acts and sufferings of the Redeemer; surely there is nothing here to contradict our reason, nothing which ought to tempt us to narrow the meaning of Scripture language, and contract the extraordinary results it seems to indicate within the narrower bounds of our natural experience.”

Accordingly, Mr. Macdonnell shews that the tendency has always been on the part of those who lowered the results of Christ’s interference to the mere effects of his teaching, example, and sympathy, to contract the meaning of those passages which speak of his nature. The doctrines of the divinity of Christ and of an atonement passing the bounds of human understanding for the sin of man, have generally been received or rejected together. To those who believe in the Deity of Christ, so clearly taught in this epistle, there is an *a priori* probability that his incarnation and sufferings may be the cause of changes in man’s condition, as much surpassing the sequences of human life, as the nature and power of the Godhead surpass those of the greatest martyrs and most illustrious benefactors of the human race.

Such, however, is the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and Mr. Macdonnell proceeds in his third lecture to shew that such is the teaching of the other sacred writings. The words of our Lord (Matt. xxvi. 28), “This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins,” contain, Mr. Macdonnell contends, an exact epitome of the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and the idea of a “mere *rhetorical* use of *Jewish figures*,” like that by which Mr. Jowett would explain away the sacrificial language of

St. Paul, is quite untenable here. But we must leave Mr. Macdonnell to deal with the professor's strange interpretation of the apostle's language as well as that of other sacred writers; merely remarking that it lowers their credit for common intelligence, if not for honesty, to a degree which would make their writings unworthy of serious regard. They used "*Jewish words*" and "*Jewish figures*" which had been used in a most definite sense, without any intention of applying to the Gospel the ideas they had conveyed!

The course taken by Mr. Maurice, in attempting to expunge from the Scriptures the doctrine of the atonement, is that of *denying* the expiatory and vicarious character of the ancient sacrifices, and therefore of the death of Christ. Mr. Macdonnell mentions three cardinal points on which men have been almost universally agreed in connexion with this subject; viz., 1. The belief in some objective obstacle to forgiveness, not to be removed by mere repentance. The denial of this, as in the case of Buddhism, is attended with the rejection of sacrifices, as in the case of Socinians it results in the rejection of the atonement. 2. The belief in the possibility of removing the obstacle to forgiveness by means of sacrifice. 3. A belief was widely prevalent, if not universal, that the life of the victim was a substitute for the forfeit life of the offerer. The prevalence of this conviction is the more remarkable the more it is opposed to human notions of justice. Mr. Maurice labours to disabuse the world of this notion and to vindicate the Scriptures from favouring it. He fancies he is saying something to this end when he insists, with the air of a discoverer, on the essential placability of the Father, and that he has no pleasure in the sufferings connected with sacrifice. It would be difficult, as Mr. Macdonnell remarks, to find any respectable writer on the atonement who taught otherwise than this. And to change the notion which Mr. Maurice rejects on the atonement is to calumniate that doctrine. The anthropomorphic language of Scripture may have led some to entertain gross conceptions of the divine nature, such as that which speaks of God's "*laying aside his anger.*" But yet that language is not without meaning—a meaning expressed by the truth implied in every sacrifice—denied by the Buddhist, the Socinian, and Mr. Maurice—that some objective obstacle existed which, by God's appointment, was removed by the atonement.

In Lectures IV. and V. we have a discussion of other terms employed in theology, relating to the atonement; and we regard our author's treatment of this part of his subject as especially worthy of attention. The words "*redemption*" and "*satisfaction*," the one a Scriptural term, the other generally adopted in theology, are figurative; and, like all figures, may suggest, besides the idea intended, other ideas which do not belong to the subject, or may of themselves not extend to the whole of it. Mr. Macdonnell supplies an excellent principle by which the true idea conveyed by such figures may be ascertained.

"A combination of figures with one another, or with some more

perfect type, will often shew us on what side we may expand a figure, and where we may look for its defects; as we cannot press one figure so far as to contradict any essential part of another combined with it." Thus, in the earliest theory of redemption, the figure conveyed by that word was considered apart; and thus details introduced which had no exact counterpart in the work of Christ. These and other errors might have been avoided by observing specially the manner in which other figures are used in combination with this.

"In our Lord's words, where he says that he came 'to give his life a ransom for many,' the idea of money-payment is introduced only in the word ransom (*λύτρον*), which implies also the notion of redemption (*ἀντρώπις*); the word ransom meaning specially the price paid for redemption. But these ideas are modified by their combination with sacrifice; the ransom being specified, not as money or money's worth, but a *life*; thus banishing the idea of strict commercial equivalence from the thing figured, and forcing us to limit the application of the figure implied in redemption to such circumstances as will agree with those of sacrifice."

The notion of *payment* made by Christ occurs only where it is spoken of as a ransom. The idea of satisfaction of a debt, as a figure descriptive of Christ's work, emerges in the figures of ransom and redemption. Now the prominent idea conveyed by the word redemption would be what took place in the case of the first-born. It was not the idea of rescue from a tyrant which the word suggested; it signified deliverance; but deliverance from the just claims of God, who himself prescribed the ransom: and this limitation is still more obvious where *sacrifice* was the ransom; this could only be thought of as offered to God himself. Still more would the word ransom be modified by its combination with sacrifice. "It is not the money of one man discharging the debt of another, nor the labour of one performing the work due by another; but the mysterious principle of life yielded up a sacrifice to redeem the forfeit lives of many."

But, on the other hand, while the ideas denoted by redemption and ransom are thus limited by their connexion with sacrifice, an important comment on the meaning of sacrifice is furnished by its combination with them. The author has treated the symbolic import of sacrifice as consisting mainly of a representation of the punishment due to the offender, and the substitution of the victim for the forfeit life of the worshipper. The idea which has been adopted from Bähr by Maurice and others is, that sacrifice was the symbol only of "self-dedication springing from within, not of deliverance coming from without." Mr. Macdonnell maintains that the text at the head of his Fourth Lecture—"The Son of Man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many"—with other parallel texts, shew plainly which of these two ideas is supported by our Lord and his apostles.

"They constantly couple sacrifice with ransom and redemption, as in the text. It is not merely said in one place that Christ was '*sacrificed* for us,' and in another place that he '*obtained eternal redemption* for us;' but that we have '*redemption through his blood*,' that we are '*redeemed with the precious blood* of Christ,' as of a lamb; and, as in our text, *his life*, the life offered in sacrifice, is *the ransom*, the redemption price, for the salvation of '*many*.'"

The result is, that we cannot dwell upon the ideas which "redemption" and "satisfaction" might by themselves suggest; we must limit their use and interpret their sense in accordance with the notion of sacrifice. But, while from this we learn most of what Christ has done for us, it sets a limit to our speculations. "For, while it teaches us the alienation which sin had made between God and us, while it sets forth the possibility of reconciliation, while it typifies that mysterious offering of life given to make satisfaction for us to the Divine law, it still leaves us in mystery when we ask, 'How can these things be?'"

Accordingly, it was not the idea of sacrifice which led to theories about the atonement; while "redemption" and "satisfaction," from the vagueness of their figurative teaching, offered the first temptation to a speculative age to launch into theory. We agree with Mr. Macdonnell in believing that there was, in fact, no primitive and catholic theory of atonement; and instead of accepting *by faith*, as some modern lovers of antiquity would advise, the crude and incongruous speculations of some of the Fathers on this subject, we feel bound, as Catholic as well as Bible Christians, to prove them by the most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. Such was the idea of a ransom paid to Satan; and, though less revolting, such was that of the schoolmen of a *satisfaction* made to God in the manner of *the payment of a debt*. This required, that what Christ paid should be fully equal to what man owed; and hence, according to some, that the *amount* of his sufferings must have been equal to all that mankind was obnoxious to, which led to an argument still prevalent, that the Divine nature of Christ imparted an infinite value to his sufferings. Yet, the word *satisfaction*, though not a Scripture term, is well calculated to "*express the results of Christ's sufferings and obedience in removing those objective obstacles and disabilities, which were the consequence of man's violation of the Divine law;*" and in this sense Christ made not only a "sufficient sacrifice and oblation," but "satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." This cautious use of the word, found in our Articles and Liturgy, is free from objection; but when substituted for the more scriptural terms, sacrifice and propitiation, in order to supply the means of *theorizing about the manner* in which Christ's sufferings and obedience had produced the effects ascribed to them, it was no longer harmless.

We thoroughly agree with the views so well expressed by Mr. Macdonnell in the following language:—

"It was . . . the pre-eminent excellence of sacrificial language when applied to Christ, that, while it distinctly attached to what he had done, the notion of expiation, of remission of sin, of a complete change in the relation between sinners and their God; it seemed specially to exclude that rash curiosity which would pry into the ultimate law of the Divine dealings; which would enquire not only what were the effects of the redemptive act, but *how* it produced these effects. The absence of any natural or reasonable connexion in sacrifice between the means adopted and the end obtained, combined with the universal acquiescence in its efficacy, notwithstanding this want of connexion, was just what fitted this language to teach the doctrine of the atonement as an object of faith, not as a theme for philosophical speculation. As such it was first taught

and long received in the primitive Church. But when dialectic subtlety forced itself into all the mysteries of religion, men were not satisfied with such a humble reception of Divine truth. They were not content with a mere examination of the *meaning of the truths revealed and their relation to the religious affections*; but they would ask, like Nicodemus, 'How can these things be?'

"It is exactly so much of the idea of satisfaction as remains over and above, when we deduct from it all that is implied in propitiation, which has been the basis of most theories, from Thomas Aquinas downwards, that have been evolved from this word, or compressed into it, as modes of reconciling God's justice and love. They are not found in Scripture, but added to it. They are one and all, not the teaching of the Spirit of truth, but ingenious and unsatisfactory speculations of men—speculations which, instead of increasing our love for and faith in, the Saviour, have repelled many an earnest mind; by setting forth perplexing statements and unsatisfying theories as the objects of faith and love, which can only receive its full development when resting, undisturbed by logical subtleties, on the adorable Saviour himself."

We have, in the fifth Lecture, an able discussion of the subject of vicariousness. In the last, the subject of justification in connexion with the Divine justice, and the "fitness of the atonement," are treated on, and objections considered which mainly arise from false statements of the doctrine. But we heartily recommend to our readers the work itself, which we regard as an admirable contribution to sound theology, and such as is well adapted to the requirements of the time.

We cannot conclude, however, without expressing the hope, first, that Mr. Macdonnell will apply himself to this subject again; and, secondly, that he will reconsider some of his statements in the first Lectures, especially as they have the appearance in some cases of being out of harmony with each other. We so thoroughly approve Mr. Macdonnell's modes of thought, and so much admire the logical clearness with which he expresses them, that we should be glad to see a treatise from him in which he did full justice to the subject and to himself.

Hermeneutical Manual: or, Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the Scriptures of the New Testament. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Principal and Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of "Typology of Scripture," etc. Edinburgh: Clark. London: Hamilton. Dublin: Robertson. 1858.

THE revival of exegetical theology, which has taken place in this country, is a matter of thankfulness. Stores of sound results of this kind are doubtless to be found in the writings of our great Protestant divines, who were "mighty in the Scriptures." But as the doctrines which they deduced from Scripture, and on which, since their time, the Church had *rested*, have again become matters of discussion—and especially as modern divines are partly right in pretending to improved and increased appliances—it is desirable that those who are able should demonstrate again whatever is true of the old theology.

There is no principle more absolutely Catholic in theory than that the Scriptures are the ultimate basis of our faith; though some who make the highest pretensions to Catholicity hold it only in theory.

But the reformed faith, while it pays all due respect to, and in some points leans upon, primitive tradition, rests mainly on the universally acknowledged basis of the written Word, and therefore its main arguments must be exegetical; and there is a considerable approach to a general convention as to the principles on which exegesis should be conducted. A good book, exhibiting for the Anglican student these generally recognized principles, has been perhaps a *desideratum*. For though few well-educated men are unable to avail themselves of what has been done abroad, there is among foreign scholars so great a love of theory, that it is not easy to find a work on a subject like this, in which the highest interests are not reckoned secondary to the maintenance of some hypothesis, or in which practical utility is not in some degree sacrificed to scientific symmetry and completeness.

The object of Dr. Fairbairn in this work is rather to supply the student with what he regards as most useful to the practice of exegesis than to make his treatise technically complete; i. e., he is willing to omit some details which, though belonging to the science, are familiar to most, for the sake of giving greater expansion to more important matters. He remarks that,

“A work that is really fitted in the present day to serve the proper purpose of a guide-book must undoubtedly so far possess a scientific character that it shall exhibit an acquaintance with the several branches of learning and knowledge which illustrate the language and structure, the incidental allusions, and the main theme of the sacred books, and apply what it may thence appropriate in an orderly and judicious manner. If deficient in this, it fails in the fundamentals of the subject. But it should be allowed to move with some freedom in the selection of its topics, and in the relative care and consideration that it expends upon some of them as compared with others. It cannot otherwise occupy in a serviceable manner the intermediate ground that properly belongs to it between lexicons, grammars, books of antiquities, etc., on the one hand, and formal commentaries on the other—turning, as it should do, to such account the materials furnished by the former class of productions as may aid and qualify the student for an independent and discriminating use of the latter. This is the peculiar province and object of a hermeneutical work on Scripture, and *that will* always come practically the nearest to the mark which is best fitted to place the student of Scripture in the position indicated.”

The work is divided into three parts, the first of which includes all that properly belongs to a statement of the principles of hermeneutics; the second is occupied chiefly by what is lexical; the third, with an examination of quotations from the Old Testament into the New.

The first three sections of the First Part contain a very useful statement of what may be called the now received views as to the language of the New Testament, and its characteristics as a dialect of the Greek; and of the collateral sources for determining the sense and explaining the peculiarities of the New Testament Scriptures. The fourth section relates to general rules and principles for the interpretation of particular words and passages: the first of these is, we think, not fully expressed by the heading, viz., that the interpreter “must endeavour to attain to a sympathy in thought and feeling with the sacred writers whose meaning he seeks to unfold.” This, as Dr.

Fairbairn states, is to a certain extent necessary in order to arrive at the meaning of *any* ancient writer; and he truly remarks that the rationalists have dealt with Scripture as no scholar would think of dealing with any other writings. But Dr. Fairbairn means more than this: "A conviction as to the real nature of the things which constituted the great aim and substance of the Gospel, and of the necessity of a correspondence in belief and spirit between the inspired penmen and those who would engage in the work of interpretation," is a state of mind altogether different from that with which other writings are to be regarded. It is to recognize a "distinctive character" in the New Testament writings; to regard them as authorities as of matters which unaided reason has not discovered; and to yield the moral as well as the intellectual assent to the Divine teaching which they contain. A man may not have taken up this position or stand-point, as the Germans call it, and still less yielded to the moral condition thus required; but in that case he will be constantly at issue with his author—he will condemn as bad reasoning what was never intended for argument, and he will see nothing but what is pedestrian in what the writer felt to be unearthly and sublime. It is, then, a primary and essential principle of interpretation that a man should somehow have made up his mind beforehand whether he is to assume that the high pretensions of the sacred writers to be the medium of divine truths are false—in which case there is scarcely an adequate motive for studying these writings at all—or whether he is to study them on the assumption of the truth of their general claims. In the one case, he will make nothing of them of any real value; in the other, he will find them to contain a harmonious system of truths such as are "able to make him wise unto salvation."

And this state of mind is not only consistent with, but enforces another rule which Dr. Fairbairn gives, that "nothing should be elicited from the text but what is yielded by the fair and grammatical explanation of the language." In proportion to the importance of the document is the desirableness of knowing what it means; and this cannot be done without a faithful use of the ordinary rules of interpretation. In these and the other parts of this section Dr. Fairbairn has dilated upon principles which Bengel has laid down in the Preface to his *Gnomon*. In the remaining sections he has treated "of false and true accommodation"—of "the respect due, in the interpretation of Scripture, to the analogy of the faith"—of "the relation of the Old to the New in God's dispensations," with a view of more exactly defining it—of "the proper interpretation of the tropical parts of the New Testament"—of the parables of Christ—and of the subject of parallelisms. We will only remark, with regard to this latter subject, that Dr. Fairbairn has plainly not allowed himself to examine the phenomena. The evidences in the writings of St. Paul of a tendency to revert to things which he had just been saying in an inverted order are as plain as anything in the structure of his epistles. And it by no means follows that this is *unnatural* because it has not been the

practice of Western writers; it might perhaps be shewn that it was the reverse.

Dr. Fairbairn has devoted one whole section to a discussion of the word βασιλῆω, in the results of which, as to the original meaning of the word, we believe he would find scarcely a scholar who would agree with him, while his practice is that of all Christendom.

As a contribution to the literature of the Free Church, this volume will be highly acceptable, while, with some exceptions, it will be generally welcomed.

The Greek Testament Roots, in a Selection of Texts, giving the power of reading the whole Greek Testament without difficulty. With Grammatical Notes and a Parsing Lexicon, associating the Greek Primitives with English Derivatives. By G. K. GILLESPIE, A.M. London: Walton and Maberly. 1858.

SUPPOSING Mr. Gillespie's plan of facilitating the study of the Greek language be based on sound principles, his book is well adapted for carrying it out. He lays it down as a maxim, that the first thing to be done is to become familiar with the roots of the language. These roots might be collected and presented to the student in a mass for his mastication, in which they would scarcely be thought good eating. But Mr. Gillespie's plan is to diffuse them into something more palatable, by selecting such sentences from the Greek Testament as should together contain the whole of the primitive words. He relies on the familiarity of the student with the context of each passage for the interest which he will feel in the detached verses. He has, moreover, given a vocabulary, or what he calls a "Parsing Lexicon" of the roots, with their derivatives; and, partly for the sake of aiding the memory, has given the English words which are related to the Greek primitives. And, with the view of giving the pupil some knowledge of the style of each New Testament writer, he has taken his extracts, "in proportional quantities from all the writers."

"The text is accompanied by original notes containing an etymological or critical explanation of the grammatical difficulties which occur in the text; and directing the learner's attention to the chief peculiarities of Greek syntax, and to other points connected with the analysis of the language."

There is other apparatus in the work which in itself is valuable, as, for instance, an account of some of the effects of the collision of consonants and the meeting of vowels; a consideration of great importance in the formation and declination of Greek words, but which Mr. Gillespie applies especially to the subject of derivation. He is somewhat sanguine as to the results of his method. He thinks that the diligent use of these extracts will "infallibly confer the power of reading the whole Greek Testament without difficulty;" and that, "having established this basis, he (the pupil) will read profane authors with comparatively little discouragement."

We doubt much, however, whether Mr. Gillespie will find many of

his way of thinking who have had much experience either as learners or teachers. His *axiom*, that "the first step should be to acquire a knowledge of the primitive words," will certainly be disputed by those who consider that elementary principles of constant occurrence, without which the largest *copia verborum* would contribute little towards the knowledge of the language, are best mastered once for all, rather than to be picked up irregularly and imperfectly, as necessity requires. We do not agree with him in thinking that the New Testament is easy Greek; it only appears so because most people are familiar with our version of it. Our conviction is, that it is wrong to encourage any one to hope for a really useful acquaintance with the New Testament who does not by other means become somewhat at home in the Greek language. Nay, more, a successful student of the Christian Scriptures requires more than a knowledge of the Greek. Their connexion with the Old Testament in their subject, the important Semitic colouring of their dialect and Semitic forms of thought, require at least some acquaintance with the Hebrew language in order to "translate the New Testament with facility." Nor are we convinced by what Mr. Gillespie argues that it is religiously right to connect the drudgery of acquiring a difficult language with the Word of God. We repeat, however, that, supposing objections like these to be unfounded, Mr. Gillespie's book is the best we know of for promoting his object and carrying out his plan.

The Essential Coherence of the Old and New Testaments. By the Rev. THOMAS THOMASON PEROWNE, M.A., Fellow, Assistant-Tutor, and Hebrew and Theological Lecturer of Corpus Christi College. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Bell and Daldy. 1858.

THIS essay obtained the Norrisian Prize in 1854. Its publication was delayed by the illness of the esteemed author; but during the interval he has made such alterations and additions as were suggested by a more mature consideration of the subject.

After referring to the *a priori* argument from the inspiration of both Testaments, that they might be expected to exhibit the kind of unity which belongs to a revelation given by the same spirit, Mr. Perowne proposes to take as his subject the internal evidence that the Old and New Testaments are one. Thirty years ago Professor Hengstenberg expressed his conviction of the necessity to the interests and health of Christianity and Theology that the ancient well-grounded rights of the Old Testament to the faith and affection of the Church should be recognized; and to promote this object he published his *Christology of the Old Testament*. His plan was to investigate the direct prophecies of the Messiah found in the Hebrew Scriptures. The text which he took for his motto, from 1 Peter i. 10—13, appears to be plain New Testament authority for looking to the Old Testament for intimations, *περὶ (τῆς) σωτηρίας*; about that salvation of which the New Testament contained the full development; and perhaps it might

be shewn by a sober induction that not only the person of Christ, but the whole system of that salvation is to be traced in its germs, or its foreshadowing, in the more ancient revelation. Mr. Perowne has, however, done wisely in confining himself to the dominant subject of both Testaments. His proposition is, that there is "an essential coherence between the two Testaments, arising out of the progressive development of the revelation which it contains. And this coherence (he says) will be traced . . . in facts, and truths, and doctrines, not abstractedly considered, but regarded in their relation to a Person, round whom they range themselves, and who is the centre of them all. . . . The whole Bible is the revelation of Jesus Christ, the record that God is in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself."

Mr. Perowne, then, traces the coherence. 1. In the *promise* of the Deliverer contained in the Old Testament, and its avowed fulfilment in the New. 2. In the office of the Deliverer. 3. In the work of the Deliverer. 4. In the person of the Deliverer.

The discussion under the several heads is well managed; it manifests a considerable amount of reading, and a sober judgment on the part of the author. Originality was hardly to be expected on a subject which has been so abundantly discussed; but Mr. Perowne has put into a small compass a well-arranged digest of the most valuable matter relating to his subject. His position is one which requires continued attention to subjects like this, and on the principle *docendo discimus*, confers special advantage for securing accuracy and enlargement in his own attainments, and for qualifying him to become a still more public instructor. The times require the utmost efforts of those whom learning, and grace, and talent have endowed as they have Mr. Perowne to promote the interests of sound theology. We fully agree with him in the great importance of this subject, and we hope that after his views on it have become still more matured he will be encouraged to put forth further efforts in the same direction.

The Book of Job. Translated from the Hebrew on the Basis of the Authorized Version; and explained in a large body of Notes, Critical and Exegetical, etc. By the Rev. CARTERET PRIAULX CAREY, M.A., Incumbent of St. John's, Guernsey. London: Wertheim and Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 500.

WE have made arrangements for giving, in our next number, such an amount of consideration to this work as its importance claims; but that it may not appear to have escaped our notice, and for the information, meanwhile, of our readers, we here briefly indicate its chief features, without any attempt at criticism.

In the first place, then, we have here six preliminary Dissertations, on the following subjects:—(1.) The Book of Job, a true history; (2.) The age in which Job lived; (3.) The place of Job's residence; (4.) The Author of the book; (5.) Theology in the days of Job; and (6.) The various readings of the text of the Book of Job.

Having, in the first dissertation, established the reality of the history, our author, in the second, adduces arguments the result of which is to fix the era in which Job lived "somewhere between the times of Joseph's grandchildren and the departure of Israel from Egypt;" considering this to be "as near an approximation to the date in history that is to be assigned to him, as it is possible to reach." In the third dissertation it is concluded "that the land of Edom and the land of Uz were to some extent at least, identical, or, at all events, that the land of Uz formed a portion of the territory of Edom." Under the fourth head, Mr. Carey says:—"Whether Job himself was the compiler of the book, and when and by whom it was introduced into the Jewish canon of Scripture, whether by Moses, after his sojourn in Midian, or by David, after his victories over the Edomites, are questions about which I conceive it to be impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion." The subject of the fifth Essay is considered under the heads, (1) of God, (2) of Angels, (3) of Man, (4) of Morals, (5) of Man's Final Destiny. Of the sixth dissertation the conclusion is "That the various readings are mostly immaterial, and that only few of them affect the sense of a passage. That at best they rest on very slender MS. authority, and that that is especially the case in the most important instances; and further, that a various reading may very frequently be easily accounted for, and so its spuriousness be detected."

After the dissertations comes an analysis of the history and arguments of the Book of Job. This is followed by the translation, which is furnished, at the foot of each page, with Meisner's and Döderlein's selections of the various readings of Kennicott and De Rossi. After this come the notes, which are of such an extent as to occupy rather more than half the volume. These are succeeded by a large number of illustrations, of which the following account is given:—

"They consist, for the most part, of extracts from works on Eastern countries, on antiquarian research, on natural history, and on geography; and these extracts are intended to elucidate particular passages in this book. In this part of the volume will be found also about eighty illustrative woodcuts, copied from the following authors and works,—Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, Rossellini, Champollion, Niebuhr, Layard, 'Lectures on the Results of the Great Exhibition,' etc."

With this brief sketch of the contents of this volume, we must take our leave of it until our next number.

The Old and New Dispensations compared. Shewing in what respects they differ; what things are peculiar to the former; and what are common to both. By WALTER ALFORD, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Muchelney, Somerset. London: Hatchard. 1858. 12mo. pp. 568.

MR. ALFORD has bestowed a great deal of labour on this volume, and executed his design in a learned and pious manner. He is properly sensible of the intimate connexion of the two Testaments, both as to

the inspiring power which pervades them, the substantial oneness of their design, and the continuity of divine operations from the commencement of the one to the close of the other. We can recommend the work as a useful addition to an important department of theology, and will quote a passage, in which the *differences* of the Old and New Testaments are thus alluded to.

"While, therefore, we notice the marks of difference between the Old and New Testament dispensations, we must be careful not to be led away by any false notions to impugn the consistency of God. The safest guide in this matter is the testimony of revelation itself. It points out with sufficient clearness in what respect the former part was intended to differ from the latter, and yet that each was best suited by Divine wisdom to the time and state of things when it was given. In accordance with these marks of difference is the *peculiar* use of the two parts of the Scriptures to the Christian. The New Testament he cannot but regard as containing the clearest and fullest development of the doctrines he is to believe and of the precepts which he is bound to obey. Those parts of the Old which contain doctrines or precepts, intended only to be the guide of those who lived under that dispensation, are not binding on him as the rule of his faith and practice; though they may teach him much of the wisdom and goodness of God to his people, and lead him to adore these Divine attributes. The typical rites and ceremonies of it may also afford him the same instruction; and, when compared with the antitypes which are revealed to him, may throw light upon the doctrines of Christianity, and confirm his faith in them. The historical and prophetic parts of it may give the Christian many profitable lessons on the providential dealings of God, the evils of sin, and the benefits of affliction; and may lead him more to trust in God, and strengthen his belief in the Gospel. Whatever in the other parts sets forth *general* principles in revealed religion and moral duties, or unfolds the *universal* experience of the sinner under the influence of divine grace, is as 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness,' to the man of God now as it was when first inspired. What in the Old Testament is thus general in principle and universal in its workings, the New Testament and the very nature of things will sufficiently inform every intelligent mind. As to what is binding on the Christian, it is a safe rule to consider those injunctions of the former revelation which are not repealed in the latter as still in force."

Gathered Lights: illustrating the Meaning and Structure of the Lord's Prayer. Selected from Theological Writers. By the Rev. C. HOPE ROBERTSON, B.A., late Curate of St. John's Church, Bradford. London: Rivingtons. 1858. 18mo. pp. 280.

THIS is a work of far more value than would be suspected from the title-page. He thus introduces his design in the Preface:—

"It may be gathered from the lives of eminent men, that matured wisdom and long experience, in any branch of knowledge, generally lead them to turn with closer attachment to first principles and leading truths. In religion this tendency is particularly marked. After long lives spent in much thought, study, and usefulness, we find the noblest Christian minds giving more and more of their earnest attention to what seem the simplest principles of our faith, but which they found to be really its deepest and most beneficial truths. They were by degrees convinced that the well-known foundations of religion, such as THE LORD'S PRAYER, proved in the end to be the most productive of holy teachings and suggestive thoughts."

Good men having thus thought and written much on the Lord's Prayer, our author gathers together in one the lights which from age

to age they have thrown upon it, and has produced an admirable volume for devotional reading. Some of the observations are original, but the greater portion of them are taken from high authorities. The names of Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyprian, and others among the Fathers of the Church, and those of Latimer, Luther, Leighton, Comber, Butler, Stier, Olshausen, etc. from more modern divines, are scattered all over the book, and rich are the treasures collected from these often widely-distant sources.

On the Authorized Version of the New Testament, in connexion with some recent Proposals for its revision. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1858. 8vo. pp. 152.

THIS is a very valuable contribution to the store of works on Biblical Revision, all of which will be useful on some future occasion. We can do little more than indicate to our readers the existence of the volume, and beg them to study it for themselves. The topics discussed are on the English of the Authorized Version; on some questions of translation; on some unnecessary distinctions introduced; on some real distinctions effaced; on some better renderings forsaken or placed in the margin; on some errors of Greek Grammar in our version; on some questionable renderings of words; on some words wholly or partially mistranslated; on some charges unjustly brought against our version; on the best manner of carrying out a revision. The opinion of the Dean on the general subject of Revision will appear from the following paragraph:—

“In the pages which follow I purpose not mainly to advocate a revision, nor mainly to dissuade one, but to consider rather the actual worth of our present translation—its strength, and also any weaknesses that may affect that strength—its beauty, and also the blemishes which impair that beauty in part—the grounds on which a new revision of it may be demanded—the inconveniences, difficulties, and dangers, it may be, which would attend such a revision; and thus, so far as this lies in my power, to assist others who may not have been able to give special attention to this subject to form a decision for themselves. I will not in so doing pretend that my own mind is entirely in equilibrium on the subject. On the whole, I am persuaded that a revision ought to come; I am convinced that it will come. Not, however, I would trust, as yet, for we are not as yet in any respect prepared for it; the Greek and the English which should enable us to bring this to a successful end might, it is to be feared, be wanting alike. Nor certainly do I underrate the other difficulties which would beset such an enterprise; they look, some of them, the more serious to me the more I contemplate them; and yet, believing that this mountain of difficulty will have to be surmounted, I can only trust and believe that it, like so many other mountains, will not on nearer approach prove so formidable as at a distance it appears. Only let the Church, when the due time shall arrive, address herself to this work with earnest prayer for the Divine guidance—her own conscience bearing her witness that in no spirit of idle innovation, that only out of dear love to her Lord and his truth, and out of an allegiance to that truth which overbears every other consideration, with an earnest longing to present his Word, whereof she is the guardian, in all its sincerity to her children, she has undertaken this hard and most perilous task—and in some way or other every difficulty will be overcome.”

The Second Vision of Daniel: a Paraphrase in Verse. By the EARL OF CARLISLE. London: Longmans. 1858. Small 4to, pp. 24.

In a graceful poem of one hundred lines, the noble author conveys his views of what was intended by the prophet Daniel in his second vision. The object contemplated is thus stated in the preface,—

“ In the very able and elaborate work lately published by Mr. Buckle, the first volume of the *History of Civilization in England*, it is much insisted upon that the greatness and happiness of nations increase in almost parallel proportions with their sceptical tendencies. I do not wish to fix upon the term of scepticism a more offensive import than the author himself assigns to it, and if I can judge of myself aright, there can be nothing which I should more wish to avoid than any approach to dogmatism in the discussion of religious subjects, and still more especially of Scriptural prophecy. I must further admit myself not to be aware how far critical research and investigation have been brought to bear upon the composition of the Book of the Prophet Daniel. It has long, however, appeared to me that if the eighth chapter of this marvellous Book, of which, principally with the view of calling increased attention to it, I have attempted the following paraphrase in verse at the present period, does really stand, as is is presumed to do in our Bibles, without addition, interpolation, or corruption, then these points are established.

“ 1. The Inspiration of the Sacred Text.

“ 2. The immediate superintendence of Divine Providence in the order of events and the government of the world.

“ 3. The high probability, when the chapter is viewed in connexion with the associated prophecies and chronologies of the Books of Daniel and of the Revelations [Revelation], that we are even now upon the threshold of great events, and of the close of our present economy.”

The Christian Doctrine of the Atonement not inconsistent with the Justice and Goodness of God. An Essay which obtained the Norrisian Prize for the year 1857. By the Rev. FREDERIC W. FARRAR, M.A. Cambridge: Macmillans. 1858. 8vo. pp. 41.

The subject treated of in this Essay is one which has employed the very highest minds, without their being able to divest it of all its difficulties. We seriously doubt whether darkness has not been thrown over what is in itself mysterious by much which has been written upon it. Mr. Farrar has many fine thoughts, and has discussed the doctrine in a fair and thoughtful manner; but, as might be expected, if we were to write a review of the volume we should take exception to many of his positions. The following observation is important, and of general interest :—

“ It is of indispensable importance to the right understanding of all theology, and particularly of this doctrine, to observe that the Scriptures are not didactic or dogmatic in their method. God chose as his instruments for revelation the agencies of holy men whose hearts he convinced by diverse workings, and to whose intellects he presented his will under circumstances and analogies varying with their several individualities. The Bible is as manifold in its language and methods as the manifold minds to which it appeals; now it addresses the understanding in argument, and now the imagination in analogies, and now the fancy in symbols, and now the heart in the holiest rhetoric of emotion. Those, therefore, who would get its full meaning, must examine type by the aid of antitype, and prophecy in the light of history. And since most of the doubts and confusions which have tortured the minds of men have risen from the isolation of

separate fragments of Holy Writ, in order to force them into unnatural contrast, it will be necessary first to illustrate our subsequent arguments by a brief but comprehensive view of the widely-varying metaphors and modes under which the doctrine of the Atonement has been revealed."

The English Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version. Newly divided into Paragraphs; with concise Introductions to the several Books; and with Maps and Notes illustrative of the Chronology, History, and Geography of the Holy Scriptures; containing also the most remarkable variations of the Ancient Versions, and the chief results of Modern Criticism. Part XIII. Romans—Galatians. London: W. Allan. 1858. Small 4to.

WE are glad to see that this valuable work is progressing. It would be a service to the cause of Biblical knowledge if our readers would exert their influence to extend its circulation.

INTELLIGENCE,

BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

CURETON'S SYRIAC GOSPELS.^a

In addition to the notice of Dr. Cureton's work in the present number of the *Journal*, we insert the following learned critique from the pages of the *Literary Churchman* :—

We shall now resume our examination of Dr. Cureton's work; and in what follows, we shall attempt to obtain an answer to the two following questions :—

I. What is the actual merit of the present Syriac translation of the Gospels?

II. What is its critical value towards establishing the text of the original Greek?

The results which an intelligent reader will arrive at, we believe, are the following :—

1. That the present translation was made from a Greek MS. of the same family as the *Peshito*.

Thus we read 'Spirit of Holiness' in St. Matth. iv. 1.—'Say against you' in v. 11.—'In that day' in ver. 12.—'With him in the way' in ver. 25.—'Black or white' in ver. 36.—'Whoso wisheth' in ver. 40.—'He who' in ver. 45.—'Good and bad' (same verse).—The collocation of the words in vi. 5.—'Anoint thy head, and wash thy face,' in vi. 17, are transposed.—'Of the world' was read in vi. 32.—'Priests' was read in viii. 4,—and *ἐς* or *ἐς τὴν* (apparently) in ver. 5.—The last 'thy' is wanting in xi. 10 :—and in ver. 12, we read 'and until now :—' and in ver. 16, for 'the markets,' it is here 'the market.'—'Jesus' is found in xi. 20.—'To have her,' in xiv. 4, is rendered 'that she should be to you a wife.'—It is 'multitudes,' in the plural, in ver. 14.—In v. 24, we read 'the boat was separated from the land many stadia.'—In St. John i. 35, 'again' is omitted; and 'the Father' is read in v. 19.

2. The translation was made from a corrupt Greek MS., and one which had a stronger sympathy with the old Latin versions even than the *Peshito* itself.

Thus, 'Jesus' is omitted in St. Matth. i. 18.—'Repent, for' is omitted in iv. 17.—In iv. 24, there is no equivalent for *δαμονισμένους* :—the MS., moreover, exhibited *παρὰ λυτρίκους* before *σκληνισμένους* (instead of *after* it; and ended with the spurious *πάρας*.—Verses 4 and 5 in chap. v. are transposed.—The MS. seems to have read 'on account of my Name' in ver. 11; and it transposed 'persecute' and 'revile,' as the Codex Bezae D does :—'Right' is omitted in ver. 39.—'Others' is added in ver. 41.—'Openly' is omitted in vi. 4 and 6.—The MS. read *ὀποκρίαι* instead of *ἐθνικοί*, in ver. 7.—'Or what ye shall drink' is omitted in vi. 25 :—and the epithet 'heavenly' in ver. 32.—The two last clauses in xi. 5 are transposed.—In xiv. 6, is found 'in the midst of the banquet.'—To turn to St. John's Gospel. In i. 3, *ἡ γέγονεν* is connected with what follows.—In ver. 22, is found 'Who art thou? tell to us.'—'Lo,' is repeated in ver. 29.—In ver. 34, for 'Son' is found 'the chosen one,' which shews that the original read *ἐκλεκτός*.—iii. 6 contains the two spurious clauses, 'because of flesh it is born,' and 'because God is a spirit, and of God it is born;' and ver. 8 contains the spurious addition 'of water and of the Spirit.'—'And' is omitted from the beginning of ver. 13; where 'was in heaven' has been substituted for 'is in heaven.'—The clause 'should not perish, but' is omitted in ver. 15.—'Went out' is read in ver. 22; and 'Jesus' in iv. 1.—In v. 13, 'had turned Himself

^a *Remains of a very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe.* Discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., F.R.S., etc. London: 4to., xcv. and 244 pp.

^b One of the many *Varr. Lectt.* overlooked by Griesbach.

from the place to another on account of the multitude of men' is a reading which (like many of the preceding) points to a very corrupt original text.—So does the mention of 'their boat' in St. Luke viii. 23; and 'we are many' in ver. 30; and 'the swine' in ver. 32; and the arrangement of ver. 35.

3. The translator had an imperfect knowledge of Greek.

Out of *σῆς καὶ βρώσους* (St. Matt. vi. 19), he has made '*falleth the moth*;' and in the next verse he omits *ὅτι βρώσους* entirely. (Was it because he could make no sense here of the word 'meat,' as he properly translates *βρώσους* in St. John iv. 32; vi. 27, 55?)—He translates *τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος* (vii. 3) '*What is the mote thou seest, etc.*'—*Leave, I will pull,* in the next verse, is an instance of inaccuracy either on the part of the Syriac translator, or of his English editor.—'Unless he shall be offended' (xi. 6) looks like a misunderstanding of *ἔὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ*.—'Much is his power' is evidently a mistaken, as well as a free translation of a corrupt text of xiv. 2.—The following rendering of St. John v. 19, 20, seems to us conclusive:—'*Neither that which He seeth not His Father do; but what His Father doeth, also the Son resembles Him. For the Father loveth His Son, and whatsoever He doeth sheweth to Him, that He may do; and what are more than these works, He sheweth Him; and marvel not that I said to you.*'

4. The translator was altogether unsolicitous about the strict accuracy of his version.

Instead of 'his people,' we read 'the world' in St. Matt. i. 21.—His text (whatever it may have been) did not warrant 'all torments and all diseases,' in iv. 23:—nor should he have translated the same word, first 'servant' in viii. 6, and then 'boy' in ver. 8.—'All came' in ver. 16 (instead of 'they brought many,') shews carelessness; so does the substitution of 'them' for 'the spirit,' and the omission of the word 'all,' in the same verse.—Why 'among kings' (xi. 8), instead of 'in the houses of kings?' and why (in the next verse) 'more than the prophets,' instead of 'more than a prophet?' and why is 'for' (in the next verse) dropped?—Why 'sending' (in ver. 16) instead of 'calling?'—and 'ye' for 'they,' in verses 18 and 19?—and why is *ἅλῃν*, in verses 22 and 24, rendered 'on this account?' or 'and' prefixed to ver. 29?—To return to St. John's Gospel.—In i. 18, we read '*from the bosom.*'—*And art thou a prophet?* is a careless rendering of *Ὁ προφήτης ἐστὶ σὺ*; in ver. 21.—Why is '*And*' prefixed to *τίς ἐγώ*; in ver. 22?—Why, '*a voice that crieth,*' in ver. 23?—By sheer inadvertence, evidently, 'Jesus' stands for 'John' in ver. 35; also 'from Galilee to Judæa' instead of 'out of Judæa into Galilee,' in ver. 47.—'And' has been carelessly intruded into ver. 7, and 'only' into ver. 8; while 'the disciples' has been as carelessly omitted in iv. 33; as well as 'into Galilee' in ver. 45.—Why does 'see' stand for 'heal' in ver. 47?—The translator substitutes 'him' for 'him that had been healed,' in v. 10; but substitutes 'him that was healed' for 'him,' in ver. 14.

5. But the principal result to which an examination of this version must bring any unprejudiced reader, is this,—that the Syriac translator has licentiously interpolated the text; left out many important portions; and taken other utterly unwarrantable liberties with it. (We are, to say the truth, painfully reminded of the Syriac version of the genuine (!!!) Ignatius,—which was so satisfactorily disposed of by the late lamented Professor Hussey).

In the very first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, we find the well-known omission of three kings' names supplied!—and this, in defiance of ver. 17!—and notoriously in defiance of all MSS., Fathers, and Versions! Need we look any further? However, we will pursue our examination.

Thus, we read, 'gold, and myrrh, and frankincense,' in ver. 11.—In ver. 19, 'her husband' is omitted, and 'Mary' interpolated.—In iii. 3, for 'his,' we read 'of our God.'—In iii. 7, 'many' is omitted, and 'the Publicans' interpolated.—In iv. 18, 'our Lord' is interpolated.—In ver. 22 (*which is thus made identical with ver. 20*) 'the ship and their father' is omitted, and 'their nets' substi-

tuted.—In ver. 23, 'Jesus' is omitted.—In ver. 24, the words 'hateful,'—'many,'—and upon each one of them he was laying his hand,' are all interpolations.—In v. 1, we read, 'he went up, sat him on the mountain,' which is a transposition.—In ver. 12, 'your fathers' is an interpolation:—while the words 'bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you despitefully use you and,' are all omissions in ver. 44.—'Your grace' is thrust into ver. 47 (from St. Luke vi. 32—4), and 'Lo' is interpolated. The translator seems to have found *δικαιοσύνην* in vi. 1, but he transferred the word unwarrantably to verses 2, 3 and 4 (where *ἐλεημοσύνην* is the right reading), and as unwarrantably substituted 'gift' for 'righteousness' in ver. 1.—In ver. 10, we read 'in earth as heaven,' which is a transposition.—In ver. 16, *συνθρονοί* is unrepresented.—In ver. 26, 'gather into barns' is represented by 'carry.'—In ver. 28, 'toil' and 'spin' are transposed.—In vii. 4, 'is set' is interpolated,—and in ver. 9, 'man' is omitted.—In viii. 5, the words 'after these things,' and one half of the phrase 'was entreating and beseeching,' are interpolations.—In ver. 6, 'is paralyzed, and lieth in the house,' is a transposition.—In ver. 9, the words 'and there is to me authority, also to me,' is a sheer interpolation;—so are the words, 'a man of the house of,' in ver. 10;—and 'in the same moment,' in ver. 15;—and 'and I will come,' in ver. 21.—Leave the dead burying their dead, and thou, come after me,' in ver. 22, is an unauthorized transposition.—[Here there comes a break in the MS., until ch. x. 32. We do not look far for further proofs of licentiousness.] In ver. 33, 'and before his angels' is an interpolation:—immediately after which, the words 'Think not that I am come to send peace on earth' are unceremoniously omitted; and in the following clause, instead of the single word 'peace,' we are presented with 'peace on earth, but division of wills.'—Why 'discipleship' instead of 'disciple,' in ver. 42? and 'are sustained' instead of 'have the Gospel preached to them,' in xi. 5?—Perhaps then' is an interpolation, in xi. 21; but in ver. 25, 'and prudent' is an omission; so are the words 'knoweth any one' in ver. 27.—The name 'John' in xiv. 5, 11, and 12, is thrice interpolated; another interpolation in ver. 11 is the repetition of 'the girl.' On the contrary, the words 'in a ship' are unaccountably omitted in ver. 13. For 'apart,' in the same verse, is substituted 'by themselves' (which makes nonsense); while the sentence 'when the multitudes heard, they followed Him on foot out of the cities,' is thus licentiously dealt with,—'when the multitudes heard *which were* from the cities *and the villages* they went after Him on foot.'—In the next verse, the words *ἐξελθὼν δ' Ἱεροσολαίμης* are not represented.—Two entire verses (2, 3) are omitted in chap. xvi.—Let us turn to St. John's Gospel. In i. 19, instead of 'the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask Him,' we are presented with, 'they sent to him from Jerusalem, the Jews and the chief priests and the Levites, and ask him.'—In the next verse, the clause 'And he confessed, and denied not,' has been omitted.—In the next verse, we look in vain for the important clause 'What then? art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not.'—Οἱ ἀρεσταζόμενοι . . . εἶπον (in verses 24, 25), is translated 'they were sending and saying,' all the intermediate clause (namely, 'were of the Pharisees, and they asked him, and') being left out!—In ver. 27, the important saying, 'He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me,' is bungled into this,—'He that cometh after me, he that!—which is the more unpardonable, because the translator exhibits ver. 30 (where the saying is actually referred to) with tolerable accuracy.—In the next verse, 'he spake' is substituted for 'were done,' and 'river' is interpolated before Jordan.—In ver. 36, 'Lo, the Messiah' is an interpolation.—In the next verse, 'the two disciples heard him speak' is translated 'when those disciples of John heard.'—In the next verse, the clause 'which is to say, being interpreted, Master,' is without warrant omitted.—In ver. 40, the words 'one of the two which heard John [speak],' are exhibited thus, 'one of them, of those disciples of John;' while the clause 'and followed Him,' is omitted.—In the next verse, 'He first findeth his own brother Simon,' is thus licentiously travestied, 'And he Andrius saw Simon Cepha;' moreover, the clause, 'which is, being interpreted, the Christ,' is again omitted.—iv. 7 and 8 are transposed; and the words 'where Jesus sat' are interpolated.—In ver. 50, 'to thy house, Lo,' is interpolated:—so are the words

'go to thy house,' in v. 8; while in the next verse 'and took up his bed,' is as unwarrantably omitted.—'Than the first,' in ver. 14, is an interpolation; while the clause 'and sought to slay Him' is omitted in ver. 16; but the words 'on this account' in ver. 17 are an interpolation. *Διὰ τοῦτο*, in the next verse, is paraphrased 'on account of this word;' 'His own Father' (in the same verse) is loosely rendered 'My Father;' while 'making Himself equal with God' (still in the same verse) is fatally mistranslated, 'and was *comparing Himself with God*.'—'Quickeneth' and 'raiseth' (in ver. 21) is a transposition; and 'those that believe in Him' is an unwarranted gloss upon 'whom He will;' and 'to the Father' is omitted in ver. 45; while 'Go . . . the men in sittings and sittings' (in vi. 10) is a sheer interpolation.—So grossly careless was the author of this translation that he interpolates the statement that our Lord went down with His disciples to the sea and sat (!) in a boat (vi. 16), although, *in the very next line*, he adds, 'it became dark, and Jesus came not to them.'—In verse 48, 'which came down from heaven' is an interpolation.—We will now turn to St. Luke's Gospel, and specify the *interpolations in a single chapter* (the eighth) as a specimen of what critics may expect to find here. In ver. 1, 'his;' ver. 4, 'Lo;' ver. 8, 'and fruit-giving;' ver. 10 (instead of *τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς*) 'but to those without it is not given to them to know; on this account in allegories it is spoken to them;' ver. 12, 'the word of God;' ver. 13, 'hastily' and 'in it;' ver. 14, 'of the world;' ver. 16, 'Another parable He spake,' and 'or in a hidden place;' ver. 18, 'and be added to him;' ver. 19, 'and were standing without;' ver. 22, 'sat;' ver. 23, 'their boat . . . was near to sink;' ver. 27, 'and he was crying every cry, and smiting himself with stones;' ver. 28, 'worshipped Him;' ver. 29, 'and was cutting' and 'same;' ver. 31, 'those devils . . . and not cast them out;' ver. 32, 'those devils' and 'that herd of swine;' ver. 33, 'all that, . . . and they fell;' ver. 35, 'the men;' ver. 39, 'and to thy men's house' and 'to them;' ver. 44, 'And she meditated in herself and says, If going I touch even the garments of Jesus, I am healed;' ver. 45, 'turned;' ver. 46, 'a man;' ver. 47, 'fearing,' and 'worshipped Him,' and 'she confessed before every man;' ver. 52, 'the girl.'—*Thirty-five* considerable interpolations in one chapter,—and all but one, or perhaps two, *without a shadow of manuscript authority!* . . . This will probably suffice.

6. We will but add that the version of all three Gospels seems to have been the work of one hand; inasmuch as the *same kind of inaccuracies abound throughout*. It may be added that (unlike the translators of the Peschito) the present scribe translates the Mount of Olives 'Beth Zaithe' in St. Matthew (xxi. 1), as well as in St. Luke (xix. 29 and 37; xxi. 37; xxii. 39).

From a review of all that precedes (which we have stated thus in detail in order that every reader of ordinary intelligence may judge of the question for himself), it follows, we apprehend,—

I. That this Syriac translation of the Gospels is of *no merit whatever*.

II. That, as a help towards establishing the original text of the Gospel, it is of *no value at all*.

Dr. Cureton's amazing hypothesis that 'this Syriac text of St. Matthew's Gospel represents more nearly the *exact words which the Evangelist himself made use of than any that has hitherto been discovered*,'—and 'that we have here, in our Lord's discourses, to a great extent, *the very same words as the Divine Author of our holy religion Himself uttered*,'—(pp. xci. and xciii.) is almost too monstrous, too ridiculous, to be seriously combated. That learned gentleman will, however, doubtless remind us that five of our foregoing results fall to the ground, inasmuch as they proceed on a false assumption. We have tested his Syriac translation of St. Matthew by comparing it with the Greek: he assumes, on the contrary, that the Greek is to be tested by a comparison *with the Syriac*.

But we reply,—We really can discover no reason why the ordinary principles of sound criticism are to be dispensed with on the present occasion! Dr. Cureton here presents us with fragments of *three Gospels: all three* exhibiting the *selfsame* characteristic marks of carelessness, interpolations, omissions, and general license. *Why*, what he acknowledges to indicate 'mistaken translations,' 'blunders,' 'errors,' 'confusion,' 'want of knowledge of the Greek lan-

guage,' and so forth (p. xlv. to lxiii. *passim*), in the versions of St. Luke and St. John, are to be regarded as the *ipsissima verba* of the Evangelist, when they are found in the first Gospel,—is really more than we are able to divine!

Dr. Cureton's argument, as far as we are able to understand it, stands somewhat thus,—

1. St. Matthew is *reported by ecclesiastical tradition* to have written his Gospel originally in Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic.

2. It is *highly improbable* that the Syriac translators of the New Testament would have neglected to avail themselves of the original work of St. Matthew.

3. Certain recorded peculiarities of the 'Gospel to the Hebrews,'—found in the present Syriac version and not in the Greek text,—constitute an argument for assuming that this version represents in the main St. Matthew's original work.

4. (Which is only an amplification of No. 3). This Syriac text agrees in certain points wherein it differs from the Greek, with 'the Gospel to the Hebrews.'

5. The phenomena resulting from a comparison of this Gospel with the other two are such as would have been *a priori* expected, had they been known translations from this Aramaic original; which completes the proof.

But this learned gentleman has evidently yet to learn that a chain is no stronger than it is at its weakest part. Now every link in the preceding evidence is worthless. For,—

1. There is *no proof that St. Matthew ever wrote a Hebrew Gospel at all*. For ourselves, we utterly disbelieve it. It is simply incredible, if the Evangelist ever *did* write such a work, that it should have so *utterly disappeared, and never have been seen by anybody*. On the other hand, that he wrote his Gospel in Greek,—or (what is all we are concerned about), that he wrote it *also* in Greek,—is proved by the use St. Mark and St. Luke have made of it. Fuller proofs are at hand; but an enumeration of them would lead us much too far. In the meantime, the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is a patent fact; and that it is *his*, is admitted by all the Churches.

2. This stands or falls with No. 1. In the meantime we freely grant, that if St. Matthew had written his Gospel in Syriac, and a copy of it had fallen in the way of a Syriac translator of the Gospels,—such a translator would have been spared the task of translation. The only inexplicable circumstance would be why the text of the *Peschito* (the work of the second century) should differ so immensely from the present text! Why did the authors of it re-translate St. Matthew's Gospel; to which they appended the colophon,—'The end of the Holy Gospel of the preaching of Matthew which he preached in Hebrew in the land of Palestine?'

3. The peculiarities alluded to, on examination, do not support the proposed inference. They are these: (a) *the insertion of the names of the three kings (!!!)*: (b) the occurrence of *Juda* instead of *Judæa*, in ii. 1. (But it is found also in the *Peschito*!); (c) some Greek copies in Origen's time, instead of *Rama*, exhibited *ἐν τῇ ὀψιναῇ*, which is a literal translation of *Ramtha*, as it is found in this text. (But so is it found in the *Peschito*! And pray why should not *Ramah*, (which means 'a lofty place,') have suggested that translation?); (d) a supposed 'complete proof' is detailed at p. lxxviii—ix., that the present text of St. Matt. xiii. 16, at least, is identical with the original Aramaic of the Apostle. (But the proof is fallacious: for the *Peschito* reads the same! namely, 'which' for 'because.'). How much more obvious also is the supposition that *both* translations were from a corrupt MS.! the fact that such MSS. existed being proved by the extant Latin versions, which read *qui* and *quæ*. Compare the similar phenomenon in the present version of St. Matt. v. 45,—which evidently points to a MS. which read *ἔς* instead of *ἐν*.

4. We have read over Dr. Cureton's detailed proof of this statement (p. lxxxi—lxxvii), but we solemnly protest that it is even ridiculous. All he endeavours to do, is to shew that his text corresponds in many respects with the apocryphal 'Gospel to the Hebrews.' But he does *not* shew it, at all! Nay, the learned writer is compelled repeatedly to *admit* that he does not make out his

case!—But even if he *did*, can it require to be shewn (to any one who understands ever so little of the subject,) what a laughable piece of argumentation his would be? It is literally this: (a) St. Matthew *probably* wrote his Gospel in Hebrew: (b) 'the (so-called) Gospel to the Hebrews' which was used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, was certainly *not* that original Gospel; but it *probably* resembled it in some respects: (c) the apocryphal work alluded to has perished; but it may be shewn that out of the many passages which it is recorded to have contained, in respect of about half a dozen words (in which it differed from the Greek) it coincided with the present Syriac text.

May we be permitted, however, at this stage of the argument,—or rather, at the only place where the question is put into an argumentative form,—to ask the learned writer a few questions? And *FIRST*,—What is the advantage of straining the coincidence of the present version with 'the Gospel to the Hebrews,' in *half a dozen* minute particulars, while in *all the hundred* remaining particulars they differ?

And *SECONDLY*,—What would be the advantage of establishing the strict coincidence of the two in *every* respect; seeing that the only three of the ancients who quote from the Gospel to the Hebrews, and understood the language in which it was written, *reject it as a spurious performance*? Origen makes an apology for quoting it, disclaiming at the same time its authenticity:—Jerome rejects it, when he has to edit the Vulgate text of St. Matthew; and leaves us to infer how entirely the so-called 'Gospel to the Hebrews' differed from St. Matthew's Gospel, by telling us that he had *translated it into Greek* (!):—Epiphanius, after quoting some passages from it, says roundly: "Only observe how utterly corrupt is this teaching! how mutilated and confused it is throughout! Why, it does not exhibit one trace of accuracy!"

THIRDLY, we would ask,—Whether of the two does Dr. Cureton really think the more probable opinion? That the manifold discrepancies of the present version, (like those of the Nazarene and Ebionite Gospels to which he is so partial), should indicate a *depraved text and a licentious scribe*,—or that in these discrepancies should be recognizable *the very foot-prints of the Apostle himself*.

FOURTHLY, we would remind this learned gentleman that since his Syriac version evidently contains interpolations,—(the Doxology in vi. 13, for example, which is confessedly a liturgical fragment, and not the Evangelist's own);—omissions,—and inaccuracies not a few;—the only question, according to his own hypothesis, must be,—Does the Syriac version of the second century, called the *Peschito*, (whose praise has been ever since in all Churches),—or does the present Syriac version, (a fragment fished up the other day in a monastery),—seem *more likely* to represent the exact words of St. Matthew.

FIFTHLY, Dr. Cureton says (with perfect truth), that 'of the oldest Greek MSS. now known to exist, it will be seen that this copy coincides more nearly, and in some respects in a very striking manner, with the Codex Bezae D.' (lxvii).—Has he forgotten then, that a laborious and competent investigator of that MS. (Bishop Middleton) has shewn that it is the result of "a margin filled with glosses and readings chiefly from the Latin Church; and that the whole collection of Latin passages was translated into Greek, and substituted in the text by some one who had a high opinion of their value, and who was, as Wetstein describes him, 'Καλαργαφας quam vel Græcæ vel Latine lingue peritor?'"

SIXTHLY.—We should be glad to be informed how the fact which Dr. Cureton considers established by these fragments,—namely, that this Syriac translation 'belongs to those very early times of the Christian religion, when the *spirit* was felt to be of far greater importance than the letter,' (lxiv.)—is to be reconciled with the conclusion arrived at on p. xciii, 'that this Syriac text has to a great extent retained the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed? and that we have here, in our Lord's discourses, to a great extent, the very same words as the Divine Author of our holy religion Himself uttered?'

LASTLY,—We should have been interested to hear the Rev. Editor explain 'the vast satisfaction' he has experienced 'of continually obtaining additional conviction of the genuineness and authenticity' of the Gospels, ('the documents of our faith,' as he rightly calls them:) 'of the impossibility of their being other than

what they are represented to be ; and of the wonderful fidelity of the transmission of the text in all essential matters whatever ;—if the present text of St. Matthew's Gospel be the nearest to the truth ; differing as it does from the received text in a greater number of particulars than any other extant text or version in the world ?

5. We must be excused from entering into the question of internal evidence with a writer, who (we say it without disrespect), shews himself so little able to appreciate the logical bearings of an argument,—proves himself to be so uncritical and unscholarlike in his habits of thought. Very humbly, but very confidently, must we record our conviction that the learned Canon of Westminster has *no idea* of the dignity of St. Matthew's Gospel,—no conception of the structure and method of it,—no notion of the traces which abound of a Divine Hand in the very words which the *Evangelist employs*.

We cannot take leave of this solemn subject (for solemn it is), without expressing our surprise and regret at the tone of the performance we have been reviewing. Had Dr. Cureton confined himself to the task of printing these Syriac fragments (the MS. of which he assigns to the age of Jerome), side by side with a literal English translation,—he would have been entitled to the thanks of all critical scholars. But when he writes as if he were about to enlighten the world by producing to its hitherto blinded eyes the real St. Matthew of whom for 1800 years it has been only dreaming : above all, when the supposed St. Matthew proves to be a fragment of a fragmentary version of three of the Gospels ; evidently all three translated from a worthless Greek manuscript by a careless, rash, and ignorant man :—gratitude disappears ; and gives way to nothing but disappointment, regret, and displeasure.

The Block-Books of the fifteenth century.—The very mention of early printing awakens a sense of discussion, of conflict upon a thoroughly unsettled question. The history of the world includes certain prominent and very violent factions, in which poor human nature has betrayed either its inefficiency, blindness, or perversity. Even among national disputes, like those of chariot colours, images, roses, rulers, and religious purification, the printing-ink question takes a high rank. The dispute at first was on a small scale, but it has grown with the increasing importance of the art into a stupendous question, and the mere towns of Mentz and Haarlem correspond as names to blue and green in the chariot contests under Anastasius and Justinian. The author of the volumes now before us distinctly avers, vol. iii., p. 4, that his work “does not profess to be *on the origin* of printing, but on the block-books and earliest typographical works to *illustrate the discovery* of the art.” How far, more or less, Mr. Sotheby has realized this intention we shall hereafter consider : we prefer to commence our examination with a view of the general appearance of the book, and unhesitatingly pronounce the plates to be the best part of it. The three volumes, which, divested of really extraneous matter and many repetitions, would have made two very conveniently, abound in wonderfully accurate fac-similes of the crude old woodcuts, true in size to the originals (except where slightly disturbed by the paper having been damped to take some of the impressions), and reproducing all the flaws, breaks, and roughnesses which characterize the originals. The colour of the ink with which they are printed also contributes in no slight degree to mislead the beholder as to their antiquity. It is, in fact, almost requisite, by way of detection, to look to the back of the leaf and see whether any impression from the wooden ridges be perceptible, or whether the lines shew through in brilliant gloss from the friction employed on the back, in the process first adopted in taking the impression. With one exception, the fac-similes here, it may be observed, are all executed in lithography, whilst the originals were wood engravings. The exception we mention is remarkable. A plate, lxx. in vol. ii., has been printed from an actual old wood-block, still in existence, of the series known as the Apocalypse of St. John. This wood-block was lent to the author by Lord Spencer, and a similar favour from the same wood-block was conferred on Mr. Dibdin, for his celebrated Catalogue of the Althorp Library. The thickness of the paper

unfortunately prevents any trace of pressure being perceptible at the back; but the original impressions were taken on very thin sheets, and afterwards pasted together to form the volume. Block-books, it is hardly necessary to remind any of our readers, were so called, not from their actual shape or appearance, but from the solid mass of wood engraved in one piece, which was employed to stamp each page. In the first stage of the process, every letter, every sign, every curve, had to be engraved independently of the rest. The simple principle of stamping was the first condition. Moveable letters, like our modern spelling alphabets for children, formed the second. It would obviously be a great advantage if all the letters already carved and used for the text of one page could be set in a fresh combination, and be made to serve for a new one. The ingenious inventors soon devoted their skill to this, and from this moment letter-makers ceased to be spellers or literary men by necessity: the division widened between the workman and the intelligent transcriber as the art of founding or casting types in metal became established. The exact period of the introduction of *metal* types is scarcely known, and the juncture at which the earliest moveable wooden types were first employed, or *where* they are now to be detected, still remains a very difficult question. The origin of the adoption of moveable type most probably arose in the engravers having occasion to correct an error. Even in modern times when this necessity arises the workman cuts out the part at fault and drives into the same place a fresh piece of wood, taking good care to keep it perfectly level with the surface of the rest. This modern process is termed "plugging;" but from the danger of splitting the main block it is seldom resorted to.

An alteration of name to accommodate the change of circumstances on one of these old blocks is fairly detected by Mr. Sotheby, vol. i., p. 180. In a scroll over a certain figure the name stands in some impressions *Jacobus de Breda*, and in others *Joannes Bergis*. Hence, it was probable that the latter was a substitution as soon as the *Jacobus* was no longer required. The figure against which the scroll is appended is assumed, somewhat fancifully, by Mr. Sotheby, to be intended as a portrait of Lawrence Coster; but it has evidently served so many uses, like the old cuts of heroes in the Nuremberg Chronicle, which are not Protean, but fully illustrate the limited liability of "what's in a name?" that we can only accept it as a simple figure of Daniel in the original composition belonging to the *Speculum Humane Salvationis*.

Ottley, in whose judgment we have implicit faith, and whose zeal and ready perception must be admitted by all parties, gives an admirable proof of the adoption of moveable type. In the text of the Dutch edition of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis* several words occur which have letters in them of perfect form; but so inappropriate to the rest that it can only be attributed to inadvertence of the compositor in making use of the moveable type. For instance, the Dutch word *capittel* (chapter), which frequently occurs in the volume, is, in one instance, spelt *carittel* (charter), and in others *capittél* and *capistel*. The *Speculum*, there is no doubt, was printed with moveable type; but the letters may have been of wood. It is difficult to admit Mr. Ottley's instance of the break in the letter *ü* to prove that the letter had been cast, since the same effect might have been produced by an accident to a wooden letter. His ingenuity in looking for *distortion* in some of the lines of letters, which would indeed shew them to be *metallic* (page 245, vol. i.), deserves the fullest recognition, and it is to this accomplished writer, after all, that the original views followed by subsequent writers are due.

The age of theological disputations was relieved by the efforts of certain monks in their cloisters to educate the people. Scenes from the lives of saints and popular legends were painted on the walls, and there was even then a considerable tendency to impart Biblical knowledge. But it was accompanied by certain restrictions. Bible stories as narrated by Comestor and other writers were transcribed, and, by a peculiar kind of sophistry, arranged in such a manner on opposite pages or adjacent columns as to afford parallels between events narrated in the Old and New Testament; thus, for instance, where Isaac and David were frequently made to correspond with Jesus Christ both as a

sufferer and deliverer. Jonah being devoured by a whale was set as a parallel with Joseph thrown into the well, whilst the escape of the Prophet after a detention for three days and three nights was made to correspond with the Saviour emerging from the tomb, the Resurrection, and deliverance from the jaws of death. Innumerable subjects arranged on this principle were easily found, and were applied not merely in manuscripts and wall paintings, but frequently in sculptures and especially glass windows. Canterbury and King's College Chapel at Cambridge afford the best instances that can be cited in England. This mode of teaching having become popular, the promulgators readily availed themselves of the new stamping process, and had rude woodcuts done, which were coloured afterwards by hand, just as was done in modern times before chromo-lithography had swept all before it. Each page was impressed from a single block, and then formed into books for general distribution. The date of the oldest stamped pictures is of a far-remote period. Of all books prepared by these means two were most frequently in request, the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum* already mentioned.

Innumerable copies of these picture-books exist in manuscript; many are in the British Museum. So popular did they become when once printed that various repetitions, even in wood-blocks, were made for use in other countries. Considering, also, the difficulties of travel in those days, it is not improbable that every principal convent would have its own engraved blocks, and so issue them in particular districts. The differences observable among so many copies have led to a great variety of opinions as to what editions they formed, and as to the relative periods in which they were issued. On these points in particular we find the "doctors differ."

Heineken, one of the earliest writers on these subjects, lays down a regular scheme for the order of succession of the various Dutch and German editions. This is in due course of things demolished by Ottley and Sotheby, neither of whom allows the patriotic old Baron much credit for his judgment or performance. It would weary the reader were we to lay before him even a single code of the changes that these various writers have succeeded in ringing. One test of priority is clearly established relating to these wood engravings. Those which have the lines least broken are the earliest. Ottley contrived with much ingenuity to set these differences forth in his *Inquiry into the History of Engraving* more than forty years ago, and even at the present day remains undisturbed in his clearness and simplicity. The history of the invention or early art of printing receives no decided illustration at the hands of the father of the three folio volumes. His last words record his adherence to Holland as the birthplace both of moveable and block type.

The circumstances connected with the origin of the art were, as some of our readers may remember, made the subject of a play some three years ago (*Athen.*, No. 1480), in which an historic doubt was converted into a dramatic certainty. The success of *The First Printer* failed, we are inclined to believe, in no small degree, owing to the decided colour, and without fair ground, which was made to invest the principal character. Coster, in the play, was not connected with the Sacristan, and Gutenberg was painted as an ungrateful robber and deliberate villain. The Latin narration of the event given by Junius seems to obtain most universal credit,—and Mr. Sotheby spares no pains to give the account in every possible variety of form. (See Ottley, pp. 173 and 197.) Both favour Coster, and both admit the priority of Haarlem. In illustration of this personage, we find, at p. 157, vol. iii., a fac-simile of the signature of Lawrence Coster as auditor of some accounts. The autograph is LAURENS JAN ZOBN, with a peculiar flourish below it. The late Mr. Sotheby found it on a leaf of an old account-book given to him by M. van Sypesteyn. It corresponds with one published by M. Koning in his Dissertation, etc., Amst. 1819. Coster, or Koster, was an official designation—not a name—and signified Sacristan, with which the office of churchwarden was also probably united.

Junius, the celebrated writer, clearly attributes the printing of the *Speculum* to Lawrence Coster, in his book first printed in 1588. In the same pages also he narrates the steps by which Lawrence advanced his discoveries from letters

cut in solid blocks to separate pieces, from the substitution of metal—lead at first—to the adoption of pewter, as being more capable of resisting pressure. The old tutor of Junius had himself often heard an old man—once a bookbinder in the house of Coster—relate the circumstances of the treachery of John, who stole and carried with him the new invention to Mentz—but there is no proof whatever, nor does Junius assert it, that Fust the printer was that same John. The old pewter types had been cast into drinking cups, and were in his time still preserved in the house which Lawrence had occupied at Haarlem. Ottley (page 198) very reasonably concludes that the type stolen from Coster was *cast*. Mr. Sotheby, finding an edition of the *Speculum* in which some pages of block-printing are inserted among the rest of moveable types, connects the circumstance at once with the robbery related by Junius. Our author infers “that, at the time of the robbery, the printer had no immediate means of replacing the loss sustained, and that it was considered more economical to have the pages wanted to complete his Third Edition cut in wood than to have a new font of type cut or cast. Then, it may be asked, why he did not also, in the same way, complete the two pages in the Second Edition with block-type? To which I reply, that, in the one case, the printer had only to give the wood-cutter an impression of each page of text from the First Edition as his copy; but in the other he had none to give, it being the First Dutch Edition. I am therefore induced to think that the Second Edition was not issued until the printer was possessed of the new type, which was afterwards used in the Fourth Edition. Though the printing of pages 45 and 56 may have been delayed, the breakages in the impressions of the designs prove the edition to have been executed before the Second Latin Edition, so that it may have been printed as early as 1441.”

Another class of book besides Bible-prints was connected with some of the very earliest efforts of printing, namely, grammars for schoolboys, which were called after the name of the celebrated Donatus, preceptor of St. Jerome, in the fourth century, and indeed the term *Donat* was, in the language of Longlande and of Chaucer, equivalent to a lesson or introduction to any kind of learning. Ulric Zell, in the *Cologne Chronicle*, printed 1499, distinctly states that the first idea originated in Holland from the Donatuses, which were printed there even before the invention (*query* introduction), at Mayence. The most extensive block-book known is the *Mirabilia Romæ* issued between 1476 and 1484. It is composed entirely of block-type, and consists of no less than 184 pages of block-text. The author is at a loss to account for such an extent of massive printing, when moveable types had so long been in use. We look in vain to Mr. Sotheby's work for fac-similes of the principal celebrities in the way of xylography. Neither are the St. Christopher, with its valuable date on it, from Buxheim, nor the companion woodcut to it of the Annunciation, nor the much-talked-of woodcut from Brussels [see *Athen.*, No. 936, for fac-simile], nor the St. Sebastian, also dated, to be found. Surely, for fairness of comparison, these might have been included, and, moreover, the success with which the other cuts have been reproduced, leads us the more to regret that the benefit was not extended in this important direction. An examination of the various marks in the paper, in which Mr. Sotheby again follows Ottley and M. Koning, leads to several very curious points of information. The general result favours entirely the design that the *Speculum* was first printed in Holland (Ottley, vol. i., page 227). The frequently recurring water-mark letters, P and Y, are shown to be connected with Philip Duke of Burgundy and Ysabella his wife. That water-marks had occasional reference to the book about to be printed, is shown in the old Bible printed by Eggesteyn, where, in every instance, a bull's-head device is made use of, excepting throughout the Book of Kings; on which pages a crown is invariably employed. The foolscap, an actual device, does not occur earlier than the impression of Caxton's *Golden Legend*. The horn (which afterwards became the post-horn) was used as early as 1370. These two last water-marks are interesting as giving the origin of the present established sizes of paper recognized in all our places of business.

In continental fashion, a grand full *ballet* is performed between the two acts

of the opera; Mr. Sotheby favours his readers with a similar interpolation. In the midst of vol. ii., without any preparation, the reader finds himself in a series of papers upon "antiquarian and literary forgeries." Gold and silver forgeries of coins and other antiquities in collections formed by Athanasii, Hertz, and others, false engravings, Shakspeare papers by Ireland, and forged letters of Byron, Shelley, and Keats, all pass in review,—Simonides is also paraded, and in course of these narrations certain pages of our own journal are largely held up to view. At page 120, the mischief peeps out. Mr. Sotheby, thinking that his block-books will have a wide Continental sale, desires to make it the medium to convey a reply to certain strictures which had been made on his statements relating to the writings of Philip Melancthon. Then follows much upon Luther and Melancthon. Then we are thrown suddenly back upon ancient typography, and—to correspond with act ii. of the opera—have "*Pater Noster*, a block-book of ten leaves, etc.," set before us. We have no hesitation in pronouncing Mr. Sotheby's work a most difficult book, because so irregular—a curious book, because so full of various and extended information; but it is, at the same time, truly to be regretted that those who read his first volumes have not the benefit of the corrections of his concluding pages, or the completeness of his after-thoughts. Had the plates themselves been inscribed with the titles both of subject, edition, and what work they were taken from, they would have been far more directly useful. In their present state real working readers will have much trouble in completing their references. Great thanks, however, are due to the author for his very extended research, and for the handsome manner in which his volumes have been executed. His name will always hereafter rank prominently among those who have tended, by the fullness and fidelity of the illustrations in particular, to increase our knowledge upon certainly one of the most interesting branches of mediæval literature.—*Athenæum*.

On the Character of Judas Iscariot.—Believing, as Judas did, and perhaps had reason to do, that Christ contemplated the establishment of a temporal kingdom—the restoration, in fact, of David's throne; believing also that all the conditions towards the realization of such a scheme met and centred in the person of Christ, what was it that, upon any solution intelligible to Judas, neutralized so grand a scheme of promise? Simply and obviously, to a man with the views of Judas, it was the character of Christ himself, sublimely over-gifted for purposes of speculation, but, like Shakspeare's great creation of Prince Hamlet, not correspondingly endowed for the business of action and the clamorous emergencies of life. Indecision and doubt (such was the interpretation of Judas) crept over the faculties of the Divine Man as often as he was summoned away from his own natural Sabbath of heavenly contemplation to the gross necessities of action. It became important, therefore, according to the views adopted by Judas, that his master should be *precipitated* into action by a force from without, and thrown into the centre of some popular movement, such as, once beginning to revolve, could not afterwards be suspended or checked. Christ must be *compromised* before doubts could have time to form. It is by no means improbable that this may have been the theory of Judas. Nor is it at all necessary to seek for the justification of such a theory, considered as a matter of prudential policy, in Jewish fanaticism. The Jews of that day were distracted by internal schisms. Else, and with any benefit from national unity, the headlong rapture of Jewish zeal, when combined in vindication of their insulted temple and temple-worship, would have been equal to the effort of dislodging the Roman legionary force *for the moment* from the military possession of Palestine. After which, although the restoration of the Roman supremacy could not ultimately have been evaded, it is by no means certain that a *temperamentum* or reciprocal scheme of concessions might not have been welcome at Rome, such as had, in fact, existed under Herod the Great and his father. The radical power, under such a scheme, would have been lodged in Rome; but with such external concessions to Jewish nationality as might have consulted the real interests of both parties. Administered under Jewish names, the land would have yielded a larger revenue than, as a refractory nest of insurgents, it ever *did* yield to the Roman exchequer; and, on

the other hand, a ferocious bigotry, which was really sublime in its indomitable obstinacy, might have been humoured without prejudice to the grandeur of the *imperial* claims. Even little Palmyra, in later times, was indulged to a greater extent, without serious injury in any quarter, had it not been for the feminine arrogance in little insolent Zenobia that misinterpreted and abused that indulgence. The miscalculation, in fact, of Judas Iscariot—supposing him really to have entertained the views ascribed to him—did not hinge at all upon political oversights, but upon a total spiritual blindness; in which blindness, however, he went no farther than at that time did probably most of his brethren. Upon *them*, quite as little as upon *him*, had yet dawned the true grandeur of the Christian scheme. In this only he outran his brethren—that, sharing in their blindness, he greatly exceeded them in presumption. All alike had imputed to their master views utterly irreconcilable with the grandeur of his new and heavenly religion. It was no religion at all which they, previously to the crucifixion, supposed to be the object of Christ's teaching; it was a mere preparation for a pitiable vulgar scheme of earthly aggrandizement. But, whilst the other apostles had simply failed to comprehend their master, Judas had presumptuously assumed that he *did* comprehend him; and understood his purposes better than Christ himself. His object was audacious in a high degree, but (according to the theory which I am explaining) for that very reason not treacherous at all. The more that he was liable to the approach of audacity, the less can he be suspected of perfidy. He supposed himself executing the very innermost purposes of Christ, but with an energy which it was the characteristic infirmity of Christ to want. He fancied that by *his* vigour of action were fulfilled those great political changes which Christ approved, but wanted audacity to realize. His hope was, that, when at length actually arrested by the Jewish authorities, Christ would no longer vacillate; he would be forced into giving the signal to the populace of Jerusalem, who would then rise unanimously, for the double purpose of placing Christ at the head of the insurrectionary movement, and of throwing off the Roman yoke. As regards the worldly prospects of this scheme, it is by no means improbable that Iscariot was right. It seems, indeed, altogether impossible that he, who (as the treasurer of the apostolic fraternity) had in all likelihood the most of worldly wisdom, and was best acquainted with the temper of the times, could have made any gross blunder as to the wishes and secret designs of the populace in Jerusalem. This populace, however, not being backed by any strong section of the aristocracy, having no confidence again in any of the learned bodies connected with the great service of their national temple, neither in Scribes nor Pharisees, neither in Sadducees nor Levites, and having no leaders, were apparently dejected, and without unity. The probability meantime is, that some popular demonstration would have been made on behalf of Christ, had he himself offered it any encouragement. But we, who know the incompatibility of any such encouragement with the primary purpose of Christ's mission upon earth, know of necessity that Judas, and the populace on which he relied, must equally and simultaneously have found themselves undeceived for ever. In an instant of time one grand decisive word and gesture of Christ must have put an end peremptorily to all hopes of that kind. In that brief instant, enough was made known to Judas for final despair. Whether he had ever drunk profoundly enough from the cup of spiritual religion to understand the full *meaning* of Christ's refusal, not only the *fact* of this refusal, but also the infinity of what secretly it involved; whether he still adhered to his worldly interpretation of Christ's mission, and simply translated the refusal into a confession that all was lost, whilst in very fact all was on the brink of absolute and triumphant consummation, it is impossible for us, without documents or hints, to conjecture. Enough is apparent to shew that, in reference to any hopes that could be consolatory for *him*, all was indeed lost. The kingdom of this world had melted away in a moment like a cloud; and it mattered little to a man of *his* nature that a spiritual kingdom survived, if in his heart there were no spiritual organ by which he could appropriate the new and stunning revelation. Equally he might be swallowed up by despair in the case of retaining his old worldly delusions, and finding the ground

of his old anticipations suddenly giving way below his feet, or again in the opposite case of suddenly correcting his own false constructions of Christ's mission, and of suddenly apprehending a far higher purpose; but which purpose, in the very moment of becoming intelligible, rose into a region far beyond his own frail fleshly sympathies. He might read more truly; but what of that, if the new truth, suddenly made known as a *letter*, were in *spirit* absolutely nothing at all to the inner sense of his heart? The despondency of Judas might be of two different qualities, more or less selfish; indeed, I would go so far as to say, selfish or altogether unselfish. And it is with a view to this question, and under a persuasion of a wrong done to Judas by gross mis-translation disturbing the Greek text, that I entered at all upon this little memorandum. Else what I have hitherto been attempting to explain (excepting, however, the part relating to the *hakim*, which is entirely my own suggestion) belongs in part to German writers. The whole construction of the Iscariot's conduct, as arising, not out of perfidy, but out of his sincere belief that some quickening impulse was called for by a morbid feature in Christ's temperament—all this, I believe, was originally due to the Germans; and it is an important correction; for it must always be important to recall within the fold of Christian forgiveness any one who has long been sequestered from human charity, and has tenanted a Pariah grave. In the greatest and most memorable of earthly tragedies, Judas is a prominent figure. So long as the earth revolves, he cannot be forgotten. If, therefore, there is a doubt affecting his case, he is entitled to the benefit of that doubt."—*De Quincey*.

Sale of Ancient Bibles, etc.—In June last, Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson sold by auction some very valuable copies of the Holy Scriptures. The greatest attraction of the sale was a copy of the first Latin Bible supposed to have been printed at Mayence by John Gutenberg, between the years 1450 and 1455,—formerly one of the gems in the library of H.R.H. the late Duke of Sussex; and when at his sale it produced £195, was considered to have brought its full value. On the present occasion it realized £595, or more than thrice the sum it then cost. Amongst the English Bibles the following caused the most competition: The first edition of the entire Scriptures in English, by Bishop Miles Coverdale, printed in 1535, abroad, title and several leaves in fac-simile, £136 10s.—The Byble, by Thomas Matthew, in 1537, £27 6s.—Cranmer's version, dated May, 1541, £21.—Cranmer's version, dated November, 1541, £42.—Mathewe's Byble, printed by Raynalde and Hyll in 1549, £26 10s.—Jugge's edition of 1568, £23.—The first English version printed in Scotland, £12.—All these being more or less imperfect, although completed with fac-similes.—The Pentateuch, translated by M. Tyndale, printed at Malborow, in the land of Hesse, by Hans Luft (at Marburg, by Luther's Printer) having twelve leaves in fac-simile, £155.—The New Testament in Latin and English, by M. Coverdale, printed at Paris in 1538, £69 6s.—Another edition of Coverdale's New Testament, printed in 1538, £15 15s.—Coverdale's Version from the Vulgate of the New Testament, in Latin and English, printed at Southwarke in 1538, by J. Nicholson, £25, although imperfect. As sample of the prices paid for early liturgies, we quote that of Grafton, dated the 8th of March, 1549, selling for £26; those of Whitchurch, Mense Martii, 1549, £11: Mense Maii, 1549, £15; Mense Junii, 1549, £11 5s., and his third edition, of 1552, £10 10s.—An imperfect copy of Grafton's edition, of 1552, sold for £7 18s.—The first edition of the Prayer Book in Irish, £10 10s.—A Primer of the reign of Edward the Sixth, by Cottesforde, without title-page, described as unique, £20. Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, of 1581, £12. The Prymer of Henry the Eighth, being the first put forth in his reign, £67.—A Salisbury Primer, of 1543, £12 15s. The total amount of the two days' sale was £2,159 15s.

The following account of the first article in the above list is from the *Book Catalogue* of Mr. Bernard Quaritch, of Castle Street, Leicester Square:—525. *Biblia Sacra Latina*, 2 vols. folio. Without name of printer, place, or date, but attributed to the press of John Gutenberg, at Mentz, between the years 1450 and

1455.—This wonderful monument of typography, "THE FIRST PRINTED BIBLE," was purchased by me, Friday, June 25, 1858, at the sale of the library of the Bishop of Cashel, for the sum of £595, and now adorns the library of an English nobleman. The general interest attached to such an extraordinary work, induces me to reprint Mr. S. Leigh Sotheby's description of it:—

"Although in the annals of early typography there are many volumes of great interest, historically and locally, yet the present, as the first efforts of the press for the promulgation of the Scriptures, must bear the palm over all others. That the work was printed with the view of selling it as a MANUSCRIPT, is almost beyond controversy. It was printed from type *cut by the hand*, made most probably, as the work proceeded, in exact fac-simile of the letters of the manuscript, which it was intended to represent. That manuscript was probably written with *forty-two* lines in a page, but the printer found that owing to the body of the type being of rather a larger size than in the manuscript, he could only get *forty* lines in a page, with which he printed the first *nine* pages. Not being satisfied with his work, he then appears to have had recourse to reducing the body of the type he was using, with which he proceeded to print the *tenth* page. Here he found he was at fault again, and could only get in *forty-one* lines. He then had the type cut of a smaller body, so that *forty-two* lines would come into the space allowed for the column, and with that type completed the work. It may be here observed, that the *headings* to St. Jerome's epistle and to the first book of Genesis are PRINTED in red ink, whereas the headings in all other parts are WRITTEN in red ink, no doubt with the view of making the printed copy correspond more with the manuscript, as it was the custom in manuscripts in general to have the headings inserted afterwards by a different hand—that of the rubricator. Thus the *first impression* of the work, which appeared in rather an un-uniform state, was altered in subsequent copies by the first *ten* pages being *reprinted*, each having *forty-two* lines in a page, the text being merely extended by the alteration of the contractions in the words. In *The Typography of the Fifteenth Century*, I have entered more minutely into the circumstances connected with the printing of these MARVELLOUS VOLUMES—marvellous not only as regards their typographical merit—but, more marvellous, when we consider that each page was composed and worked off separately. Mr. Bernard, the learned author of the *History of Printing in Europe*, considers that Mr. Sotheby was wrong in supposing the type with *forty-two* lines in a page to be of a different size to that with *forty* and *forty-one* lines. He believes, that it was merely *leaded*, or that some material of a thin nature was used to extend the lines. If, however, anybody will take the trouble to carefully examine the pages with *forty* and *forty-one* lines, he will find that scarcely any space between the long lines is perceptible. But, whether the use of the type, so as to get in *forty* lines in lieu of *forty*, was effected by such mechanical means or not, it does not in any way alter the fact, that there were *two issues of the edition*, the *one* having in the first nine pages *forty* lines, the *tenth* page *forty-one*, and the rest *forty-two*. The other entirely with *forty-two* lines. The present copy was from the library of the Duke of Sussex, who obtained it at the sale of the collection formed by James Perry, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*."

A Jewish Lady's Defence of Biblical Doctrines.—To the Editors of *Chambers's Journal*.—Gentlemen, In the series of papers contributed to your periodical by the gifted author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, and recently published in a collected form, under the title of *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, occur two serious misrepresentations of the doctrines of the Bible.

To your ever-present desire to disseminate truth, not falsehood—to inform, not to misinform, the people, the labours of your lives give unequivocal testimony. In accordance with the principles by which your efforts to popularize knowledge have ever been guided, you will doubtless grant a place in your widely-circulated journal to the few observations I am about to offer; the more readily, as they refer to the sacred, world-wide cause of divine revelation.

At page 301 of *Chambers's Journal*, Dec. 12, 1857, occurs this remark: "I believe there is no other light on this difficult question, than that given by the

New Testament. There, clear and plain, shines the doctrine of which, until then, there was no trace either in external or revealed religion—that for every crime, being repented of and forsaken, there is forgiveness with heaven; and if with heaven, there ought to be with men. This without at all entering into the doctrinal question of atonement, but simply taking the basis of Christian morality, as contrasted with the natural morality of the savage, or even of the ancient Jew, which, without equivalent retribution, pre-supposes no such thing as pardon.”

I consider this, the second of the two passages referred to, first, because it is the more important in its action on the moral convictions of the human race. Its refutation here rests not on deductions, manifest as they are from the whole tenor of the writings of Moses and the prophets. I shall, I am sure, best fulfil the duty I have undertaken, by bespeaking the patience of your readers in verifying here the references I append (Lev. xxiii. 27—32; xxvi. 40—42; Dent. iv. 30, 31; 1 Kings viii. 38, 39; 2 Chron. vi. 27; Nehem. i. 9; Psalms li. 17; ciii. 3; Isa. lvii. 15; Jer. iii. 12; Ezek. xviii. 21—23, 27; Joel ii. 12, 13; Micah vii. 18; Mal. iii. 7), to one passage of each of certain of the inspired writers from Moses to Malachi. My difficulty in their selection has been, not to *find*, but to *withhold*; so numerous are the texts which shew that so far from the doctrine of the forgiveness of sin following on repentance, being “unknown to the ancient Jew,” he was distinctly taught that by penitence, and penitence *alone*, could he secure the pardon of his God.

The other passage, whose fallacy but a superficial acquaintance with Biblical history suffices to demonstrate, sets forth that: “Nature herself has apparently decided for women, physically as well as mentally, that their natural destiny should be not of the world. In the earlier ages of Judaism and Islamism, nobody ever seems to have ventured a doubt of this. Christianity alone raised the woman to her rightful place as man’s one help-meet for him, bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, his equal in all points of vital moment.”

It seems to be almost an insult to the memory of your readers who, from week to week attend the services of their parish church, to remind them that the words quoted by our author as indicative of the true vocation of woman, and accompanied by the declaration that it was assigned to her by Christianity alone, are the very words in which her Creator’s aim in her creation is described by Moses, in the earliest of all written revelations; or to advert to the part women played in the great drama of life, during the existence of both the republican and monarchical forms of government that prevailed in Judea. For, that the Hebrew women did appear as actors in many scenes of their race’s history, is abundantly shewn by their *public* participation in all the most important national events; as also in that most sacred of all functions—prophecy. I once more cite (Exod. x. 20, 21; Deut. xxx. 10—12; Judges iv. 4; v. 13; 1 Sam. i. 1, 2; 2 Kings xi. 2; xxii. 14, 15; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22; the Book of Esther; Prov. xxxvi. 1; Jer. xlv. 20), on this head, the verses of Scripture. They tell of the “Women of Israel,” who by their words and deeds aided the great cause of “national and religious regeneration.”

The columns of a popular journal are not the fitting arena for polemical controversy or personal criticism, or it would be easy to prove, that while holding forth the urn, which our writer affirms is alone filled with the pure waters of life, the attempt to shew that the very source whence those waters *first* flowed is turbid and impure, is as inconsistent as it is mistaken and futile.

I remain, Gentlemen, with much esteem, yours,
St. John’s Lodge, Regent’s Park, London. ANNA MARIA GOLDSMID.

Translation of Psalm xlix., by Dr. Benisch.—The August number of the Transactions of the Anglo-Biblical Institute contains the following translation of the forty-ninth Psalm, read before the Institute by Dr. Benisch, as a specimen of his new translation of the Book of Psalms:—

To the Director, for the Sons of Korah. A Psalm.

1. Hear this, all ye peoples; give ear all ye inhabitants of a transitory world:
2. Both sons of the lowly and sons of the high, rich, and needy, together.

3. My mouth shall speak of wisdom; and the meditation of my heart shall be of understanding. 4. I will incline mine ear to a parable: I will open my subtle saying upon the harp. 5. Wherefore should I fear in the day of evil, should even the iniquity of my circumventors compass me about; 6. Who trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches? 7. Yet even the substantial may not redeem a brother, nor give to the judges his ransom: 8. Even the ransom of their life is too precious, and so he lets it alone for ever: 9. As though he lived further on for ever, and would not see the grave. 10. Yet he seeth that wise men die, likewise the fool and the brutish person perish, and leave their wealth to others. 11. Their inward thought is, that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all generations; they call their lands after their own names. 12. Nevertheless, man being in honour abideth not: he is like the beasts that are irrational. 13. This their way is their folly: yet those after them take pleasure in their sayings. Selah. 14. Like the flock they lay them in the grave; death shall feed them, and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning: and their rock shall consume the grave, that it remain not their abode. 15. Truly God will redeem my soul from the hand of the grave; he shall receive me. Selah. 16. Be thou not afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased; 17. For when he dieth he shall not carry away anything: his glory shall not descend after him. 18. Though while he lived he blessed his soul, and praised thee when thou doest well to thyself, 19. Yet when thou comest to the generation of their fathers, they shall never see light. 20. Man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that are irrational.

The Word "Baptize," as Translated in Early Versions.—In glancing over the pages of Rev. Mr. Hodges's new work on *Baptism*, we regretted not finding any more distinct reference to the evidence in favour of his conclusions, afforded by the early versions of the New Testament. We purpose to state a few facts on this point, and make a few inquiries suggested by them.

At the time of our Lord's sojourn upon earth, the Syriac seems to have been the general medium of colloquial intercourse, and consequently was the vernacular of CHRIST and his apostles. And the Syriac New Testament uniformly translates the Greek word *to baptize*, by the Syriac *Amad*, which in Hebrew, Chaldee, and the kindred dialects, signifies (1) *to stand*, (2) *to cause to stand*, to which the Syriac adds the special usage (3) *to wash*, (4) *to baptize*.

Now in Hebrew and Arabic, *to stand*, i. e. before one, implied *servitude or ministry*. In Latin a derivation from a kindred root, (*sto, stare*) *to stand*, denotes *to make a set speech*. What, then, ought we to conclude, was that peculiarity of Baptism which led our Lord and his apostles to call *Baptism a stand or standing*. Neither the element by which it was performed, nor the person administering it, nor the mode of its application, were prominent considerations, but the receiver received a *standing*, or else *took a stand*, in the Church, and on the side of the Gospel. It should also be added, that the Syriac words denoting *Ordination* and *Confirmation*, are from a root (*Kom*) which signifies *to stand*. From what point of view, therefore, are we to conclude the Sacrament was looked at, when it received the name *stand*?

The early Britons, before the advent of the Saxons in that island, translated *to baptize* by *bedydz*, or *bedydd*, which seem to have for their primary meaning, *to give*, *to consecrate*. And the Anglo-Saxon itself, when that people came to translate the New Testament, denoted *baptism* by *Fullian*, *to cleanse*, *to purify*. From what point, or under what aspect, must those have regarded the Sacrament of Baptism, who employed this word?

The Ethiopian translation has *Tamaka*, *to tinge*, *dye*, *colour*; also, *to baptize*. The ancient Celtic, both Scotch and Irish, rendered the word *BAIST*, *to pour*, *to sprinkle*, *to baptize*; while the Coptic employed *oms*, *to stand in the water*, *to baptize*.

We should be glad to see a satisfactory account of the probable causes which led to this diversity in the use of language, by the early Christians. Especially should we be glad to see what account our Baptist brethren can give of the matter.—*Calendar*.

The British and Foreign Bible Society have undertaken to publish two large editions of the Psalms and New Testament in the Hindūstāni language and Roman characters, according to the version approved of by the North India Bible Society,—the one to consist of the Hindūstāni alone, the other of the Hindūstāni and the English of the Authorized Version in parallel columns, chiefly with a view of inducing the study of this language by the soldiers of the Queen's army now in India, or likely to proceed there.

The completion of the English edition of Baron Bunsen's work on *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, is preparing for publication, translated, with the author's sanction and co-operation, by C. H. Cottrell, Esq., M.A. The concluding volumes comprise all the astronomical and historical synchronisms connected with this country, as well as those of Phœnicia, Assyria, Babylon, and Judea, with an elaborate treatise on the historical epochs and dates of Hindoo chronology. The landmarks by which the ante-historic period is distinguished are in Baron Bunsen's opinion clearly demonstrable. Though they cannot be so accurately defined as those of more modern times, he believes they can be approximately determined so as to establish the existence of the human race in the Highlands of Asia many thousand years before the date usually assigned to the Creation, and that the evidence adduced will shew the great probability of man having existed in the district bordered by the Caucasus and Mount Ararat, 20,000 years before our era.

Important Book Sales.—There have been some important sales lately, amongst which may be mentioned the library of the late Cholmondeley E. Dering, Esq., sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson. The prices realized were in many cases extraordinary. Many of the books were from the old Surrenden library, formed by the Dering family in the time of Charles I. and II. It is remarkable, that although the mansion of Surrenden was twice sacked by Cromwell's army, the collection of books and MSS. escaped destruction. Among the books were *The Byble in Englyshe, with a Prologe thereunto, made by Thomas [Cranmer], Archbishop of Canterbury, 1540*, but imperfect, which realized £22 10s.; and among the MSS. were a copy of the Apocalypse: *Here begynneth ye Apocalips*: a MS. contemporary with Wickliffe, £42, *Heures de la Sainte Vierge*, illuminated, £41 9s. 6d., *Horæ Beate Mariæ Virginis*, an illuminated MS. of small size, measuring only 3½ in. by 2½. Sæc. XIV., £18 5s.

The sale of the curious and extensive collection of books and manuscripts of the late Dr. Bliss, at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, realized a total of £6281 16s. 6d. Among the manuscripts a short autograph note from Charles I. to his Queen produced £14. A letter from Sir William Dugdale to the Earl of Clarendon sold for £6. An extraordinary note from Lord Inchiquin to Charles II., soliciting a reprieve for "a poor creature falsely accused of increasing coyne, which, had it been true, is hardly a fault, when there is scarce any to be had," brought £5. A letter from the Duke of Ormonde to Queen Catherine, £4 10s., and another to the Earl of Anglesey, £4; and the rest of the Ormonde correspondence £80 12s. 6d. A collection of twenty early charters, commencing with one from King John to Beaulieu Abbey, £50. Autograph poems by the celebrated parliamentary general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, containing metrical versions of the Psalms, etc., £36 10s. *Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis*, with illuminations by a Flemish artist, £13 5s. Autograph unpublished poems of N. Oldisworth, while student of Christchurch, and now in the yeare 1644 transcribed for his wife, £10. *Psalterium Davidis*, written in the 12th century by an English scribe, but wanting the beginning, £22. *Psalterium Latine*, written in the 13th century by an English scribe, and curiously adorned with the arms of noble families then existing in England,—the Nevilles, Warrens, Cliffords, etc., £30. A splendid manuscript of the Shah Nameh of Ferdusi, £80.

Printing from Wooden Blocks.—The extraordinary rise that has taken place

in the value of early Xylography, or printing from wooden blocks, was demonstrated recently at a sale by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, where a fine copy of the Apocalypsis S. Joannis, comprising the principal portions of the Revelation of St. John, represented by forty-eight rude engravings, with descriptive text, executed on wood, produced the enormous sum of £250, although in the opinion of Mr. Leigh Sotheby of the sixth edition. The first edition sold at Brienne-Laire's sale for only 330 francs, and at Willett's for £42. The second edition sold for 661 francs, at the disposal of the Léon d'Ourches collection; the third for 600 francs, at the sale of Brienne-Laire; and the fifth for 725 francs at that of Mr. Mc'Carthy.

The Ghent book-sale was followed by one even more important in Augsburg, and most of the amateurs and dealers who had met in Belgium reassembled in Bavaria. Buyers came from England, France, Russia, Austria, and various parts of Germany, and contended with each other in the rooms of Herr Butsch, whose celebrated collection of old books has been already noticed in the *Literary Gazette*. In a few hours the first fifty-four numbers of the catalogue were knocked down, and produced a sum of 6,000 florins. The first Bible of Guttenberg and Faust was bought by Herr Bär, for the Royal Library of St. Petersburg, for 2,336 florins. The Latin Basle Bible was purchased for the King of Saxony, for his private library, for 220 florins; its date is 1465. Monsieur Bierweg, of Paris, became possessor of the tenth German Bible, of 1485, for 115 florins; and the second half of the Lower Saxon, or Cologne Bible, of 1480, for 334 florins. A Dante, of 1480, was knocked down to a London purchaser, for 235 florins; and another Englishman bought the *Cancionero di Fern. Castillo*, of 1527, for 530 florins. The *Guttenberg Catholicon*, printed on paper, fell to Herr Stargardt, of Berlin, for 671 florins; whilst the copy printed on parchment—the gem of the collection—was sold to Monsieur Déchamps, of Paris, who gave for it the large sum of 4,410 florins. There were many other works, both on parchment and paper, which fetched unprecedentedly high prices. The duplicates of the Royal Library of Munich were included in the sale. Those present were unanimous in their opinion, that such a rare collection of old works had not for a long time been brought to the hammer, and that the prices which the books fetched were unusually high. There were many Englishmen present, and purchases to a considerable amount were effected by them.

Damascus.—On the Saturday of the Jewish Sabbath we visited one of the principal Jewish merchant families. The interior was luxuriously furnished. The men wore black turbans and gaberdines; the women present, daughters, and daughters-in-law, turbans adorned with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and round the arms and neck heavy gold chains; their garments, partly coloured, partly white, of a narrow cut—and the open front of the dress exposed the bosom, in the case of some of the ladies anything but agreeable. The married ladies wore their hair in a net, and under bands sown with pearls and golden ornaments; the maidens, on the contrary, were uncovered and unadorned, and wore long locks. The little feet of all were encased in fine white stockings and yellow morocco slippers; all had their nails stained red with henna, and the eye-brows dyed black, which lent to the eyes uncommon splendour. Still the physiognomy of the majority was faded and uninteresting: the youngest daughter of the house, a pretty, natural girl, alone attracted us by her beautiful shape and soft and expressive features. The ladies, who served us with comfits, cold sorbets, and perfumed coffee, without sugar, were at first rather distant, but gradually became more conversant. Towards evening they walked up and down the drawing-room (*Hofraum*) with us, and smoked, as we did, their handsome *nargilehs*. On taking our leave, the master of the house and the greater number of the ladies accompanied us to the door.—*Karl Claus*.

Baalbek.—We received from the sheikh of the village a favourable reception. It has now about 2000 inhabitants, who live in miserable clay huts among and

under the ruins. We remained two days in Baalbek, creeping in and out, sketching and measuring the ruins on all sides. On the mighty city and temple of Baal, in the ancient *Beth-Semes* or Temple of the Sun, various people have built at various times, and it has borne in consequence various names. In the Bible it is called Baal Gad, Irsemes, and by the Greeks, Heliopolis—a name which it has retained. In the time of the Seleucids, Baalbek with Antioch was one of the chief cities of the Syrian kingdom. Unfortunately, history has left scarcely any account of the native Syrian dynasties, and the ruins are, and will remain, a historical enigma, which the antiquary may bite his teeth to stumps before he can solve. Much as barbarism may have devastated the temple, it has been unable to destroy the gigantic building; the shattered columns, the rich capitals, the broken reliefs, still tell of a mighty city, and will bear witness for centuries to come of the might of the human mind and its appreciation of the beautiful.—*Karl Claus.*

A Night in the Lebanon.—The horse-cloths served us for beds, the saddles for pillows. Here, under the ancient stars, which appeared larger and brighter than at home, we went to sleep. The night was keenly cold, but fairer were the morning hours we spent, under the cedars. A Sabbath stillness rested in every bough; the dew-pearls in the grass blazed with every hue of the rainbow. Here and there a bird twittered and sang, and looked curiously and surprised on the foolish strangers who had come across the seas to see the ancient trees. Several Maronite women appeared, on their way to the chapel to hear mass. Giving us friendly greeting: "God give you a good morning!" they passed on in their gay oriental costumes. In this costume the *tantur* or horn particularly struck us. It was of silver, about a foot long, and from its tip hung a veil, descending to the breast. This peculiar head-dress is worn by married women only; once adopted it must never be laid aside; accepted with the bridal wreath, it gives place only to the shroud. The Druses, in their wars with the Maronites, seized always first at plunder the silver horns of the women; hence the latter were obliged to conceal them, or wear them in secret only. Since the peace they have appeared again. Further in the hill-country there are three sorts of horns. The first is a tube of sixteen inches in length, fastened to the forehead by means of a small cushion and a number of silken bands, which descend to the chin, and which are woven into the hair. It stands at an angle of about sixty degrees; and from behind hang from the heavy head-gear three or four silken tassels. A second is in shape like a gigantic thimble drawn to a point—these we saw at the Cedars and at Eden; and a third sort, a short horn, bound to the right temple, which we saw on descending the mountain. As we often deceive ourselves over many objects, which we pursue and admire ere we have seen them—as we have been deceived about Constantinople, where for beauty we found filth; about Greece, where for glory we found shame; so it happened to us with regard to the cedars of Lebanon. We hoped to see lofty and majestic trees, and were deceived; at least I was. The prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled: "And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may count them." On the borders of the forest these cedars are almost like our brushwood; it is only towards the centre of the forest, where nobler and statelier, they deserve the name of trees. Five trees are held to be of the eldest growth; their mossy trunks are nine feet in diameter, and their branches extend from ten to twenty feet over the surface. The younger growth is distinguished only from the Italian pine in the pattern of its needles. To our inquiry whether Solomon used the cedar only in the building of the Temple, we could find no satisfactory answer; but the opinion is general that he used the pine-trees, which grow in great abundance. The five cedars mentioned grow in the midst of the forest. One, against which a stone altar has been erected, is pointed out as a memorial of the time of Solomon. The number of the trees may be about five hundred. This grove was long held as the remains of the cedars of Lebanon, until, in 1805, Seetzen discovered two other groves; and I saw, in my walks among the mountains to and fro, other cedars of equal respectability.—*Karl Claus.*

Ancient Memphis.—Memphis was the second capital of Egypt—sometimes the first—and there the Pharaohs lived at the time of the Exodus; and there, if its monuments had remained, might have been found the traces of the Israelites, which we seek in vain elsewhere. Historically and religiously it ought to be as interesting as Thebes. Yet Thebes remains quite unrivalled. There was never anything at Memphis like that glorious circle of hills—there is now nothing like these glorious ruins. Yet it is a striking place. Imagine a wide green plain, plainer than anything else to be seen in Egypt. A vast succession of palm groves, almost like the Ravenna pine forest in extent, runs along the river side, springing in many spots from green turf. Behind these palm forests—behind the plain—rises the African range; and behind that again, “even as the hills stand round about Jerusalem,” so stand the pyramids round about Memphis. These are to Memphis as the royal tombs to Thebes, that is, the sepulchres of the kings of Lower, as those of Upper Egypt. And such as the river now is, such it must have been as far back as history extends. They are not actually as old as the hills, but they are the oldest monuments of Egypt and of the world, and such as we see them in that distant outline, each group rising at successive intervals—Dashur, Sakara, Aboukir, and Ghizeh—such they seemed to Moses, to Joseph, perhaps to Abraham. They are the sepulchres of the kings, and in the sand hills at their feet are the sepulchres of the ordinary inhabitants of Memphis.

For miles you walk through the layers of bones and skulls and mummy swathing, extending from the sand, or deep down in shaft-like mummy pits; and among the mummy pits are vast galleries filled with mummies of Ibises, in red jars once filled, but now gradually despoiled. And lastly—only discovered recently—are long galleries hewn in the rock, and opening from time to time—say every fifty yards—into high arched vaults, under each of which reposes the most magnificent sarcophagus that can be conceived—a chamber rather than a coffin—smooth and sculptured within and without; grander by far than even the granite sarcophagi of the Theban kings—how much grander than any human sepulchres everywhere else. And all for the successive corpses of the bull Apis! The galleries formed part of the great temple of Serapis, in which the Apis mummies were deposited; and here they lay, not in royal but in divine state. The walls of the entrances are covered with exvotos. In one porch there is a painting at full length, black and white, of the Bull himself, as he was in life.

One other trace remains of the old Memphis. It had its own great temple, as magnificent as that of Ammon, at Karnac, dedicated to the Egyptian Vulcan Pthath. Of this not a vestige remains. But Herodotus describes that Sesostris, that is, Rameses, built a colossal statue of himself in front of the great gateway. And there accordingly—as is usually seen by travellers—is the last memorial of the wonderful king which they bear away in their recollections of Egypt.

Deep in the forest of palms before described, in a little pool of water left by the inundations, which year by year always cover the spot, lies a gigantic trunk, its back upward. The name of Rameses is on the belt. The face lies downward, but is visible in profile, and quite perfect, and the very same is at Ipsambul, with the only exception that the features are more feminine and more beautiful, and the peculiar hang of the lip is not here.—*Stanley's Sinai and Palestine.*

The Greek Church.—Another remarkable sect arose during the latter part of the fifteenth century, in the same republic of Novogorod. Its real nature is obscure; but it seems to have been a modification of Judaism. This sect spread among the priests, and as the initiated were bound to secrecy, the infection went on unsuspected and undiscovered. The outward conformity of these secret Jews to the Greek church was so strict that they got the reputation of great sanctity. The chief promoters of the sect were two priests, Dionysius and Alexis, one named Gabriel, and a layman of high rank. These men laboured with so much effect, and rose so high in favour with the Grand Duke, and gained followers of such distinction, that ere long one of their converts, Zosimus, was elevated in 1490 to the Archbishopric of Moscow. “And thus,” says Krasinski, from whose

work on the *Religious History of the Slavonic Nations*, we have chiefly gleaned these particulars, "a secret follower of Judaism became the head of the Russian Church."—*Eclectic Review*.

Baja, Hungary.—The congregation numbers about 3000 families, some of whom are rich, whilst a considerable number are in easy circumstances. It possesses a beautiful temple, a hospital, and a commercial casino (club) with a library, and what is most important and praiseworthy, a well-organised high school with six most efficient masters and two mistresses. The Talmud is taught by a special teacher. The spirit animating the young people engaged in business is remarkable, their few leisure hours being altogether devoted to the study of various branches of science, also to Hebrew literature: and not rarely elegantly dressed young men, who one would suspect are hurrying on to some fashionable réunion, are, in fact, hastening to the lectures of the rabbi on דבורה הוראה. Decorum, morality, charity, and piety, are the heritage of the many. The management of the congregational affairs is vested in the hands of five wardens, whose authority whilst in office is almost absolute. It deserves notice that the municipal council has presented the rabbi with a considerable piece of arable land. To mention one example of the praiseworthy spirit of the congregation I will state one of the latest. 1000 florins (£100) were collected for some talented Jewish youth in order to enable him to prosecute his studies.—*A correspondent of the Jeshurun*.

Learned Women in Israel.—ESTHER HA-LEVI.—She was the daughter of the renowned Abu'l-Hassan Judah Ha-Levi, and while almost yet a child, her chords resounded with Hebrew lays. There are still ingenious epigrams of her composition extant, which she dedicated to the great poet Ebn Esra. She furthermore composed a beautiful prayer, and signed her name as Bath Ha-Levi (daughter Ha-Levi's). A most worthy place by the side of Esther must be assigned to

DEBORAH ASCARELLI, of Rome—a glorious ornament to her sex. She was the wife of Rabbi Joseph Ascarelli, and lived in the beginning of the 17th century. Equally versed in the Hebrew language and Italian poetry, she wrote an Italian translation of Moseh Rieti's sacred songs, which appeared in print in 1602 at Venice. David de la Rocca, who published in 1609 a new edition of that poetical translation, inscribed the work to the authoress herself. Deborah furthermore translated into the Italian language Rabbi Bechai's hymn, beginning with the words, "Praise my soul, the Lord;" the great confession (Vidui) of Rabbi Nissim, and the "Seder Aboda" (order of the sacrifice on the Day of Atonement), as contained in the prayer-books of the Portuguese Jews. I now beg leave to make you acquainted with the good

SARAH COPIA.—Sarah Sulam Copia was a very noble woman, living in Venice, and possessed of a lively spirit, and was of refined education. She devoted herself to poetry and the sciences, and enjoyed in her time a high reputation. Cineili calls her a distinguished poetess, which she was indeed, since Leo da Modena, who distinguished himself at that time by his great works, inscribed to her Solomon Usque's tragedy, entitled *Esther*, published at Venice, 1609. Sarah Copia wrote a little work, *On the Immortality of the Soul*, in consequence of which she stirred up a controversy with Balth Bonifacio. Several poems of hers, contained in the *Letters of Ceba*, and in a collection published by Zinana, are very beautiful. Three ingenious sonnets of hers are contained also in Bergali's *Componimento Poetico delle piu Illustri Rimatricei*, Venice, 1726.—*Jewish Chronicle*.

The Phoenix and the Peacock.—The phoenix is the symbol of the Resurrection; the peacock was a Gentile symbol for the immortal soul, subsequently introduced by the Christians in the same sense. We see the phoenix, with a glory of rays round its head, perched upon the palm tree—the Tree of Life—as a symbol of the resuscitated and glorified body, in the mosaics of various Roman apses. There is a well-known and very good specimen of this in the apsis of the church of the Saints Cosma and Damiano. We also see a similar bird perched upon the Tree of Life in the Paradise represented in the apsis of S. Giovanni

Laterano. Other instances of this might be mentioned. Between the phoenix and the palm tree (the date palm, *phoenix dactylifera*) there was also understood to be a recondite connexion. In the opinion of that eminent father of the Latin Church, St. Augustine, the Christians considered the peacock to be a symbol of the resurrection of the body, because its flesh was believed to be incorruptible. See the remarks of Monsieur le Dr. Comarmond, in his well-digested notice of *The Monuments of the Musée Lapidaine, of Lyons*. The peacock, however, never takes the place of the phoenix in apsidal mosaics; nor does the phoenix ever take the place of the peacock on Christian sepulchral urns and other monuments. The immortal Christian soul was figured less frequently by the peacock than by the dove. We may see the disciples of our Lord figured as doves on the apsidal cross in St. Clemente. As doves Christian souls are found figured on mural tablets, on baptismal fonts, and on sarcophagi. Less frequently they are figured as peacocks, on sarcophagi; and, as far as my own observation goes, with one exception, on sarcophagi only; however, the Gentiles thus represented them on the walls of sepulchral chambers, and in scenes of the Paradise of Osiris. On a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Lateran, are two doves on a cross, surmounted by the monogram of Christ within a wreath. This device may be frequently seen.—*Builder*.

Antiquities of Mount Athos.—Mention was made some time back, says the *Journal de Constantinople*, of the mission which M. de Sevastianof, councillor of the Emperor of Russia, had undertaken for the purpose of investigating the curiosities of antiquity contained in the convents of Mount Athos. That spot is stated to be almost an inexhaustible mine of ancient records, and has always been a great point of attraction for artists and scientific men. All those little priories which, from the summit of the Holy Mountain, overlook the distant isles of the Archipelago, are so many libraries where the monks have been storing up the annals of ages. Materials for history are to be found there in all languages and on all subjects; piled up pell-mell, but nevertheless preserved with care by those in whose custody they are placed. M. de Sevastianof has free access to these treasures. The daguerreotype gives him hundreds of copies of manuscripts, which he takes page by page. Already one-third of the Gospels have been copied, and numerous collections of illuminated maps and pictures have been made. They are in Greek, Slavonian, and Georgian. Even the outside of the albums which enclose the collections has been copied, and the Byzantine reliefs on their covers have been re-produced. Moulds of them have likewise been taken in gutta percha.

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

FOREIGN.

- Bajzath de Peszak.—*Applicatio Psalmorum Davidis in distinctas devotiones.* 8vo.
- Barret.—*Le Precurseur. Histoire raisonnée de la vie, de la mission et des prédications de Saint Jean-Baptiste.* 8vo.
- Bertrand (l'Abbé).—*Les Psaumes, disposés suivant le Parellélisme, traduit de l'Hébreu.* Paris: Leroux et Jouby. 8vo, pp. 308.
- Boucarut.—*Instructions historiques et théologiques sur les Sacraments, tirées principalement des Pères et des écrivains ecclésiastiques de douze premiers siècles.* 5 Vols. 8vo.
- Brunner.—*Clemens Maria Hoffbauer und seine Zeit. Miniaturen zur Kirchengeschichte von 1780 bis 1830.* (C. M. Hoffbauer and her Time.) 8vo.
- Cacheux.—*De la philosophie de Saint Thomas d'Aquin.* 8vo.
- Castelnau.—*Essai critique sur la Religion naturelle de M. Jules Simon.* 12mo.
- Clausades.—*Riches et pauvres, ou la charité selon les saintes Ecritures.* 12mo.
- Crelier.—*Les Psaumes, traduits littéralement sur le texte Hébreu, avec un commentaire.* Vol. I. 8vo.
- Cruise.—*De quelques discussions récentes sur les origines du Christianisme.* Le Docteur Baur, le Docteur Neander, et M. Ernest Renan. 8vo.
- Darboy.—*Les Saintes Femmes, fragments d'une histoire de l'Eglise.* 8vo.
- Eichmann.—*Die Reformen des Osmanischen Reiches mit besonderer Rücksicht des Verhältnisses der Christen des Orients zur Türkischen Herrschaft.* (Reforms of the Osman Government, etc.) 8vo.
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- Frossard.—*Essai sur la vie et les écrits de Saint Paul.* 8vo.
- Gay.—*Vue philosophique de la chute de l'humanité en Adam.* 8vo.
- Hengel (W. A. Van).—*Interpretatio Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos primum in lectionibus academicis proposita, nunc novis curis ad editionem parata.* Part V. Silvæ Ducis (Bois le Duc) and Leipsic. 8vo, pp. 260.
- Hingeston (Rev. F. C.).—*Johannis Capgrave Liber de illustribus Henricis.* London: Longmans. Large 8vo, pp. 380.
- Jort (Dr. J. M.).—*Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten.* (History of Judaism and of its Sects.) Vol. II. Leipsic: Dörffling and Franke. 8vo, pp. xvi, 464.
- Kliefoth.—*Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienst-Ordnung in den Deutschen Kirchen Lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation.* (The earliest Creeds in the German Lutheran Church, etc.) Vol. I.
- Le Christianisme au quatrième Siècle. Constantin, Ambroise, Augustin. Séances historiques. Geneva and Paris: Cherbuliez. 12mo, pp. 354.

- Lepsius (C. R.).—*Königsbuch der alten Ägypter*. (Book of the Kings of the Ancient Egyptians.) Berlin: Besser. Folio.
- Lewysohn (Dr. L.).—*Die Zoologie des Talmuds*. Eine umfassende Darstellung der rabbinischen Zoologie, unter steter Vergleichung der Forschungen älterer und neuerer Schriftsteller. (The Zoology of the Talmud: a comprehensive description of Rabbinical Zoology, with a continuous comparison of the Researches of Ancient and Modern Writers. By Dr. Lewysohn, Preacher of the Israelitish Community at Worms.) Published by the Author, but sold by J. Baer, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine. 8vo, pp. xiv, 400.
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- Trip (C. J.).—*Die Theophanien in den Geschichtsbüchern des alten Testaments*. (The Theophanies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament.) Leyden: Nouthoven van Goor. 8vo, pp. x, 220.

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- Angel (Moses).—*The Law of Sinai and its Appointed Times*. London: Tegg.
- Barnes (Rev. W., M.A.).—*Evidences of the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Religion*. London: Bell and Daldy. 12mo, pp. 416.
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- Seyffarth (Dr. G.)—*Summary of Recent Discoveries in Biblical Chronology, Universal History, and Egyptian Archaeology.* With special reference to Dr. Abbott's Egyptian Museum in New York. Together with a Translation of the First Sacred Book of the Ancient Egyptians. New York: Henry Ludwig.
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THE FRANKS, AND THEIR METROPOLITAN.

THE restoration of the Italian soil to the sovereignty of the Roman Emperors, after its temporary estrangement in the hands of the Gothic kings, took place in A.D. 553.

Within sixty years antecedent to that event, the foundation of another Power was laid in the west of Europe, which was decreed to supersede the ancient empire, and to engross at a later date the homage that had been paid to the Roman sceptre.

The kingdom of the Franks had already formed a nucleus of organization in the central provinces of France, and was gradually progressing from its first elementary condition of a confederated band of invading chiefs, established in the north of Belgium, into a great military power embracing the whole territory of Gaul; which first breveted to the rank of a mediæval monarchy under Clovis, the eldest son of the Church, also: but consummated its greatness in the highest dignity of an imperial crown, in Charlemagne.

The first notice we have of the Franks in history, is made by Vopiscus in his life of the emperor Aurelian, about the middle of the third century.^a There they appear as a marauding band, from the German side of the Rhine, which that emperor, then a

^a Vopisc. Vit. Aur., p. 212.

tribune quartered at Mentz, with the sixth legion, defeated and dispersed. Under the father of Constantine the Great, they are found in settlements on the borders of the Scheldt; from which they were driven by the Roman lieutenants, and settled by his concurrence in Gaul. Under Constantine himself, succeeding bands of the same people made more formidable inroads into the Belgian territories, and though repulsed by him and his successor, they obtained footing in the country, from which they could never be dispossessed. The Roman emperors at first compromised matters with their formidable neighbours, by admitting them into alliance in their new settlements, under terms of the usual but futile acknowledgement of the Imperial Sovereignty; and in that condition these new people became useful auxiliaries against the other barbarian invaders of the Roman territory.

Under Gratian, their king Mallobaudes was admitted to the Roman Consulate as the colleague of that emperor, and he served with the Roman army against the Lentinenses and the usurper Maximus. But if that emperor had established a sort of cordial amity with the Frankish king and his people, upon his death the old enmity to the Roman power was renewed; and in the year 388 they are found ravaging the Belgic Gaul with greater fury than ever; and there leaving several parties to establish themselves in the plundered districts. About this same time they routed the army of the Roman Quintinus, who was sent to curb their violence, and defend the province of Hainault; of whose force they effected such a complete extermination, that it was compared by the writers of that period, to the disaster of Varus and his legions in the time of Augustus.^a

At the period of these events, three kings are said to have presided over the Frank nation: Genobald, Marcomir, and Sunno; of whom Marcomir is supposed to have been the father of Pharamond, the first in the catalogue of the French kings. The commencement of this king's reign is not precisely ascertained, but it is certain he was reigning in the year A.D. 417: and about that year the emperor Honorius is believed to have entered into a treaty with the Franks; yielding to them the country bordering on the Rhine towards Cologne, which bore the name of Ripuaria^b: by which appellation the Frankish people of that district were afterwards called.

We can have no difficulty, therefore, in concurring with the opinion of the French writers, that the first power of the Franks in Gaul was established in that part of the Netherlands, which lies between Cologne and Antwerp, in the territory of Tongres;

^a Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, l. 2, ch. 9.

^b Buch. de Belg., p. 450.

where the new people are said to have lived for some years under as many kings as they had cities or cantons.^c Pharamond was one of the most powerful of these kings; and if it be not stated that he had any direct dominion over his brother chieftains, it cannot be doubted that he was, in truth, the Souzerain or supreme head of their confederated kingdoms. From that nucleus, the growth of the Frankish power, and the progress of its people into their future territories is clearly marked by history.

Pharamond was succeeded by his son Clodio, in A.D. 428; the fourth year of the emperor Valentinian III. This prince is highly spoken of by Gregory of Tours, as a most patriotic king, and by that author he is reckoned the first of the French line of kings: though by another order of chronology, that honor is ascribed to Merovœus, his son; from whom the patronymic of the Merovingian race is of course derived. Clodio had his seat of government at Dispard, between Brussels and Louvain: from thence he carried his arms into Artois, and notwithstanding a repulse by the Roman Legions under Ætius, established himself upon the borders of the Somme, by the capture of Tournay, Amiens, and several other cities.^d During this period the Frankish king moved his seat of power to Cambray; which, with Tournay were the only cities in that particular tract of country: Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and the other cities of the low countries having grown up into existence after the time of Clovis. In his war with the Romans, Clodio succeeded, also, in extending his dominions towards the East, where he brought under his power the Ripuarian branches of his own countrymen, who occupied the cities of Treves and Cologne under a separate king; one who had ever served as subservient ally of the Romans against their Belgian brethren.

By these successes the whole country between the Rhine and the ocean, northward of the river Somme, was reduced under the Frankish sceptre, though still undoubtedly subject to the domination of subordinate and petty kings, under their great and successful sovereign.

Merovœus succeeded his father Clodio in A.D. 448, by the extrusion of his elder brother from the throne; which he effected by the assistance of the Romans, under the old enemy of his father, Ætius. This prince had visited Rome in the lifetime of Clodio, his father; and been received with great distinction there, and adopted by Ætius, the Roman General, as his son; a step of Roman policy, which was intended, without doubt,

^c Greg. Tur., l. 2, p. 64.

^d Vales. Ner. Franc., l. 3, p. 130.

to sever the power of the Franks, who were become dangerous neighbours, by sowing dissensions in their royal family. Great contests arose out of this usurpation : the elder brother Clodomir or Claudebald having called in the assistance of Attila, and made a bold and vigorous attempt to recover his inheritance, though without that success which the justice of his cause merited. After the death of Valentinian III., Merovœus threw off his Roman alliance, and extended the Frankish territory southward to the Seine in the west, and as far as Rheims and Mentz on the east, on which line the southern boundary of his kingdom rested at his death.

Childeric succeeded Merovœus in A.D. 458 ; and prosecuted his conquests as far as the Loire, after having reduced the city of Paris, like that of Troy, by a ten years seige. He took Angiers and Orleans from the Romans, and established a permanent frontier to his Frankish dominions on that river. This king was buried at Tournay, in Flanders ; and was succeeded by his son Clovis, who held his seat of power in that city, during the first years of his reign. This line of kings were all heathens, and determined enemies to the Christian religion, whose churches they desolated and destroyed wherever they appeared.

During all the period of these conquests, the Church underwent a complete extinction in these countries. The Franks, and their predecessors in Belgium, the Alans, were confederates only on that one point, of a determined hostility to the Christian religion. No bishops are found in the ecclesiastical records of Cologne from A.D. 430, till after the conversion of Clovis ; while in the churches of Cambray and Tournay the same cessation of the episcopal rôle is found to exist from A.D. 407, when the Alans first broke into that territory : and these churches, also, refer to the same occasion of their restoration by the baptism of Clovis.* The inauguration of the Frank monarchy into its Christian estate, could not, therefore, have been charged with any prescriptive rights of Roman supremacy, when that occurred in A.D. 496, by the baptism of the Frankish monarch.

But, notwithstanding this extension of the Frankish dominions to the Loire and the Rhine, it appears that that monarchy was not so united within itself, that its sovereign could reckon on its territories as his own. Subordinate chiefs or kings, as they are called, still ruled over their little domains, and Clovis had to fight over the battles of his predecessors again, in many districts, in order to bring his too independent vassals into proper subjec-

* Coint., tom. 1, p. 63 and 70.

tion. As has happened in the case of most kingdoms, those confederacies which had given a first establishment to the rising power, became obnoxious to the first ambitious sovereign who was able to break up the social league, and establish a single domination.

The first labor that Clovis had to accomplish, therefore, in the centralization of these scattered powers, was the subjugation of his own kindred, and so far at first he succeeded, as to bring back his Tongarian subjects, and regain the city of Soissons from Siagrius; who, a Frank himself of the royal stock, had hitherto held that city for the Romans. There Clovis established his residence, and there married his wife, Clothildis, the Burgundian princess, whom he had borne off, as a true knight errant, from the territories of her uncle, the usurper and murderer both of her father and brother, the king and heir to the Burgundian throne.

It was in this position of affairs, that the Alemans broke in upon the territories of the Ripuarian Franks, who at that time had Sigebert for their king; a feeble monarch, who, finding himself unable to cope with these new enemies, one of the most powerful of the German nations, applied to Clovis for assistance, which was joyfully conceded. It was in that war that the events occurred, which gave occasion to his conversion, and the foundation of a Christian sovereignty among his people. The Frankish kings—we all know the story—met their Aleman invaders at Tolbiacum, (the present Zulpich) about a dozen miles from Cologne, where a battle ensued, in which Sigebert was wounded, and when the fortune of the day appeared to be turning against the Franks, Clovis invoked the assistance of the Saviour, whom his wife worshipped, and vowed to receive the Christian's baptism, if he might obtain deliverance from the impending defeat: whereupon, immediately, says the chronicle, the face of things was changed; the Aleman king and many of his chiefs were slain, and their troops, disheartened by their loss, submitted themselves to the conquering Frank, and acknowledged him for their king.

The Christian queen, we are informed, and may well believe, lost no time after the battle, in giving effect to the vow of her husband; and dispatching a messenger to Remigius, bishop of Rheims, she entreated that prelate to hasten to Soissons, not very far distant, and instruct the king her husband in his new adopted religion. After due preparation, and a conference with his people on the proposed conversion—who, at their king's instance agreed to renounce their false gods, and acknowledge Him, for their God, whom the bishop of Rheims preached—

Clovis fulfilled his vow, and received baptism, with great pomp and solemnity; and in company with 3000 of his soldiers who were baptized at the same time.

This occurred, as we have seen, in A.D. 496; at which time the other kings of the Franks were still pagans; yet, as after the baptism of Clovis all the other parts of France were quickly subjected to his power, it may be inferred that the people generally, about the same period, turned from their heathen worship to the Christian religion. The chronicles of the different churches, and the registers of their bishops, in fact, shew that such was the case. About the same time a branch of the Alemans, which had made themselves masters of Alsace and parts of Switzerland, submitted themselves to the dominion of Clovis; and in the year succeeding, the whole people of Armorica, comprehending the sea-board countries between the Seine and the Loire, who had already cast off the Roman yoke, joined themselves to the new kingdom; while the Roman soldiery, who had been quartered in the western towns of Gaul, finding themselves cut off from their fellow-countrymen, also entered into the service of the Frankish conqueror.^f At a somewhat later period Clovis was equally successful against the Visigoths, in the south of France, from whom he took the territories lying between the upper streams of the Rhone and the ocean, comprehending the greatest part of Auvergne, and the northern parts of the two Aquitaines. With the Burgundians he seems at first to have observed a greater forbearance, probably from his connection with that people, by his union with his wife Clothildis; but at a later date he entered into an intrigue with Theodoric, king of the Italian or Ostro-Goths, who had married his sister Audeflada, which led him into a war with that people, and resulted in a dismemberment of the lower districts of the Burgundian territory about Arles and Avignon, and their re-annexation to the Italian crown, to which they formerly belonged under its Gothic kings. It is to this event that the later title of the Roman church to those districts may be attributed, by derivation through the Lombard successors of those Gothic kings, and its endowment by Pepin or his son Charlemagne out of the spoils of his Lombard conquests. It was to an ambition in Theodoric of regaining possession of that nook of southern Gaul, which he had regarded from a long subjection to the Roman power as a peculiar *appanage* of the Italian sovereignty, that this intrigue between the Ostro-Gothic and Frankish kings is said to have had its origin; and in the conduct of it the Frank appears to

^f Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, c. 12.

have been rather outwitted, and made to serve the turn of his more politic confederate. The first treaty on this subject was suggested by the Gothic king to the cupidity of Clovis by an invitation to make a mutual division of the whole of the Burgundian territory, which under its two kings, Gundebald, the uncle of Clothildis, and his brother Godegisclus, extended over all the countries lying on the Rhone and the Saone, with the province of Marseilles. Theodoric held back from the fulfilment of the military part of his promises, and suffered his more war-like ally to enter upon the war alone, in which he fully accomplished his undertaking. The end was, that Clovis, either touched with some distrust at the conduct of Theodoric or, perhaps with some compunctions towards his wife's people, satisfied himself, for his own share, with laying Gundebald under a yearly tribute; and so fulfilled his treaty with Theodoric, by resigning to him the city and territory of Marseilles, and all the country which lies between the Durance, the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the lower Rhone.⁹

In a still later period of his reign, Clovis became engaged in a war with Theodoric: and at the same period carried his arms with great success into the territories of the Visigoths, in the south of France; so that in A.D. 508, having crossed the Dordogne, he established himself in quarters at Bourdeaux, and thither conveyed the spoils of his campaign, and the treasure which he had captured in the city of Toulouse. Early in the following spring he marched, in company with a Burgundian force then in league with him, against the city of Arles, to cut off the road of communication of the eastern and western Goths, which lay through that territory. But Theodoric sent an army out of Italy to meet this attack, which having repulsed, the allied forces pursued them into their retreat with great slaughter, by which event the district of the lower Rhone became firmly attached to the Italian dominions.

This disaster appears to have humbled the pride of the Frankish conqueror; since we find in the next year that peace was concluded between him and Theodoric. Clovis was sufficiently powerful, however, to insist on retaining the territories he had won in that war from the Visigoths, whose domains in Gaul, from that time, were reduced to the western Narbonne, and five or six cities attached to that province.

By this peace, and his Visigothic war, Clovis had become what may fairly be considered King of France, and he accordingly received anew the homage of the different states that surrounded

⁹ Procop. *Bell. Goth.*, l. 1, c. 12.

him. The Emperor Anastasius sent ambassadors to salute him at Tours, who bore with them the title and insignia of the Roman consulate for his acceptance. The account of their embassy has been carefully preserved by Gregory of Tours, who lived soon after the period of these events. Having received the presents and rescript of his election to the consulate, Clovis, it is said, proceeded in state to visit the great church of St. Martin in that city, with the ensigns of his new dignity. From thence he proceeded with a diadem on his head to the cathedral, distributing, as he rode along, abundant largesses in gold and silver coins among the populace; riding in a kind of ovation, wherein he was saluted by the titles both of emperor and consul; in both which capacities, according to that historian, he was ever after from that time acknowledged.^A

With respect to the titles thus bestowed upon Clovis, of which the historian appears to make great account, it may be proper, in order to prevent mistakes, to state that the consular office must have been a mere honorary dignity, since the name of Clovis is not found in the Roman Fasti. The name of Boethius appears alone in the calendar of that year; and as to the title of emperor, there is no other record in history of its use by Clovis than that which relates to its adoption on the above occasion. The power of Clovis was too great and too far removed from the seat of imperial power to render a subservience to it at all probable, and such a conferring of the consulate on barbarian chiefs had been the last shift of an expiring power to bind those warlike spirits in amity with the imperial rulers.

The fiction of such a homage to the imperial sceptre had been made by the Gothic king on the first establishment of that kingdom, and it was made by the Burgundians on their first access to the soil of France: but the utter contempt with which the first refused, on a future occasion, a passage to the emperor's ambassadors through his territory, and the leagues of the Burgundians against their liege lord, sometimes with the Visigoths, and sometimes with the Franks, pretty well explain the want of solidity of the homage that was rendered. It is clear all such pretences of imperial supremacy over these barbarous invaders were mere shadows and offerings to that king of shadows,—the pride of an emperor in bad circumstances.

After this ovation Clovis repaired to Paris, where he in future resided, and made it the capital of his new kingdom, and from thenceforth his history is changed to shades of a dark and sombre character. Fixed in his own authority by the peace he

^A Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, l. 2. c. 38.

had made with his powerful neighbours, he seems to have turned his mind to the clearing of his patrimonial dominions of their subordinate and kindred princes ; and here he appears only as a barbarous and unscrupulous assassin, laying stratagems for the murder of all that could possibly rise up into competition with him or his family in his new kingdom. His first essay was on that Sigebert, in whose battle he had become a convert to the Christian religion, whose son he instigated to assassinate his father, and then caused his parricidal ally to suffer the death he had so richly earned. By that master stroke the kingdom of the Ripuarian Franks fell into his power. Next he turned his attention to his kindred king, who ruled over the western parts of France, from Boulogne to Bruges, whom he caught in a trap; and having given him the tonsure and ordained him into the priesthood, put him to death to make assurance sure ; and so that territory was added to his own in simple sovereignty.

Raguacharius, king of Cambray, next attracted his notice ; a most debauched prince, according to the French authorities ; whose commanders he bribed beforehand, and then marched an army into his territories, and having taken him prisoner, it is said, slew him with his own hand, as he did also the son Richardus, and another relation, brother to Raguacharius, who ruled at Mons, and whose territories he also took possession of.

By the murder of these and several other princes Clovis became undisputed sovereign of all Gaul, and he caused himself to be proclaimed anew, king of all the tribes of the Franks in that country.ⁱ

This eldest son of the Holy Roman Church, by what title so called, or when or where first originated nowhere appears, died soon after these exploits at Paris, his new metropolis ; and Clothildis, his Queen, retired to Touraine to pass the remainder of her life in penance at the tomb of St. Martin.

Clovis left four sons behind him : Theodoric, whom he had by a concubine before his marriage with the Burgundian princess, and whose descendants were the founders of the new line of Carlovingian kings ; and three sons by his wife Clothildis, who were named Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotharius. The kingdom of the dead sovereign was equally divided between the whole four ; and the direction and extent of these new kingdoms may be judged of by the seats of government which were assigned to their several sovereigns. Of these Childebert, who appears to have been the head or suzerain of the whole Quarternion, was settled at Paris, which was decreed to be held as a common

ⁱ Greg. Tur., l. 2, c. 38—43.

capital or metropolis for all the four kingdoms. Clodomir was located at Orleans, Clotharius at Soissons, and Theodoric, the bastard brother, at Metz, who had therefore the Rhenish provinces and the old Ripuarian Franks for his people.

In all these transactions which relate to the settling and Christianizing of the Frankish people there appears a complete independence of all foreign authorities. The only semblance of a subordinate part in the conduct of Clovis, is his acceptance of the Roman consular insignia from the Emperor Anastasius; but as he received an imperial diadem in the same ovation, there is no great argument to be drawn from that circumstance, and as to the spiritual power of Rome, there is absolutely no mention of it in the whole affair. Even the spurious decretals of the Lateran have not ventured to claim any share in the inauguration of the Clovian Church; the circumstances were too well authenticated to admit of any interpolation in that scene, even of a popish legate; and the bishop of Rome appears modestly by the side of the other dignitaries of the period as a congratulator of the new king upon his conversion, and as "*un fait accompli*."

This position of affairs, however, did not suit the later pretensions of the Vatican. If Remigius, who baptized Clovis, had acted quite *sui juris* in that affair, it must form a terrible precedent against the pretentious supremacy of the pontificate in its descending node. The event was too well chronicled by Sidonius, who lived at the very time it happened, and by Gregory of Tours, who lived soon after, to admit of any tampering with either the occurrence itself, or the conditions of the parties engaged in it. But when Clovis was dead, and his sons being engaged in schemes for laying Burgundy to their borders, cared as little for religion as most other barbarians, the same difficulty did not present itself—the religious arena was open; and there we find *cropping out* a modest "decretal," whereby the world is certified that the office of vicar-general to the Roman pontiff had been conferred upon the Burgundian bishop, Remigius, by Pope Hormisdas. But Hormisdas entered upon his popedom in A.D. 514, and Clovis died in 511; wherefore this honour to the inaugurating bishop of the Frankish Church could not have been conferred till three years after the death of that "eldest son," etc., for whose honour it was probably granted; and as Clovis was baptized A.D. 496, that appointment must also have been eighteen years after the event, provided even it was made in

¹ Le Compte, *Ann. Eccles. Franc.*, tom. 1, p. 194.

the very first of Hormisdas's accession to the popedom.⁴ The pretensions of this appointment is too barefaced to require any comment; but a short survey of the state of the Gallic churches about that period may add to the assurance that such an appointment at that time was impossible, and that the pretended "decretal" cannot be genuine.

Of Remigius himself and his "orders" nothing is positively known, save that he was of the Catholic or Trinitarian faith. At the time of Clovis's conversion, and for many years antecedent, all the churches of Northern France and Belgium had been entirely subverted, as we have already stated, and the bishops extruded from their lands by their heathen invaders; these were principally the Alans. Below this territory to the south, the Burgundians had made their first settlement, who occupied the territory at the foot of the Vosges Mountains and in the province of Champagne, and of whose territory the city of Rheims must have occupied a position upon its most northern borders; over this territory had lain the path of the Huns in the time of Ætius, and about half a century therefore before the time of Clovis; and the Burgundian settlers, who were pushed out of their seats by that inroad, betook themselves generally to the southern provinces of Gaul and Rhetia, where, says Orosius, they forsook their old Catholicism, and adopted the tenets of the Arians, by their proximity to and intercourse with the Visigoths.¹

Viewing the story of Clovis's conversion, in connexion with these facts, and the ready appeal that was made by the Burgundian wife of the king to the Catholic Remigius, it is certainly to be inferred that that prelate must have been of the old Burgundian Church, which was Catholic in its faith while it remained in its first settlement; and then comes the romance of this royal history; for Clothildis, the wife and converter of Clovis, was clearly a Catholic princess; though her uncle, the reigning king of Burgundy, was of the Arian Church. But that monarch had put to death Chilperic, who was the father of Clothildis, and usurped his throne, and had banished the princess herself, and her sister Mucuruna, from his court, and placed them in rigid confinement near Geneva. Here the two sisters turned their thoughts to religion; the elder became a professed recluse; but Clothildis only a voluntary devotee to works of charity and hospitality; and fortune favoured her devotion. Among the pilgrims who claimed alms at her gate, the envoy from Clovis gained admission, and found means to present a

⁴ See Hussey, p. 140.

¹ Oros. c. 43, p. 219; Socrat., l. 7, c. 30, p. 371.

ring, and proffer the vows of his master to the amiable recluse; and the affair of the future marriage was successfully arranged.

The course of events indicates that the Arian branch of this family could not have forsaken their old Catholicity before A.D. 445, and that the seclusion of these princesses must have commenced before A.D. 480, and when quite children; and it is extremely probable that these princesses should have retained their old religion with the old retainers of their house, and have rejected the faith of their cruel uncle. The return of Clothildis to the neighbourhood of the old Burgundians, when she went to the court of Clovis, at Soissons, would have at once restored her to the remnants of the churches of that people which had at first been settled there; and her intimacy and patronage of the Catholic Remigius follows naturally, as the sequel to such a course of events. He was a reliquary bishop of the old Burgundian Catholics, and perhaps translated by the new queen from some more central point of the old settlement to the city of Rheims, and the vicinity of her own abode.

The state of the old Burgundian territory at the time we write of was one of great insecurity to the Catholic churches generally, and to their bishop especially; and there is no way of accounting for the presence of this Catholic prelate in the neighbourhood, except under the special patronage of this queen. Geoffrey of Tours relates the flight of Aprunculus, the Bishop of Langres, out of that territory, which, he states, happened in the year 490; and Sidonius relates a very similar circumstance as to his own flight from Lyons, about the year 470, for that he found himself obnoxious to the Burgundians for his Catholicity. Threatened with violence on this account, he fled to Auvergne,* where he afterwards became Bishop of Clermont, the metropolitan city of that province.

No doubt, it will be said by the advocates of the Roman supremacy, that the isolated bishoprics of the Catholic faith in Gaul, might still have been in subjection to the Roman pontiff. It may be proper, therefore, notwithstanding that the true answer to such a presumption is found in the fact of there being no record of such dependences in any history, or chronicle of those times, to set forth a brief detail of the conference of Clermont, in which the Gallic Catholic bishops made their last stand against the Arianism of the Gothic conquerors, before the rising of Clovis in the political horizon. The soil of France owed its happy restoration to the folds of the Church to the conquering sword of Clovis; and truly, if the historians have recorded dark

* Sid., l. 6, ep. 12, p. 168.

deeds of this barbarous king, in the drunkenness of his power, the world owes him much in his better days in stemming the torrent of infidelity, and driving the Antichristian oppressors of the Church out of their strongholds.

In the year 474, Auvergne was assailed by the Visigoths, under Euric, their Arian king; and the people, though the province still called itself Roman, were obliged, like the Britons of the same period, to resist their enemy in the best way they were able. When the Gothic king had laid siege to Clermont, the powerless emperor, instead of the old legions of Rome, sent his quæstor Licinianus* to Euric in the character of ambassador; and on that occasion several conferences were held, which ended in the abandonment of the city and province to the Goths.^o At these conferences several bishops of Provence were admitted to take part, amongst whom were the Bishops of Arles, Marseilles, and Aix, who represented the strength of the Catholic party; for the few of that profession that yet remained in the southern parts of Gaul were alarmed at this new inroad of the conqueror and enemy of their Church.^p Sidonius, whose city was still under siege, wrote letters to the conferring bishops, both of Aix and Marseilles, to urge them strenuously to maintain the Catholic interest; and assured them that the inhabitants of his bishopric were ready to undergo the greatest hardships rather than submit to the Gothic domination.^q But the Catholic churches of these provinces had already sunk into desolation, for the Arian king had for some time interdicted all appointments of new Catholic bishops in the room of those who had died; and no less than nine of the Gallic sees were at that time vacant from that cause, and Christianity almost extinct for want of bishops to provide the churches with their inferior ministers, or call the people to their folds.^r Notwithstanding all the efforts of the bishops, therefore, the province was handed over to the Gothic king, who pursued the same system that he had before followed, of refusing to fill up the vacant bishoprics of the Catholic churches; and so the matter continued for many years.

Now what is remarkable, is, that in all these proceedings no note of reference appears to the Roman pontiff; never do the bishops, at those conferences which are spoken of, ever seem to have supposed that the king of the Goths was encroaching upon any recognized right of the Roman hierarch, in taking upon himself the denial of these episcopal appointments, nor did the

* Sid., l. 6, ep. 6, p. 162.

^o Sid., l. 7, ep. 6, 7, p. 184.

^p Sid., l. 4, ep. 15.

^q Jorn. Rer. Goth., ch. 45, p. 679.

^r Sid., l. 7, ep. 7.

envoy of the Roman emperor at all mention him. Surely this omission is conclusive against any presumption of a right in the Roman bishop to superintend the governance of these Gallic churches, or of any pretensions by him of ever having done so down to that time.

Euric died at Arles, A.D. 484, by which time the Catholic Church in his dominions was nearly extirpated; and looking at fugitive bishops of the same faith from Langres and Geneva, in A.D. 470 and A.D. 490, we must believe the same state of things to have prevailed in the Burgundian dominions. The countries in the north of Gaul were at this period denuded of their churches, and all their religious functionaries, by the fierce barbarians who had overrun them; all Burgundy was fallen into the same predicament; and the same may be said of Spain also that it was swept of its Catholic clergy and their religion.

In such a condition was this Christian portion of the world when Clovis wedded his Catholic wife; and if the state of things received any modification in his territory it must have been by the influence of that princess. Clovis appears, indeed, after his baptism, the sole Catholic king in the Western world; Anastasius, the Roman emperor, was a determined Arian; such were also Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king of Italy; Alaric, the successor of Euric, among the Visigoths; and Gundebald, the Burgundian. Spain and Africa were overrun by the professors of the same heresy; while all the north of Gaul and the adjacent countries were steeped in the darkest heathenism, and its churches, where there had been any, turned into stables. No wonder, then, that the Catholic bishops hailed the auspicious event of the Frankish monarch's baptism into the faith they professed, or that they wrote letters of congratulation to Clovis, as a common deliverer, to welcome his admission into their communion.

It may be asked then, under this brief statement, which has omitted nothing that could be taken to shew or intimate a participation in any of the events referred to by the Roman bishop; is it possible that the bishop of Rome could at that time have been recognized as a supreme head over the affairs of the Gallic churches, or that he could, at all, have been concerned in any principal degree in the transactions related of them? It is not too much to affirm that such a domination did not exist; and the accounts are so full of the events of that period by authors of undisputed authority, that neither could the chroniclers of the Vatican, framed at a later date, pretend to produce any records of such an authority. The decretals of Hormisdas, therefore, about A.D. 520 (which aver the only precedents of

that kind pretended to exist from the pontificate of Leo to the time of Charles Martel, two centuries afterwards), by which it is shown that that pontiff appointed Remigius his vicar-general in the Parisian territory; and John bishop of Arragon in Spain, and Sallustius in Portugal, to similar offices;’ may well be set down among the other fictions of the popedom. The Goths and Suevians, the principal occupants of the Spanish peninsula during the pontificate of Hormisdas, were both entirely devoted to the Arian party, and hardly an orthodox bishop was to be found in Spain or Portugal’ till the middle of the sixth century, under their kings, Theodimirus and Leovigild, when the Trinitarian clergy were again encouraged; and in that state the people continued till the period of their subjugation by the Moors in A.D. 713. But even in their orthodox condition it is clear those churches were not in communion with the Roman Church, as their adoption of the Nicene Creed in its full integrity, while the Roman Church continued to reject it, fully proves.”

At this period of the Roman pretensions, and with these spurious appointments of Hormisdas, the succession of the precedental acts of the Vatican ceases. The powers of the Pope went to sleep, and slumbered for two centuries. They were neither exercised to appoint vicars nor depose bishops till they awoke from their trance under King Pepin and his greater son, Charlemagne. “The power of the Popes,” says the Oxford Professor of Ecclesiastical History, “seems to have made no further advance for some years after the middle of the sixth century. *The Lombard wars and the plague* depressed the energies of the Romans, and the see began to feel more sensibly the weight of Constantinopolitan influence, when the conquests of Belisarius and Narses had brought Italy into subjection to the emperor of the East again.”

This is a strange argument; for never did a plague last for two centuries; and in the Lombard wars the Roman bishop fared in no other way than in other Roman wars, which threatened and disturbed Italy; while the Lombard kings were, in the interval referred to, occasionally Catholic kings, and could have held communion with the Roman pontiff, if they had thought it essential to do so. As to the Constantinopolitan influence after the wars of Belisarius, it was for Justinian those wars were conducted, and how incompatible with the above argument is it to find that in general it is to the favour of that

* Hussey, p. 140.

• Tomlin's *Christian Theology*, vol. ii., p. 218.

• Bolland's *Mar.*, p. 244.

• Hussey, p. 151.

emperor that the first real approach to a general supremacy in the Roman bishop is ascribed. "The highest authorities among the civilians," says Mr. Croly, "spurn the idea that Phocas was the founder of the supremacy of Rome: they ascend to Justinian, as the only legitimate source, and rightly date the title from the memorable year 533."^u We do not ourselves attach an importance to these acts of the emperors, for they virtually affected the true position of the Roman bishop not a tittle, as the dearth of precedential acts consequent upon them fully proves; but they disprove Mr. Hussey's position, that the Roman bishops suffered by the imperial favour to the Constantinopolitan bishops, in the time of Justinian and his successors. The question as to the title of "universal bishop" was a mere "squabble" between the jealous primates of the two imperial cities. John the Faster, of Constantinople had assumed it about the close of the sixth century. Gregory the Great of Rome aspired to it a few years later; and when the Emperor Phocas murdered his predecessor and seized his sceptre, the insecurity of his title rendered him anxious to obtain the support of that western patriarch; and for that he bartered the long-desired title of "Head of all the Churches" to the ambitious churchman; in return for which he gave the usurper his benediction, A.D. 606.^v The affair was, in short, of the same character as the later bargain of the same priesthood, with the usurper of the Frankish throne; and the venality of the Church is equally manifested in both instances.

The apparent slumber of the supremacy in the precedential records of the Vatican for so many years, is not accounted for therefore by the causes that are suggested by Mr. Hussey. The chasm of non-user could not have arisen from a suspension of antecedent powers in the Roman bishop. Nor is it pretended that there has been any loss of records in the Vatican, so as to affect these evidences between the fifth and eighth centuries. Records there are throughout, and the series is complete and unbroken: those before that interval contain the spurious notices of the exercise of spurious powers; those in the interval of two or three exceptional centuries, are wholly void of such notices; and those which follow appear again charged with such notices; but in this case authentic, of the exercise of a supremacy which pervaded all the countries of the French and Franco-German dominion. In this last precedential era there are found distinct references to a new source of authority in the Church, by its association with the new polity and power which usurped the civil domination of the Western world.

^u Croly on the Apocalypse, p. 171.

^v Croly, p. 170.

But our object requires us to turn again to the events of the Roman world, and those dependent or derivative powers of Italy which supervened its old authority, till they fell in with that era of the Frankish history, in which the usurping powers of the West leagued with the Roman patriarch to withdraw his allegiance from its old political association, and to build up, in union with the Carlovingian monarchs, the new power of the West, and induct the connubium of a feudal sovereignty with a papistical hierarchy.

In A.D. 553, after the reconquest of Italy by Belisarius and Narses, the two successful generals of Justinian, the government of Italy was entrusted to the latter commander, under whose administration it continued till A.D. 568. In that year, the Emperor Justin II., who succeeded Justinian, recalled Narses from his government, and sent Longinus into Italy, with a delegation of absolute authority. By this envoy a new form of government was introduced, and a new seat of dominion established, under which he was settled at Ravenna, by the title of "exarch;" a word which, in fact, is no more than a Greek name for the old imperial *præfect*.

Ravenna had been the seat of Roman imperial power in Italy from the time of the emperor Honorius, A.D. 404, who removed his abode from Milan to that city under the alarm created by the first inroad of the Gothic Radagaisus. But the power deputed to the new exarch by Justin was wholly of a new order, and very radical in its kind, being given for the very purpose of remodelling the government of Italy, which had probably too much of the old municipal privileges remaining in it to be sufficiently subservient to its distant masters. The mission of Longinus was, therefore, a radical mission, to root out the old authorities of the heathen provinces, and to remodel the Italian states to a new and more compendious form of government. All the old magistracies were suppressed, and in their room governors were placed in the cities, who bore the title of "dukes" of their proper commanderies. The "Eternal City" itself was not exempted from this change of dynasty; but its senate and consuls were abolished, and its government subjected to the new authority; circumstances which, while they shew that Rome was freely subjected to the exarchate, prove also that its municipal government in no way rested with the bishop, whose metropolitan city it was. The exarch was absolute over all these new rulers, and appointed or removed them at his pleasure; while he held a supreme surveillance on all their proceedings; not only by way of appeal against the decrees of the regnant dukes, but by a direct and primary reference to himself in all public matters;

so that his council chamber was equally open to the dukes themselves for the ordering and regulation of their governments, and to the people at large. Under this government all Italy, except such as was subdued by the Lombard conquerors, remained for a period of one hundred and eighty-three years; that is, down to A.D. 751, when the last exarch, Eutychius, was driven out of Ravenna, and his city captured by Astulphus, the Lombard king.

The settlement of the Lombards in Italy was almost contemporaneous with the origin of the exarchate and its dukedoms. Alboinus, the first king of that people, was proclaimed, upon the reduction of Milan, in A.D. 570. He had been an ally of Narses in the subjugation of the Ostrogothic power, and had retired into his own territory, in Pannonia, after that war. But when Narses was recalled by the emperor from his government, the Lombard leader appeared again upon the Italian soil, induced either by the invitation of the displaced governor, or more probably by the inherent weakness of the Roman power, which had not escaped his observation in his late campaigns. He returned, therefore, with his whole people, to locate themselves in the fair and fruitful plains of the Po, and soon and effectually accomplished his design. The history of this king and his successor forms a brief and terrible tragedy of a few years; after which the kingly power was abandoned, and the cities of their new conquest, thirty-six in number, fell into a similar form of separate government to the neighbouring towns of the exarchate. Every one was ruled by its own duke; and in this, only, the Lombard cities differed from the Roman, that the dukedoms were absolute autocracies, and subject to no exarch, or sovereign head. This state of things was of very brief continuance, however, since it was in A.D. 585 that Antharis was anew elected king of the Lombards, under whom and his successors the people maintained themselves against all the power of Rome, till the arrival of Charlemagne on the scene of Italian politics, in A.D. 774.

The Lombards, before their advance into Italy, were pagans of the most barbarous complexion. It was Antharis who first passed laws against their old barbarian habits; and who having afterwards embraced the Christian faith, drew the greatest part of his subjects to renounce their paganism for the new and better religion of the Gospel. This conversion, however, was effected by Arian bishops, whose opinions formed the faith of the Lombard people down to the time of Agilulph, A.D. 605, and his successor Rotharis, both of which monarchs permitted a general freedom of worship among their people. The latter of

these kings, who was the great lawgiver of their nation, took care, though himself an Arian, to provide bishops of both persuasions in all the cities of his kingdom; his laws bear the historical date of A.D. 644.

This people were regarded, by all who bore the Roman name, with a sort of instinctive antipathy, arising, probably, from their too successful invasion of the sacred soil of Italy; but from what cause soever it proceeded, it appears to have been fully reciprocated by the new settlers. Under such circumstances, it is singular that the laws of Rotharis obtained a general reputation in Italy, and began to spread their influence even into the ducal towns of the Roman exarchate, to whose new polity, however, they were probably well adapted. For some brief time this foreign influence was stoutly opposed by the loyalty of the Italian burghs, and both Rome and its bishops, roused with a pretended zeal for the emperor, strove, with all their power, to maintain the supremacy of the Justinian code; but the die was cast, and the Italian cities were revolutionized, so that a few only of the remote provinces retained their attachment to the old laws.

These loyalist districts consisted, principally, of the territory immediately about Ravenna, which was called, by long association with the seat of power, "*Romagna*;" and to the dukedoms of Rome, Spoleto, Naples, and a few cities in the provinces of Calabria and Bruttium.

In A.D. 663, the Emperor Constans II. awoke to a brief concern about the position of his Italian territory, and set about making an effort for the recovery of his lost possessions. For this purpose he fitted out an expedition from Sicily for bringing the southern districts back to his dominion, and directed his first efforts against the city of Benevento, which was the stronghold of the Lombard power in the south, but whose duke had recently been elected king of the Lombards, and was then engaged in war with the Franks on the subject of his new election. Grimoald, the new king, however, hastened back to his southern duchy, and having met the emperor with his forces at Mola de Gaeta, gave him a complete overthrow. Constans fled from the scene of his defeat to Rome, and found there a most loyal reception, both from the people and the church; and after a twelve days' sojourn in the seat of ancient power, which he occupied in stripping the palaces and churches of their most precious ornaments and treasures, he took his departure again for Syracuse, bearing his plunder away with him to that retreat, where he continued to reside, till he was murdered by a slave, A.D. 668.

The Lombard king, after having disposed of the imperial

invasion, and brought the war in the north of Italy to an end, also found leisure to cultivate the arts of peace and revise the laws of Rotharius, which had been published twenty-four years before. He appears to have taken new views, also, of the religious question, and forsaking the Arian heresy, in which he had been brought up, adopted the Trinitarian faith, under the guidance of the bishop of Bergamo, a prelate of his own dominions, and a man of most eminent piety and learning; and in that faith the Lombard kings who succeeded him followed to the end of their race.

It appears impossible, under these circumstances, that any ecclesiastical supremacy could have existed in the bishop of Rome over the Lombard church. A violent hostility separated the two people, and if the reception of the Emperor Constans II. by the bishop and people of Rome, after his defeat, was more than usually loyal, it was to mark the feelings of animosity they bore to the enemy who had driven him to seek refuge amongst them. Other instances are noted by the historians of that age, which display the same keen sense of injury in the Roman citizens towards the successful people who had overran their country.

We read of an ovation bestowed upon Eleutherius, the exarch of Ravenna, on his passage through Rome towards Naples, in A.D. 614, only because his mission was to save Naples from the consequences of a revolt which threatened to make it an appendage to the kingdoms of that detested race.^y The witness who bears testimony on this subject is the Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, who had himself, on that occasion, made the most urgent representations to the exarch, through the bishop of his own city, on the state of Naples, and the danger of leaving its vacant dukedom unfilled, lest the Lombards should gain access to the city and extend their power, and bring all Italy into their subjection.^z And all this happened in the reign of Agilulph, the Lombard king, whose *Catholicism* and piety towards the Catholic churches is highly commended by the Roman writers.^a The Lombard Catholicism was, therefore, like the Burgundian and Frankish Catholicism, clearly not a Roman Catholicism.

The apprehensions of the Roman bishop were not, however, without good foundation; they were the forerunners only of more real and pressing dangers, and as they grew nearer and more apparent, the alarm and anxiety of the Roman prelates proportionably increased. In A.D. 722, the expulsion of the

^y Greg. Mag., l. 4, Ep. 34.

^z Greg. Mag., l. 2, Indic. 10, Ep. 32.

^a Paul. Dioc., l. 6, ch. 2.

Roman exarch from Ravenna by Luitprand, the Lombard king, and the seizure of many towns of the exarchate, raised these alarms to such a height, that finding relief to be no longer expected from the emperor, who was wholly taken up with his Saracen wars, Gregory II. had recourse to the new rising power of the Venetians, and wrote an urgent letter to Ursus, its reigning duke, imploring him, by his love of the holy faith, to succour the expelled exarch, and reinstate him in his city. Ursus was not insensible to the danger or the growing power of the Lombards, and accordingly fitted out a fleet to co-operate with the expelled exarch, and at length succeeded in reinstating him in his city.^b

But we approach now the important crisis in the history of the Roman Church—the period of its severance from a dependence upon the Roman emperors; for it happened, before the above events were brought to their close, that the Emperor Leo had published his famous edict for the removal of images out of the churches of the empire, and prohibiting their worship. This decree was highly distasteful to the times generally, and it occasioned great disturbances both at Constantinople and Rome, and Gregory II. himself opposed it with the utmost vehemence. The good office he had done the emperor, in the politic measures taken for the recovery of his prefectural city of Ravenna, induced that pontiff to apply to the emperor for a relaxation of the new edict. But Leo knew that the fears of the Roman pontiff and his enmity to the Lombard people had been the true motive of his policy, and not a loyalty to his sovereign: and exasperated at his contumacy in opposing his decrees, he sent orders to the exarch, and Mauritius, the reigning Duke of Rome, to seize Gregory and send him to Constantinople. This occurrence seems to have shaken the imperial authority in Italy more than any other event in history, for the people of Rome took part with their bishop; and if Gregory did not receive the oaths of allegiance from its inhabitants at that time, it is certain he encouraged them to resist the edicts of their emperor, and laid the foundation for their future separation from the imperial sway. Many authors date the sovereignty of the pope from this period, but the better opinion seems to be that matters were not then carried to an extremity.^c Later events shew that there could have been no actual defection from the imperial dominions, since the letters both of Gregory II. and Gregory III. to the Emperor Leo are couched after this occurrence in such terms of respect

^b Paul. Diac., l. 6, c. 32—and Anast. Bibliothecar. in Greg. II.

^c Anast. in Greg. II. Paul Diac., l. 6. Sigon. ad ann., 725, 726.

and acknowledgment of his authority as renders any extreme proceedings in the highest degree improbable.^d

The opposition to the emperor's decree by the Roman hierarchy, however, put the Roman city and the exarchate in a state of antagonism; and the policy of the Lombard king, which here turned in favour of the Roman bishop, tended to augment the breach in the imperial supremacy. The Lombard Luitprand, fearing the exarch would become too strong for him if the existing state of antagonism between that power and the Roman city should be extinguished, resolved to keep the two powers in libration by granting his succour to whichever of them stood most in need. With that view he sent forces on the present occasion from the dukedom of Spoleto and Benevento to aid the Roman power, and by their assistance the new exarch was outnumbered and beaten, and his mission to capture the Roman bishop defeated. But the vane of Italian politics again changed, and in A.D. 728 the Lombard king was again found in arms against the Eternal City and its bishop. Eutychius, the new exarch of Ravenna, who had the emperor's commission to capture Gregory, was well apprised he could never reduce Rome so long as it was supported by the King of the Lombards, and he therefore employed all his art to win that king over to an alliance with the imperial party; and the vassal duke of Spoleto having at that juncture cast off his allegiance to Luitprand, that monarch was induced to join his forces with those of the exarch, on condition that they should mutually assist each other against their rebellious cities. The approach of these combined armies awed the rebellious duke of Spoleto into submission, who by timely repentance, and a very humble appeal, was received back by Luitprand into favour, and the two armies proceeded on their march to Rome. Gregory, its bishop, taking life and example from his neighbour's successful appeal, gathered the principal inhabitants and clergy of the city together, and went forth to the king in his camp; where he so softened Luitprand by a pathetic eloquence, that he cast himself at his feet, and begged forgiveness for having entered into a league against him; assuring him at the same time of his protection in future, and forcing the Roman exarch into terms of friendly reconciliation with him.^e

The account of this proceeding has too much the air of a popish legend; and it does not very well agree with the subsequent conduct of the Roman pontiff in passing over the proffered

^d Greg. III., Ep. 3. P. de Marca de con sac., and imp., l. 3, c. 11, num. 5.

^e Sigon. ad. ann., 729.

aid of the Lombard king when again threatened by the emperor, appealing at once to the Frankish soldier, Charles Martel.

But we must not proceed too fast. Much yet remains untold on the subject of this sudden pacification of the old adversaries of Italian power; for the history states, that after this reconciliation Luitprand went into the church of St. Peter and there disarmed himself (in the midst of a people vehemently hostile to him), and laid his girdle, his sword, and his gauntlet, with his royal mantle, his crown of gold and cross of silver, on the apostle's sepulchre; and that the exarch also being reconciled with the pope remained a visitor in the Roman city for some time. It may not, perhaps, seem very probable that the royal regalia of the Lombard king should have followed him in his camp upon such an expedition, nor that the exarch, with the emperor's commission in his pocket to seize the Roman bishop, and send him dead or alive to Constantinople, would have ventured himself among the rabble of Rome as a visitor, who, it is said, were highly exasperated at the attempt made to capture their bishop; for it may be inferred that they would not certainly have spared the emperor's emissary for that purpose. But we are not dealing with probabilities, but Roman history of the "*Casso Tempo*."

It appears certain, however, that the combined forces of the exarch and his ally were withdrawn from Rome on this occasion, and possibly when Luitprand had gained his own point by the reduction of his rebellious Duke of Spoleto he may have felt a return of those apprehensions which before had withheld him from aiding the exarch in reducing the Roman city. The distrust of his motives by the Roman bishop, which is manifested in the ensuing events, gives great probability to that conjecture.

After this event the bishop of Rome urged on the people of his city to acts of more open revolt; and the Emperor Leo, stung with this rebellious spirit, determined on marching himself into Italy, and restoring his authority by his own presence.

It appears at this time that the city had formally renounced its allegiance, and refused to pay its customary tribute; and the emperor, in return for the part its bishop had taken on his side, had caused the patrimonies of the Roman church in Calabria, Sicily, and some other parts of his dominions to be confiscated.

War was inevitable. Leo had already gathered his forces together to chastise and reclaim his revolted city, and to punish the author of the sedition, which was its bishop. The cause was eminently the cause of Gregory, whose bishopric was clearly forfeited by his treason, and he turned to see where he might find succour and support against the danger that threat-

ened him. There was his penitent friend Luitprand, but he knew full well that that king and his people would like nothing so well as to become masters of the imperial city, which might happen in case he succeeded in saving it from the emperor. The Venetians, his former refuge, were not likely to risk a war with the emperor, though they feared not to do so with the Lombards. He needed a new ally: the question was, who it should be?

At that period, Charles Martel, mayor of the palace of the Merovingian king, who was his suzerain or paramount sovereign, had distinguished himself in his wars in France and Germany, and established, by his recent victory over the Saracens on the Loire, a reputation as the great captain of the age. To him, therefore, Gregory, in his emergency, decided on sending an embassy, which was despatched accordingly in A.D. 731, and was received with marks of great distinction by the Frankish soldier, and with a promise to grant the succours that were demanded. Charles, on this occasion, agreed to march into Italy with a large army and defend the Roman people and their church, both against the threatened attack of their emperor and also against the not less apprehended enmity of the Lombards. In return for this the Romans were to acknowledge the aspiring Frank as their protector, and to confer on him the title of consul, as had before been conferred on Clovis. Having accomplished their mission thus successfully, the ambassadors returned to Rome loaded with presents, the marks of favour, and the "*rewards, perhaps, of divination,*" from their new patron.^f Other writers attribute this embassy to a new attack upon Rome by the Lombard king in reprisal for a second encouragement to the rebellious Duke of Spoleto, and that the intervention of Charles was confined to a remonstrance with Luitprand, who abandoned that enterprise, and contented himself with four of the minor cities of the Roman dukedom.^g But, in whatever way it operated in effect upon the existing position of affairs in Italy, it is certain that that application of the Roman pontiff to Charles was the first step of that interference by the Frank kings in the politics of Italy and its bishops, which ended in the final subjugation of the country, the establishment of the iron crown upon the head of Charlemagne, and of the supremacy of the pope over the multitudinous churches of the new Western empire.

But again the scene changes, and in A.D. 743 we find new actors upon the stage. The Emperor Leo was dead, and his son Constantius, surnamed Copronymus, had succeeded him both

^f Append. ad Greg. Tur., p. 15.

^g Sigon. ad ann., 739.

in his throne and policy, for he immediately renewed the edict against images, and added to it a prohibition against the invocation of saints, and the adoration of the Virgin Mary. Gregory III. had also died and given place to his successor, Zachary; and in the same year Luitprand followed in the same decreed path of all human ambition. This king is highly lauded for his good nature and just and equitable government; the love of conquest, a soldier's ambition, is the only fault laid to his charge, and it cannot be doubted he coveted his neighbour's city, the good city of Rome. In his own territories he founded many churches and monasteries, which retain the marks of architectural beauty, and bespeak him a generous patron of the arts, as well as bountiful benefactor to the religion he professed.^A Though no friend to either of the Gregorys, he seems to have adopted a more amicable relation with the new pope, Zachary, and in the short interval he lived after the accession of that pontiff, he was prevailed on to restore the four cities of the Roman dukedom he had seized from his predecessor, and also the patrimony of St. Peter in Sabina, which had been taken from the bishop thirty years before.

As some misapprehensions have arisen respecting those patrimonial possessions of the church, it will not be unsuitable to our object to explain their true character, and remove the common error in respect to the patrimonies of St. Peter, that their possession involved a sovereignty or necessary lordship, by which the inhabitants of the territories themselves could be regarded as the necessary communicants of the Church of Rome. All hereditary estates of the Roman patrician families in their separate localities bore the appellation of the "patrimonies" of the family they belonged to in the province where they were situated. Those of the emperors were designated the "*patrimonium sacrum*," or "*king's demesne*;" and all the greater churches had these estates scattered in different parts of the empire, not confined to the locality of their own dioceses, but situated in any distant lands where the benefactors lived, by whom they were bestowed. Thus, in the letters of Gregory the Great, frequent mention is made, not only of the patrimony of the Church of Rome, but also of those of the churches of Milan, Rimini, Ravenna, and others. The Church of Rome was probably more abundantly and more frequently the object of these endowments, in the distant provinces, from the alliance all bore to the ancient capitol of the empire, and the attachment of the old patrician families to the seat of power. St. Peter's Church possessed

^A Paul. Diac., l. vi., c. 57.

immense patrimonies consequently not only in Italy and Sicily, but in the most distant provinces of Europe, and even in Africa.ⁱ In the province of the Alpes Cottiae, it had a very extensive patrimony, which was withheld from it by the Lombards for many years, but restored by Aripert to Pope John VII., and confirmed to its owner by Luitprand.^j There were other patrimonies of the same church in Ravenna, Naples, Tuscany, and, in fact, in half the provinces of Italy—the endowments of private devotion and veneration to that see. These estates were in a manner dedicated to the saints of the churches they belonged to, and so they were called by their names; those of Rome were called, as we know, the patrimonies of St. Peter; such as belonged to Milan were denominated the patrimonies of St. Ambrose; those of Naples the patrimonies of St. Aspremus, and of Ravenna the patrimonies of St. Apollinaris. The nature of these endowments, which were found very commonly in countries that belonged to foreign princes, rendered it an especial act of policy in their management not to assume any right of spiritual jurisdiction in them, by which they could excite the jealousy of the native authorities. Some attempts of that kind by the managers of the Roman patrimonies induced Gregory the Great to prohibit all attempts at encroachments of that description, upon pain of excommunication.^k The nature of these possessions, therefore, cannot, under the regulation of the Roman pontiff by that decree be mistaken; and it is a mere popular error, which has attached to the foreign patrimonies of the church of Rome, that the name of St. Peter's patrimony involved any necessary prevalence of the Roman pontifical power or supremacy over the churches in the districts where they were found.

To proceed, however. The influence of Pope Zachary in the Lombard court did not cease with the reign of Luitprand. It descended upon Hildebrand, the grandson and successor of that monarch, whom that bishop persuaded to abandon the siege of Perugia, which he was engaged in, by visiting the king in his camp, as his predecessor had done to Luitprand, and making a strong appeal to the conscience of the monarch. Hildebrand, it is stated, was wholly subdued by the terrors of the pontifical eloquence, and having surrendered up the cities he had taken, withdrew the next year into a convent of the Benedictine monks, and assumed the habit and rule of that order.

The successor of this king, Astulphus, was made of tougher wood. At first he put on a mask of friendship with the Roman

ⁱ Ammirat. in Opus. discept., 7.

^j Paul Diac., l. 6, c. 28.

^k Ant. Matt. Man. ad jus Can., l. 3, Tit. 17.

powers, but soon casting away his disguise, he gave full vent to the native enmity of his race toward the old sovereignty of the world. Too feeble to resist the vigorous attacks of the Lombard power, Ravenna soon fell before him, and with that ancient seat of the exarchs all the territory fell to the conqueror that constituted the appanage of its government. Astulphus, therefore, laid claim to the city of Rome, as one of the dependent dukedoms of the conquered exarchates, and forthwith marched an army to Rome to take possession of his new dependency. Stephen II. had by that time succeeded Zachary in the pontifical chair, and that pope at first had recourse, like his predecessors, to entreaties with the Lombard king. With that purpose he proceeded to the camp of Astulphus at Narni, bearing rich presents, and the usual chapter of supplications and oburgations; but the stern Lombard was not to be moved from his purpose either by bribes or entreaties, and the bishop returned to the city unsuccessful. He then had recourse to the emperor at Constantinople, who sent an envoy to the Lombard king, requiring him to restore the places he had taken, and abandon the siege of Rome; a mandate which was received by the conqueror of Ravenna with a suitable contempt. On this failure, and still pressed with the dangers of the siege, Stephen had recourse to the protecting ægis of the West, and consigned himself and his church again to the keeping of the Frankish power, which at that time had been transferred to Pepin, the subverter and successor of the old Merovingian dynasty. For in France, at this time, a new state of things had arisen also, and a new bond grown up between the French monarchy and the Roman pontificate, which had originated in the dethronement of the reigning monarch Childeric III., and the establishment of Pepin in the throne of his master. In that act of treason Pope Zachary had been appealed to, and given his sanction to the dethronement of the Merovingian king the year only that preceded the overthrow of the exarchate, and the death of that pontiff.¹ The messengers of Stephen were received, therefore, by Pepin, with a most cordial welcome, and a safe conduct having been obtained for himself from Astulphus, at the instance of the Frankish king, Stephen betook himself in person to the dominions of his new ally of the West, for the purpose of adjusting the terms of a compact, in which both parties beheld the prospect of great mutual advantages. The issue of this meeting, at which the pope was received and treated with the highest marks of distinction, resulted in an agreement that Pepin should march an army into Italy for the relief of the

¹ Mosh., vol. 2, 229.

bishop and his city, and should bestow the pentapolis, or "marca d'Ancona," upon the pontiff, if he succeeded in wresting that territory from its Lombard conquerors.^m The pope, in return, promised to apply all the authority of the Roman see in promoting the interest of the new monarch, and for guaranteeing him in the possession of his usurped throne; and with his own hand he anointed the French king and his sons in the church of St. Denis, and consecrated them kings of France, as a further guarantee of the compact that had been made between them.ⁿ As for the pope's own legitimate sovereign, the Emperor of Rome, it was decided by the high contracting parties, that he had forfeited all right to his Italian provinces by his neglect to protect them, and the persecution he had exercised towards the church by his anti-idolatrous edicts. The pope helped Pepin to dethrone his sovereign Childeric, and Pepin helped the pope to cast off his allegiance to his sovereign, the Roman emperor.

In A.D. 754, according to the tenor of this treaty, Pepin marched into Italy, and laid siege to Pavia, where Astulphus had retired on his approach. There he so far prevailed, that he obtained a promise from the Lombard king, to render up the exarchate and Pentapolis to the pope, and then withdrew his forces from the Italian territory. Astulphus, however, on finding the coast clear of his powerful foe, forgot his undertaking and his projects against Rome; hoping, probably, by its speedy capture, to strengthen his power sufficiently to disregard the future interference of the Frankish monarch. He, accordingly, renounced his compelled promise to yield up his conquered provinces, and marched an army at once into the Roman dukedom, with the full purpose of punishing the pope for the evil he had brought upon him. Stephen, therefore, threatened anew with destruction, again applied to Pepin, and wrote letters to him,^o couched in the most submissive terms; and representing St. Peter himself as a suppliant to the French king for his assistance.^p

Pepin was highly pleased with this new appeal, and undertook a second time to cross the Alps with his army, when he again invested Pavia, the abode of the Lombard king, and reduced that city to such straits, that Astulphus was forced a second time to sue for peace, and submit to conditions. This was granted to him on terms only of an impromptu performance of the former treaty, with the single addition to the stipulated

^m Sigon., l. 3, p. 126, 127.

ⁿ Leo Ostiens, l. 1, c. 8.

^o Du Chesne,—*Hist.*, tom. 3, p. 705.

^p Tom. 6, Concil., p. 239; and Sigon. ad. ann., 755.

territory of the city of Comachio, a town at that time considered of great importance to the pope; and the surrender was accordingly made before the Frank king quitted Italy. This surrender comprehended the exarchate Æmilia or Romagna, and the Pentapolis or Marca d'Ancona.

Pending the dispositions of the imperial territories, by its patriarchal head, and the foreign king, news was conveyed to the Roman emperor Constantius of the treaty which had taken place, for driving the Lombard out of the exarchate, and delivering it up to the Roman bishop. He, therefore, dispatched ambassadors to Pepin, to remonstrate against so unjust a proceeding; representing that the exarchate was still unalienated from the empire, having been seized upon only very lately by the Lombard king, while he the emperor was engaged in his wars with the Saracens, and, by a surprise, which had some features of treachery; he shewed the French king that his bishop of Rome would not make a treaty for disposing of his sovereign's territories without a manifest reason; and that such a proceeding was the more especially wanton on the part of the pope, because that bishop was largely endowed for the maintenance of his office and dignity, and had no necessities which urged him to pursue a course so undutious and reprehensible. At the same time the emperor offered to repay whatever cost the king of the Franks had been put to in the subjection and recovery of the Roman territory from its Lombard conquerors.^p

This demand was clearly just, and consistent with all the plainest principles of international law. The emperor and the French king were at peace during the period when the severance of the exarchate took place from his dominions, by the hostility of a third party: and, if from any cause, that possession fell into the hands of the French king, he could be no more than a stakeholder of the lost territory. The Roman emperor's title was still unimpaired and good against all others but its conqueror, till a peace had either confirmed the conquest as fruits of the war finally adjudged, or restored it, as part of the terms of reconciliation between the original belligerents.

But king Pepin was not versed in the principles of international law; and he held to the simple case; viz., that he had taken the territory from the Lombards, and held it by right of conquest; and, that he should dispose of it as he thought fit. He had bestowed it upon the pope, that the Catholic faith might be preserved in its full purity (meaning its image worship and

^p Anastas. in Vit. Steph., 3, p. 87.—P. de Marca de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imper., l. 1, c. 1, No. 5.

Mariolatry), and be no longer defiled with the many abominable errors of the Greeks.[†]

The interest taken by the French king in this affair is too plainly referrible to the insecurity of his position on his new throne, and the vast consequence he attached to the sanction of one of the great patriarchs of the Roman world. The facility with which he answered the pope's demands of assistance, and marched his armies a second time across the Alps, and the extreme tenderness, at the same time, with which he met the Lombard king, who had broken his faith, the moment his back was turned, and compelled him to undertake the war a second time; bespeak plainly the apprehensions he entertained, either of alienating the pope's goodwill from himself, or of exasperating a war with the Lombard king, which might recoil upon himself, and kindle a dangerous flame among the loyal spirits of the party he had supplanted in his own country. A reference, on the other hand, to the contest then going on between the pope and the emperor, relative to the worship of images, and the other idolatries of the Roman church, will shew the true ground of the confederacies on that side of the question: that it was not so much a fear of the Lombard king as the spirit of animosity and rebellion on that subject which formed the true ground of the league. It was the pope's own cause, and not that of the religion of the Franks; since neither had the people of France, nor their kings, been yet brought to that idolatry, which caused the breach between the old civil and ecclesiastical powers of the East. Even under Charlemagne that worship was strongly resisted both by the monarch and his people; and it was only conceded to the strong claims of the Roman hierarchy, under the personal obligations of the Carlovingian monarch. Doubtless, Pepin, who was so much nearer affected by the apprehensions of that dark deed which, under the pope's sanction, had given him the throne of France, must have shared more largely in the same urgency: and all the circumstances attached to the Lombard wars of Pepin, and the dismemberment of the exarchate from the empire, shew that Pepin acted in that affair as the pope's minister, and by a reference to his position solely in the imperial quarrel.

Be it as it may, Pepin did not leave the work unfinished on his second visit. The conceded territories were put into the formal possession of the pope by the commissary of Pepin, and the commissioners of Astulphus; and the keys of the several cities were delivered to him; which event took place in A.D. 756.

[†] Anastas. in Vit. Steph., p. 87.—P. de Marca de Concord. Sacerd. et Imper., l. 1, c. 11, num. 5.

The cities thus handed over by the French conqueror to the Roman see, were Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Forlimpopoli, Forlì, Cesena, Bobbio, Comachio, Adria, Cervia, and Secchia, all in the exarchate. In Pentapolis, or Marca d'Ancona, Rimini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Senigaglia, Ancona, Osimo, Umana, Jesi, Fossombroni, Monteferetro, Urbino, the Balnesian territory, Cagli, Luceoli, and Eugubio, with their districts.* This is the account of the surrendered cities given in the donation of Louis the Pious, by which Pepin's donation was confirmed; and as all these possessions belonged, without doubt, to Constantius, the then emperor, some authors have thought that the donation had been made in his name, and gave rise to the story of the donation of Constantine the Great.†

The Roman bishop, having thus gained and also taken possession of his sovereign's cities, committed the government of the exarchate to the archbishop of Ravenna, who took the title of "exarch," not as archbishop, but as an officer of the pope, who thus became a temporal prince; and thus was the sceptre added to the crozier, and the Roman bishops became endowed with the fruit of their own revolts.

From this time the popes of Rome, for such we may now call them, ceased to date their letters and documents, as they had hitherto done, by reference to the years of the reigns of the Roman emperors; and they refused to be counted any longer as subjects of that empire; but it seems agreed, that Pepin did not invest the pope with a direct sovereignty in the surrendered estates, and that his investiture was not, in fact, an allodial investiture. The pope's domination over the city of Rome arose incidentally by his lordship over the exarchate, and in the same way as it had been claimed by Astulphus, since the Roman dukedom had always been subject to the exarchs, and subordinate to the Roman emperors in that channel, in which way it afterwards became subject to its Frankish donor. This state of things, as to the city of Rome, continued, it is said, till A.D. 876, when Charles the Bald yielded the full sovereignty of the Eternal City to the Roman see. Such is the account given of this matter by Petrus de Marco; and it will be observed in confirmation of its accuracy, that no reference whatever is made to the government of Rome, either in the above treaty between Pepin and the pope, or in the subsequent more extensive endowment by Charlemagne, to which we may refer in another number.‡

* Signon., add ann., 756.

† Spanhem. de imag. contra Maimburg.

‡ P. de Marc., l. 3, c. c. num. 7, 11, 12.

THE CHINESE.

THOUGH the list of writers below goes back into the seventeenth century, yet the earliest is as fresh as the latest. Father Le Comte, the Jesuit, is as instructive to us as he was in 1698 to the men of London and Hampton Court. Great as is the distance in time and things from Le Comte to the London *Times*,—great enough for the civilization of Europe to have changed wonderfully, and for that of America to have been created, its founders, Washington and Franklin, not being yet born in those old days of King William,—Chinese civilization has undergone in the interval no perceptible change. To measure its rate of change requires resort to periods of geology rather than of man. Since the beginning of what we call history, the Nile and the Euphrates seem to have changed as much as China, the Ganges and Vesuvius more.

The correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Hong Kong, and from on board the "Inflexible" on its way to Calcutta with Yeh, the late governor of Canton, has "improved the opportunity to study the character of a caged mandarin." The results are curious and worth reading, but scarcely so much so as the writer seems to suppose. Because Yeh is coarse, brutal, and ignorant, it does not follow that the same is true of his countrymen generally. Yeh had passed the repeated literary examinations required of Chinese officials, and success in these linguistic tests, even in so poor a language as that of China, would certainly imply higher mental ability and refinement, if not more knowledge than this gross mandarin manifests. The legitimate conclusion is, not that the Chinese system of examinations is all sham or mistake, but that Yeh *bought* his way through, and upward to high station. It is well known that the purchase of office in China has become common, even more so, probably, than the elevation of improper men to office in America.

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- * 1. *London Times: Correspondent in China*. February and March, 1858.
 2. *Melanges Posthumes Orientales*. Par Abel-Rémusat. Paris. 1843.
 3. *Easy Lessons in Chinese*. By S. Wells Williams. Macao. 1842.
 4. *Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect*. By E. C. Bridgman. Macao. 1841.
 5. *Vocabulary of the Hokien Dialect, as spoken in Tsheang-Tshew*. 1838.
 6. *The Four Books [Confucius and Mencius]*. Translated by D. Collie. 1828.
 7. *Journey through China*. By Le Comte. From the French. London. 1698. Second Edition.
 8. *Journey through the Chinese Empire*. By M. Huc. 2 vols, 1856. From *American Christian Examiner*. September, 1858.

It is not easy to understand the Chinese, nor easy to suspend our opinion till we do understand them ; it is more pleasant to jump to conclusions. We are quick to see how much, how absurdly they misunderstand us, but slow in learning our own short-comings of the same kind. Misunderstanding on both sides has had much to do in producing the present and former difficulties and wars with China. Little by little these mutual misunderstandings are being removed. By frequently returning to the subject, and looking at it from as many different points of view as we can command, we may hope at length to bring this unknown people within the circle of our sympathies and systems. We have paid back their ignorance and contempt of us, by our contempt and ignorance of them, quite long enough. We begin our misunderstanding of the Chinese by placing all Asiatic nations in the same category, giving them all the name of Orientals, and attributing to all, peculiarities which belong only to a part. We find the Arabians a very poetic people ; proceeding eastward, we meet with a still more marked poetic development among the Persians ; in India we notice that the rich and ancient literature of the Hindoos is almost exclusively poetic. Hence we infer that the Orientals are very imaginative. But from this conclusion the Chinese must be entirely excepted. A more prosaic people the world has never seen. During their long period of civilization they have not produced a single poet of any considerable merit,—none to be compared with the poets of India and Persia. Most of the Hindoo races and all the Arab tribes are very warlike ; the reverse is true of the Chinese. The Hindoos and Arabs are very enthusiastic, very religious, easily roused to fanaticism. Not so the Chinese ; they are Orientals in position only, not in mind and character. It is better then to restrict the term Oriental, and not apply it to the Chinese at all. Using the term in a definite and unambiguous sense, the Arabs, the Persians, the Hindoos, are the true Orientals. If, from our European point of view, we consider these races as possessing an excess of imagination, and place them on one side of Europeans, we should place the Chinese on the other side, and distinguish them by their deficiency of imagination. Whether this deficiency goes back to the origin of the Chinese race, or has been induced by peculiarities of circumstance and development, we shall not here inquire ; but to pass over the fact of the deficiency, as is generally done, only increases the puzzle presented by Chinese character. Starting from this fact that they are prosaic, we find them also practical, peaceable, industrious, thrifty, good-natured, contented. They seldom seek great things, but devote themselves very faithfully

to ordinary concerns. There is a want of originality in Chinese intellect, and an absence of the heroic element in Chinese life. They lack the extent and variety and fineness of faculty which we find in the Persians, the Arabians, and the Hindoos. They move in a narrower sphere, but they cultivate it well. They succeed in all things within the compass of plain rules and plain sense. They are equal to inventions also, provided the steps to be taken are few at a time, and near the point already reached. Though they love the beaten track, yet when the old road is very circuitous they can cut across. They adhere to things and ways near at hand, the feasible, the available; they turn away from things floating far off in the possible, over the sea or in the clouds. No castle-building for them, except when they make a business of it by calling in the help of opium. In a word, there is a sad want of subjective development in Chinese culture. Those who love to see life move on in strait lines, in level paths, towards objects of utility directed always by common sense, undisturbed by romance, enthusiasm, rashness, may find in China all they desire. It is not a land of theory, nor of moonshine, nor of mysticisms, eccentricities, crusades, French revolutions, socialisms, transcendentalisms, philanthropies; but a land of fact and work and trade, of the real, the substantial, the abundant, of cheap living, cheap everything, even to cheap books. The practical before all things; the simplest contrivance, though it be the rudest; the shortest road to the useful, however poor; the visible, the tangible, the thing that pays, the way that prospers;—such is the method of China. This aversion to the complex and refined is very apparent in the Chinese language,—the easiest of all languages to invent, the poorest of all languages when invented, and the most difficult and obscure of all languages when applied to the higher purposes of civilization. Though a most difficult language, so that few Europeans ever thoroughly master it, (we refer more particularly to the spoken language,) the difficulty does not consist in intricacy, as the *Times* asserts, but in the attempt to make excessive simplicity do a work for which simplicity is not fitted.^b It is easy to look

^b M. Huc says: "With respect to the spoken language, Chinese does not present so many impediments and difficulties as many of the languages of Europe." (I., 329.) *Leaving out of consideration the tones*, this is true, but it is far from conveying the right impression. If one wishes only for language enough to convey obvious ideas about common things, the Chinese spoken language is not difficult; but the difficulty becomes great when we attempt nicer distinctions and higher subjects. The difficulty consists in the poverty of the language, and in the imperfection and obscurity of the contrivances adopted by the Chinese to overcome that poverty.

Here we may say, once for all, that M. Huc is an entertaining writer, and

into the structure of this language, and such inspection will greatly facilitate the understanding of Chinese peculiarities of all sorts. An examination sufficient for our present purposes we think can be made interesting. Most of our books confine their explanations to the written language, but in all languages it is the *spoken* language which is most closely associated with character and life.

We call attention, then, to the colloquial language, or rather languages, for there are a dozen or more different languages or dialects, and almost innumerable sub-dialects,—two hundred, according to Medhurst. All of these are quite distinct from the written character, and bear to it somewhat the same relation that the European languages and varieties of *patois* formerly did to the Latin. The languages of China, wedded to the idea of simplicity, started with the plan of monosyllabic words, and used only such syllables as were easiest of pronunciation. The Chinese confined themselves, not only to the fewest and easiest enunciations, but to the narrowest range of sound, just as in their work they used the fewest and the cheapest tools. They fixed upon some four hundred syllables, which answered well enough in the infancy of language and of thought. When ideas and wants increased, and each word became oppressed with the number of ideas it had to carry, instead of launching forth into polysyllabic words, they surmounted the difficulty in a more simple and economical, but far less effectual way, by giving each of their single-syllable words two or three, and at last (in some of the dialects) seven different *tones*, or accents as the French missionaries call them; thus multiplying, or rather splitting up,

instructive also, if not relied on as an accurate authority; and if the reader will make himself familiar with other and more careful writers. Davis and Rémusat are among the best of recent authorities, Du Halde and Le Comte among the old writers. From De Guignes, Staunton, Barrow, Grosier, Medhurst, Williams, The Chinese Repository, *Lettres Edifiantes*, and *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, much may be learned. Ibn Batuta, Marco Polo, and Wahab Abu Zeid, the two Arab writers of the ninth century, may be referred to as showing that Chinese civilization has been much the same for at least a thousand years. The books of Confucius, whose language is by no means obsolete in China and whose ideas seem only to gather strength with age, carry back this remarkable civilization to the remotest past; for though he is believed to have lived not earlier than the sixth century before Christ, yet Chinese society even then must have had time to reach very considerable maturity, or his books could not have been understood or written.

This article is based mainly on several years of personal experience of the writer among the Chinese, in studying their dialects, morals, customs, religions, and character, corroborated by the experience of two very successful students (long since dead) of the Chinese language, especially the colloquial. If all writers on these topics would be careful to speak more from their own point of view, without copying so much from traditional notions, we might in time accumulate knowledge enough of Chinese matters to reach reliable conclusions.

the four hundred original words into nearly two thousand. These tones are those changes of sound which we call changes of *pitch*, as high or low ; changes of *stress*, as strong or weak ; and changes of *inflection*, as rising or falling or circumflex. All these changes the polysyllabic languages hold as a body of reserve to be used on occasion, in order to give the speech variety, refinement, intensity, beauty, music ; they are the supernumerary forces of our poets, and still more of our orators. The elocutionist would in China find his occupation gone. In their excessive economy of means, the Chinese used up all these supernumerary sounds, these important reserves ; thus leaving their speech nothing to fall back upon,—nothing for vitality, soul, expression. It is consequently poor, bald, stiff, monotonous, unmusical ; worst of all, it is difficult to enunciate, and obscure to the ear. Hence poetry and oratory that deserve the name are unknown, because impossible. Such beauty and force as the Chinese admits of are confined to the written character, and addressed to the eye rather than the ear. The Chinese tones are so indistinct to ordinary European ears, that some students of the language never pretend to learn them. We have known Sinologues of distinction of whom this was true. Of those who attempt the task, the greater number fail either partially or wholly. The conditions of success are these : first, the student must have a remarkably nice and discriminating ear ; second, his articulation must be equally perfect ; third, he must live exclusively among the Chinese, so as seldom to hear any European language, in order that his ear and his articulation may be cultivated to the utmost. Some of the Catholic missionaries have had all these advantages, and they are almost the only persons who have truly mastered the *spoken* languages. But it will be said it matters little, since the written language is the main thing. Not so ; all language, strictly speaking, is a thing of the ear and the tongue, a thing of sound not of sight. The office of written language is to recall the sounds of speech. Even in learning those languages we call dead, the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, we use both tongue and ear, though the sounds we make would doubtless be barbarous in the ears of Cicero, Pericles, and Solomon ; still these barbarous sounds are better than none. Let one attempt to learn French or German without a teacher, and without the use of his tongue and ear, and he will find in himself a sort of internal ear and tongue which his imagination will use, consciously or unconsciously. Now the written language of China, unlike all others, is in part a *pictorial* contrivance for suggesting ideas, and as such has some merit, but the inferior merit of pictures. As an

instrument for recalling speech, the true office of written language, it is poorer than the very poorest of written European languages. The very fact that it is adjusted to so many different languages and dialects, shows that it is not very closely incorporated with any of them, though its relation to the court dialect is more close than to the others. This pictorial writing, so simple in its structure, addressed so much to the eye and so imperfectly to the ear, might be the best of languages to be taught in institutions for the deaf and dumb; but to say that the written character is a great thing in communicating with the Chinese, is equivalent to saying that missionaries and interpreters might almost as well be deaf and dumb. Speech, not writing, is a great thing in language, and a thorough knowledge of the spoken languages of China will continue to be confined mostly to the Romish missionaries who live in the interior, shut out from European society and speech. No one is to be blamed for not making this sacrifice, which is nothing less than a sacrifice of European civilization, since the young Sinologue (young he must be when he begins or he will not succeed) buries himself in the interior, resigns himself to monotony and dreariness, and turns away from all further European improvement. This requires a degree of attachment to the Church amounting to fanaticism, more to be censured than commended; it deserves, however, the praise of consistency and thoroughness.

We have not yet pointed out all the defects and poverties of the spoken languages of China. These are so great, that the Chinese themselves do not understand each other with the ease with which Europeans understand one another. It is not unusual for the literary Chinese, when conversing together, and especially when the subject is beyond the circle of common things, to make strokes and signs in the air to indicate some written character, and thereby help themselves out of the ambiguities of speech. All this shows how inadequate their language is to the requirements of thought. Their thoughts are impeded and cramped, like the feet of their women. This is one reason why Chinese civilization long ago came to a stand, and now inflexibly refuses to move forward. We have said that by means of tones the Chinese have considerably increased the number and the obscurity of their words. Partly to extend still further the number of words, and partly to remedy somewhat their obscurity, they have a way of adding a second syllable (sometimes a third), which means the same thing, and thus forms a dissyllabic word. This doubling of words is both help and hinderance. It is a partial yet cumbrous help in conversation, but a positive hinderance when the written character comes to be fitted to the

lengthened word, while there remains the original blunder of using up in tones the reserved force of language, its elasticity and spirit, which we employ so freely and efficiently in our varieties of inflection and pitch, interrogation and exclamation. The very soul of speech is thus lost beyond remedy among the Chinese. Speech is both soul and body of language, writing is its garment, or, better, its portrait. Hence we very properly call the Latin and Greek and Sanscrit dead languages, though we have admirable pictures of them remaining in the cartoons and colours of Cicero, Sophocles, and Calidas, more valuable to civilization than even the Cartoons and Madonnas of Raphael and the Assumption of Titian,—yet not language, strictly speaking.

Readers not familiar with this branch of the philosophy of language may call in question our right to draw the line of distinction so broadly between writing and speech. Doubt on this point may be removed by reference to the instances of Homer, Mohammed, Milton, and Wordsworth. The poems of Homer were at first unwritten, but were they not poems, and more admirable when recited in the ears of the early Greeks than when read by us? Mohammed could not write, but was he not the author of the Koran? Who was the author of *Paradise Lost*,—Milton in his blindness, or his daughters who did the writing? Wordsworth composed his *Tintern Abbey* while on a long walk, and wrote it down afterward. Most of his poetry he composed in the open air, and published it first to the mountains and lakes of Westmoreland, or if perchance some young traveller came along, like our own Emerson, he would step out, in simple schoolboy fashion, and give him a taste of poetry in its true form, that of speech. How many have smiled and wondered at the poet's simplicity when reading this anecdote in the "English Traits!" but Wordsworth showed in this way his profound knowledge and *feeling* of the philosophy of language and poetry. Language is speech, writing is its painted echo.

It has often been said that the Chinese has no grammar; and this is true so far as any language can be without grammar. The words undergo no changes whatever; the only way to tell whether a word is used as noun, verb, adjective, adverb, participle, is by its position, and the demands of the sentence. A common way of indicating the plural is by repeating the word; *man man* means *men*. Case, gender, mood, and tense are indicated by position or by particles. None but the more simple tenses and moods *can be* indicated in any way. The order of the words is always as simple as possible, that there may be no unnecessary obscurity. For the same reason, the sentences are

commonly short. But notwithstanding all this, it would often puzzle Champollion to find out the meaning.^c

When one sits down by the side of his long-tailed teacher, to learn the colloquial Chinese, he gets on bravely for the first three months. No matter that the teacher cannot speak a word of English; all the better;—the best way, indeed, to learn to speak and understand any language is to have a teacher who knows only his own tongue. There being no grammar to trouble the student, no declensions or conjugations, he has only to learn words and phrases. There are no perplexing idioms, no intricate sentences. At the end of a week he can ask his teacher many simple questions, and with the help of signs and shrewd guessing he can make out the meaning of the replies he receives. At the end of a month he can go to the market and shops and buy whatever he wants. He falls into the child's habit of making a few words go a great way. Verbal economy has its charms; he wonders that Europeans should indulge themselves in so many words; he is learning wisdom of these

^c Here is the first sentence of Williams's *Easy Lessons in Chinese*, translated word for word in the exact order of the original: "Lu Po no principle its man not can trust truly." The meaning is this: "Lu Po, a man of no principle, cannot be trusted."

Here is another sentence: "Cheuk raise glass ask say green spring many how." This means: "Cheuk, raising his glass, inquired, how old are you?" [how many green springs].

Another specimen, and longer, word for word: "Hu city outside have river water fast rush near bank deep dark full summer time have man enter bathe suddenly as by sword axe corpse cut float." The following is the meaning, as given by Williams: "Beyond the city Hu, there was a rapid-flowing river, and near by a deep, dark, overhanging bank. In the midst of summer a man entered there to bathe, when suddenly a corpse, looking as if it had been cut with a knife, floated out."

It should be observed, that these three examples are *easy*, and that the Chinese characters printed with the English would afford little additional clew to the meaning even to the student of Chinese, whose advantage over the beginner consists only in his longer experience and greater skill in guessing. We have here been speaking of the written Chinese, the only part of the language any one pretends to speak well of. This part of the language can be studied as successfully in Europe or America as in China. None have more thoroughly mastered the written language than Julien, and Abel-Rémusat, of Paris. Rémusat's Chinese Grammar is the best we have. The European student of the Chinese writing has the advantage of being free from the vexation of learning, or attempting to learn, one or more of the spoken languages. There has been considerable discussion of the question, whether the Chinese character is *ideographic* or *phonetic*. It is both. Only to a small extent, however, is it possible for a written language to be ideographic, and to that small extent the Chinese has succeeded; in its phonetic design it greatly fails, especially in some of the dialects, from its loose adjustment to the colloquial, and also from its want of an alphabet. On this point see Du Ponceau on Chinese Writing, 8vo, Philadelphia, 1840; also, *Two Letters on Chinese Writing*, by Gutzlaff and Du Ponceau, in vol. vii. (New Series) of *American Philosophical Society's Transactions*.

Chinese. At the end of a month he knows the words for all common things, and by the hour can talk small-talk with his teacher,—very small talk. He is now ready to begin upon the tones. He has come to the conclusion that either the Chinese is less difficult than it has been represented to be, or else he is an uncommonly clever linguist, perhaps something of both. With great zeal he enters upon the tones, and if he has a good ear, good articulation, a good teacher, and youth on his side, and works on hopefully eight or ten hours a day, he still makes progress, though much less rapidly than at first. At the year's end he no longer suspects himself of being clever, and when five years of hard work have gone by, he knows something of the written language, but can talk only a little better than he could at the end of the first year. With his teacher he can converse easily about all common things, for they have become accustomed to each other's tones and peculiarities of articulation, but with strangers he has difficulty. The grand difficulty, however, lies in talking about *uncommon* things, and in conveying nice shades of thought. In fact, the Chinese themselves who converse about uncommon things, therein give evidence that they are uncommon men. As for nice shades of thought, unusual refinements, new discriminations, the Chinese nation has long since yielded to the necessity of being very sparing in such things. The moderate capabilities of the language are exhausted. New expressions are obscure. When one thinks, he must go back to the classics of China for the garment of his thoughts, and the result is, that he gets his supply of thoughts, as well as expressions, from the past. New thought in such a language is too difficult to be encouraged.

The absence of an alphabet in the written language has at first its advantages. Here also simplicity has full play. Each character is a complete word. And very pleasant it is to the learner at the outset. Instead of thirty or more unmeaning letters and marks, so repulsive for the first week, the learner is cheered at once with words, words too that are unvexed with declensions and conjugations, genders and numbers. All so easy and encouraging! it is like the bright sunny days of the tropics. A young ensign just from England called on his colonel and made this inappropriate remark: "It is a bright day, colonel!" (inappropriate in India, though very proper in England). "Ah, my young friend!" replied the withered colonel, "you will have a superabundance of these bright days before you are done with them." So it is with the young Sinologue. The first two or three hundred characters are inviting, easy, so picturesque, so beautiful almost; but when it comes to two or

three thousand, O the monotony! and then to five or ten thousand, O the weary memory! Yet the Chinese written language can be learned by almost any one. It requires only time and perseverance. No genius is wanted, except a genius for receiving lumber into the mind without end. The less of poetic or philosophic genius, the better. Of this endless learning of new characters Le Comte says:—

“It is, in my opinion, the source of the Chinese ignorance, because they employ all their days in this study, and have no leisure so much as to think of other sciences, fancying themselves learned enough if they can but read. . . . As for strangers, it is scarce credible how much this study disgusts them: it is a heavy cross to be forced all a man’s life long (for commonly it is not too long for it) to stuff his head with this horrible multitude of figures; there is not the least charm in this, as in the sciences of Europe, which in fatiguing do not cease to recompense the weary mind with delight.”—p. 183.

Chinese literature is what we might expect from their language and their faculties: it is abundant, but poor. A few of their books are valuable and influential, but the mass of them seem to be as inert as their medicines, of which (with a few exceptions) one might take a drug-shop full with safety. The art of printing, in the invention of which the Chinese preceded Europeans, does not seem to have done much for their civilization.

If not admirers, neither are we despisers of the Chinese. Of late years it has been too much the fashion to underrate them. Considering the restraints of their language, which so imprisons the mind in commonplace things, and discourages high aspiration and original thought, they have done well, and made the most of their means. They are good cultivators, respectable mechanics, excellent traders and merchants, good fathers and mothers, the most dutiful of sons. It is a pleasant sight to see them at their cheerful labours. They are quiet and orderly citizens, except the occasional quarrels between clans, which are to them the tides of existence to prevent stagnation, serving instead of our crusades and revolutions, our theologic strifes and political campaigns. In grace of manners and in cleanliness they are inferior to the Hindoos, but superior to them in most of the other departments of every-day life. Their climate is more invigorating, and therefore they are more energetic, save when the Hindoos are elevated into heroism. Chinese heroism is rare; chivalry could never find place among such a people. The Hindoos have an eye for beauty, and in some things have achieved it. The Chinese have an eye for the odd and the curious, and have achieved the grotesque. The Hindoos

have their villages, which are to them instead of kingdoms and empires. The Chinese have also their villages, with this difference, that they elect their own head men, and with this further difference, that they understand the whole art of government, from constable to emperor, better than any other Asiatic people, better indeed than some of the nations of Europe. If the art of war be considered a part of the art of government, then an exception must be made in this department for the Chinese, than whom no people are less warlike. The value of Chinese ideas and habits in matters of government cannot be judged of in the present exceptional state of things in China. The rebellion is not an attempt to throw off their ancient and well-trying system of government, but to *preserve* it, by ridding themselves of a foreign dynasty which has been weighed and found wanting. The statesmen of Europe do not shew sagacity in withholding their sympathy from the rebels. Nor do the religious sects manifest wisdom in standing aloof from their crude Christianity. With a little encouragement the rebels would succeed; with even strict non-intervention, they would probably succeed in time; they may possibly succeed, notwithstanding the countenance of foreigners to the Tartars. They are certainly very strange Christians, but not more strange than some of the barbarous tribes of Europe when first received into the Church. They are as good, probably, in all but outward shew, as the native converts, Catholic or Protestant, who live under the eye of the missionaries, and try to seem to be what they are told to be, but in fact, so far as they are anything but mere milk-and-water people, are the same in morality and spiritual life as their countrymen around them. Asiatics will continue to be Asiatics, whatever form of European religion they may put on. The essential character of the converts, with rare exceptions, will remain unchanged, until the whole mass of society shall be slowly elevated by the united working of various ameliorating influences. The crude Christianity of the rebels seems to have this advantage over that of the missionary converts; it is a natural, and probably a healthy, development from within, not a theological application from without, and is more likely therefore to live and come to something, especially if encouraged, without being overshadowed and overhelped by European fostering. Too much help, dogmatic dictation, only benumbs the faculties. With children and savages dogmatism is often the only method open; towards the Chinese there is a better course. They will approach Christianity in their own strange way if at all. The value of theology lies mainly in the discipline it affords to the faculties, and this discipline, though

it may be encouraged and stimulated, and even inoculated from abroad, must grow out of the previous discipline and civilization of the people. Religion also, in order to be more than a superstition, must be a development; passively received, it is of little or no value; yet propagandists expect passivity, and will hardly tolerate anything else. How much of the superiority of Christianity over other religions and theologies consists in the more vigorous development, the more abundant nourishment, it has afforded to the human faculties! Whenever or wherever it has been merely an ecclesiasticism, a church,—or mainly a dogmatism, a creed,—it has either been a clog or a nullity. Just in proportion as it has been a growth, a fermentation, a life, it has been a blessing. When sympathizing and tolerant, it has been a gospel; but a malediction, when imperious and exclusive. By recognizing and honouring and working with the other agencies of civilization,—science, literature, art, commerce, industry, liberty, law, manners, government,—it has been the salt of the earth; but the salt has often lost its savour by standing aside and saying, “I am holier than thou.” Our Christian statesmen and missionaries are too dogmatic, too much given to their one way and one idea for all nations and races; they do not sufficiently study the previous history of the systems and minds they undertake to mould; they are blind to the stubbornness they may encounter in one direction, the pliability they may find in another, and the real excellence they may lay open in another. In the Sepoy mutiny and the Oude rebellion the English are possibly now paying the penalty of this narrowness of view. Politicians and religionists may have been over-anxious to hurry forward English government and English religion among races not yet prepared for either, perhaps not destined ever to receive either; though, with aid from English justice and moderation, there may grow up in India at last new and undreamed of forms of government and religion and society, with which Europe and America shall delight to hold fellowship. We may be sure that the Hindoo political constitution, which as yet has gone no further than the village system, will, if it ever completes itself, be very different from the constitution of England; and that Hindoo Christianity, if ever developed, will be quite different from the Christianity of England,—different also from French or German or American or Italian Christianity; yet, however different, we may still hope it will be good. Of the Chinese we are less hopeful than of the Hindoos, because Chinese nature seems to be more limited and less fertile than Hindoo nature, and because the languages of China are certainly inferior to those of India, and seem to have reached their ut-

most point of improvement. Caste and conquest arrested the civilization of the Hindoos; that of the Chinese seems to have been arrested by faculty and language. Still, when we consider how much the Chinese have accomplished with their stunted means and their coarse instruments, we do not utterly despair of them: we only despair of the methods of those political and religious dogmatists who, arrogating to themselves superior righteousness and sanctity, insist on impossibilities and cultivate hinderances.

Not only does the Hindoo future seem more promising, but the Hindoo life of the present has, in our Occidental eyes, a better aspect than Chinese life. Chinese skill in government is good, but Hindoo poetry is better; just as Shakespere and Milton are worth more than the English constitution. Energetic and cheerful labour, spreading prosperity far and wide among so many millions, is a good thing; but a still better thing is language of boundless capability, soliciting the mind for ever upward, and so making life noble and great, not tying it to the common, and making life little. We must remember, however, that in language and in mental structure we are more closely allied to the Hindoos, and are consequently not so well qualified to sit in judgment on the Chinese.

Besides nature and language, there are other phases of Chinese civilization which we should take into account in order to understand this peculiar people. We refer to their religion and their morality, and the relations of these to each other and to government and common life. A striking peculiarity of Chinese religion in all its forms is, that it stands by itself more distinctly than religion has ever done among any other people. In India religion connects itself with everything, and more or less controls everything. In China religion is isolated, and controls nothing; it is recognized and protected, but not dictatorial; like literature, philosophy, art, the theatre, it exerts such influence as it can. In Christendom, religion, theology, and morality are closely associated, so much so that in the popular mind they are generally confounded. In China all this is different. Religion, piety, worship, they place in a separate department. Theology they commonly assign to the department of speculative philosophy. Morality they associate with education and government. They have no Church. In Europe, religion, theology, morality, education, are placed in various ways and proportions under the control of Church and State. In America we have divorced Church and State, and, to a considerable extent, religion and the State; our schools acknowledge allegiance chiefly to the State; but religion and morals are closely united. Theology

also, among all our dogmatic sects, is inseparably connected with religion, and in theory at least with morality. The idea of Church we are fast translating into sect, which often strives to be a sort of vertical caste, as if to take the place of the horizontal divisions of Hindoo society. Many of our theologians are fond of making their theology the basis of both religion and morality; hence their exclusiveness, and the arrogance of their claims. Our philosophers readily distinguish in *idea* between religion, theology, and morality; the Chinese distinguish between them in practice; to make the distinction is a part of their daily life, going back to Confucius, and how much farther we know not. In order, then, to do them justice, we must leave behind our popular impressions, and apply to the subject the discriminations of our philosophy. While large portions of American society make theology the foundation of almost all that is valuable, let us remember that the Chinese place virtue at the foundation of society; that, while Americans generally make morality a secondary principle, growing out of theology and religion, the Chinese make morality a *primary principle*, growing directly out of the nature of man.

The books tell us there are three religions in China; and if we inquire of the Chinese themselves, we receive the same answer. These three religions are :—1. Taoism, or Rationalism, as some have translated it, the religion of Lao-tze, a philosopher contemporary with Confucius. 2. Confucianism, which is a system of morals and politics rather than a religion. 3. Buddhism, which draws to itself a large portion of the worship of China, and is in fact the popular religion of all China. Most of the temples and priests, and both are sufficiently numerous, are Buddhistic. It is not, however, pure Buddhism as it came from India, and as it is set forth in recent books and treatises on the subject, built on Buddhistic manuscripts discovered in Nepaul, Thibet, and Ceylon. It is a mixture—natural and unavoidable—of Buddhism with the primeval polytheism of China. As the records of that old polytheism, if it ever had any, are doubtless lost, we cannot tell what it was from an inspection of the present popular religion of the country, any more than we could now learn what was the polytheism of Greece and Rome from a mere inspection of Romish Christianity, into which, with an admixture of Judaism, the old Paganism, refined by art and made attractive by demigods, was so abundantly transfused;—one of the advantages of Romanism as a popular religion, though a scandal in Protestant eyes. The horror of idolatry, and the consequent jealousy of art, in which most Protestants and Mohammedans are educated, is in part prejudice. Idolatry has

its evils, and if by banishing visible idols we could get rid of all idolatry, we would join the iconoclasts; but so long as we persistently retain in Protestantism an amount of refined idolatry proportioned to our degree of intelligence, it scarcely becomes us to be very severe on the idolatry of others. Idolatry, anthropomorphism in some form, visible or invisible, is, or at least has hitherto been, an essential element of all popular religion. It can be outgrown, gradually educated out, but not baptized out by Rome nor catechized out by Geneva. Still, let baptisms, extreme unctions, confirmations, ordinations, catechisms, creeds, holy water, even idolatries, remain among those who use them, so long as they find help in them; and then their gradual removal by discussions, reforms, philanthropic labours and sufferings, will afford still further help and discipline for human beings made for endless movement, action and reaction. These allusions are [made to our own necessary weaknesses, in order that we may learn to judge with more patience and candour of Chinese weaknesses in religion. He that enters the temple of Chinese worship, to understand it, must leave his prejudices at the door.

Father Huc says:—"The Chinese of the present day are entirely absorbed in material interests and the enjoyments of the present life, and totally indifferent to religion in every form; but their annals attest that at various epochs they have been deeply interested in certain religious systems." (ii., 168.) Not so; the Chinese, as we have before stated, are less religious, poetic, enthusiastic, than other races, but by no means "totally indifferent." Nor is there proof that they have formerly been more religious than now. Doubtless there have been tides in Chinese religion, as in other departments of their civilization; but it is not easy to determine whether it is now high, or low, or mid-tide. Davis says, though in another connexion, they are "the most steady, considerate, matter-of-fact people in the world" (I. 244), and this is the best key for unlocking to our comprehension their whole system of civilization. The present rebellion, its having so much to do with religion, the general revolutionary state of Chinese mind,—all these facts indicate high rather than low tide. We should bear it in mind, however, that tides in China are less easily measured than in other countries, especially by those occidental standards we persist in applying as rules, though only useful as illustrations. Mr. Williams, in his *Middle Kingdom* (ii., 231—233), comparing the Chinese religion with the religion of the Hindoos and the Greeks, commends the former for the absence of indecency and licentious rites. This also is a further manifestation of Chinese

nature. As they are less enthusiastic and religious than the Hindoos and the Greeks, so also are they less extravagant, less prone to extremes and abominations,—are more uniform and decorous. It is one of the compensations we find in the whole system of things. Mr. Williams, however, makes too much of Chinese decency, when he finds in it a main cause for “the permanence of their institutions.” “One Pagan nation,” he says, “has come down from ancient times, and this alone is distinguished for its absence [freedom?] from religious slaughter of innocent blood, and the sanctified license of unblushing lust.” He concludes that the Hindoos, the Greeks and Romans, and also the Jews, were judiciously destroyed by an avenging Deity for their “pollution and cruelty,” while the Chinese have been preserved; “the means made use of to perpetuate them” being “general education and morality, a code of laws, a well-ordered civil magistracy, regard for life and property, equality of social privileges.” There is logical confusion here which we cannot stop to set right, but, in passing, we must correct a single misapprehension of fact; it is a mistake to think that the people and institutions of India have been less permanent than those of China.

The early Catholic missionaries, finding in the ancient writings of the Chinese very noble religious conceptions,—conceptions resembling considerably, often identical with, those of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures,—unwilling to admit the idea that these elevated conceptions were originated by the Chinese themselves, invented another theory, which has given colour, in one form or another, to Catholic speculations ever since, even down to Father Huc. The theory, in the language of Father Le Comte, is this:—

“China, happier in its foundation than any other nation under the sun, drew in the chief of the holy maxims of their ancient religion from the Fountain-Head. The children of Noah, who were scattered all over the eastern parts of Asia, and in all probability founded this empire, being themselves in the time of the deluge witnesses of the omnipotence of their Creator, transmitted the knowledge of him and instilled the fear of him into all their descendants; the footsteps which we find in their histories will not let us doubt this.”—P. 310.^d

^d In Grozier, book vi., chapter 1, this theory is stated and argued at length, with numerous quotations from Chinese books, proving at least this,—that the Chinese have thought and written more and better on religion than they have had credit for. See also Du Halde, vol. iii., p. 15. Lest our estimate of the missionaries should be misunderstood, we quote and adopt the words of De Guignes, applying them to Protestants as well as Catholics: “Je parle ici sans préjugés, je rapporte ce que j’ai vu; je ne suis pas ici l’admirateur aveugle des missionnaires, mais j’en ai connu plusieurs dont les connoissances étoient très-

Their idea was, that all true religion comes by revelation ; that from Adam to Noah this revelation came down by tradition in a united stream, and was then divided into two great channels, with several smaller and less important ones ; that one of these two grand channels was through Abraham, the Jews, and the Catholic Church, and the other through the emperors and sages of China ; that this last stream had become weakened and corrupted by Taoism, Buddhism, and other causes, and was now to be restored from the living waters of Rome. This is ingenious, and evinces a strong inclination to be liberal, but of course within the limits of their church and creed. Among the other curiosities of the Romish theory is the distinct discovery of the doctrine of the Trinity in the old Chinese books. It appears that lofty religious conceptions are found in the books of the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Persians, the Arabs, the Hebrews ; and all bear marks of vigorous indigenous development. Thoughts have occasionally been transferred from one people to another, doubtless with more or less of modification ; but in the case of the Chinese, owing to their geographical separation, and still more to seclusion caused by their language, speculation must have been more independent than elsewhere. Whatever proof of mental ability this may afford, let the Chinese have the benefit of. It is, however, more easy and natural for a people to invent for themselves respectable theology and religion than has commonly been thought, provided they will once set themselves about it, and not smother themselves in tradition ; and herein is manifest the provident care of the All-Good, for "the invisible things of Him are clearly seen ;" and he leaves none in greater darkness than is on the whole best. Is not the invention of language more difficult than that of theology ? And how many languages have been invented by races in the very infancy of their development ! Since, then, men are formed with a capacity to find out for themselves language,—a medium of communication with one another,—why not also with a capacity to find out a medium of communication with their Supreme Father,—

etendues ; leurs écrits d'ailleurs le prouvent assez, et l'on ne peut disconvenir que nous ne devions beaucoup à ces hommes laborieux et infatigables." (*Voyages à Peking, Manille, etc.*, ii., 340.) We can see how their very weaknesses and mistakes are often made to work into the general system of good, and can rejoice that all have not the same gifts, nor the same opinions and hopes ; that since there are Chinese in the world, so there are those who can find joy and even culture in living among them and for them, criticising them too severely that they may work for them the harder. It is curious to observe how the main distinction between religions sometimes consists in the fact that the one has not yet been translated into the *forms of thought* pertaining to the other, and how much mutual discipline and culture comes from the long, earnest, and sometimes angr[y] process of translation.

"that they should seek the Lord if haply they might *feel after him and find him*, though he be not far from every one of us?" Why claim that all religion which has not come down through the Jews, the Popes, and the Reformers, is "false," and "heathenish," and to be exterminated at once? Is the golden rule of Jesus, of which we justly make so much, true and noble when we find it in the New Testament, and without value when we find it several times affirmed in Confucius and Mencius?

A few writers, having heard of the Four Books as a sort of Chinese Bible, and finding in Confucius and Mencius so little reference to religion, have called Confucianism atheistic. This is a mistake; for Confucius occasionally refers to the gods and their worship, and always with respect, but he is a moralist and a statesman, and not a religious teacher. The class of writers who thus condemn the Chinese system as atheistic, also fail to perceive the merit of our American system in holding itself aloof from Christianity, and treating equally well Jews, Christians, and infidels. Americans can better appreciate the Chinese in this matter than Europeans,—to our shame as they think, to our credit as we think. If on the one side we were to acknowledge a strict connexion between private morality and public policy, and on the other were to restrict our idea of religion to church-going, prayer-meetings, baptisms, and the cultivation of the religious sentiment, each in his own way, we should then have the Chinese system in all its parts. Either for good or evil, there are some indications that we are tending toward such a result. Many of our staunchest religionists are becoming less and less careful about morality, while a respectable minority of our people and our statesmen are striving to introduce morality into politics. The Maine Law proceeds on the Chinese idea of a close connexion between private morality and government, and is resisted because it is an idea foreign to European and American civilization. The idea of a religion sundered from morality has still a scandalous look to some of us, while the idea of religion sundered from theology has an equally scandalous look to others; to the great majority of Americans it is scandalous, unless the religionist is both moral in life and sound in the faith. It is possible that, in our endeavours to make room and freedom for all the races and religions of the Old World, and for our abundant crop of indigenous sects, we may be tempted or driven into the Chinese system out and out.

Let us at least look at the question from the Chinese point of view. Separating religion from morality does not imply that religionists must be immoral, nor that moralists must be irreligious. It is as easy for religion to be moral, and for morality

to be religious, when placed in separate departments, as when placed in the same. Nor does this imply that one has a different source from the other. Confucius simply makes morality independent, ultimate, a primary principle, a thing based on the nature of man, on Divine Order, on God; all of which are only different sides of the same idea. The *religious* teachers of China treat religion in the same way that Confucius treats morality. To both religion and morality a divine foundation is thus given,—to which in our speculations we may go back, either through the more common theory of old and limited inspiration, transmitted through language and tradition, or through the less common theory of *continued* inspiration and development. There are Christian moralists who *in speculation* carry morality directly back to a primary principle, a divine foundation; but in practice our Christian teachers and writers are apt to make morality grow out of religion, as its root, and to pronounce all virtue a sham which does not acknowledge allegiance to a special religion, and not unfrequently both the virtue and the religion must grow out of a special theology; and thus we are landed in narrowness and tempted to be uncharitable. The Chinese distinction allows worship to adjust itself to the different grades of intelligence and character with less friction.

The educated and the uneducated classes are not always pleased with each other's ways, and tastes, and plans for manifesting and cultivating the religious sentiments. If devotion be made to stand by itself, there is more freedom, less confusion of thought, less intolerance. There are not a few Protestants who, when brought face to face with Romanism and heathenism, are kept within the bounds of external toleration only by *political* restraints. As for sympathy or respect for any religion but their own, away with the thought, the sin, the abomination! Respect a religion which prays to the Virgin Mary! Respect religions which set up hideous idols for worship! Respect Chinese religion, which does not even *pretend* to have a special connexion with morality, and is not particular about the names or attributes of its gods! Indeed, strict religious toleration is difficult, so long as devotion, morality, and theology are all included under the general name of religion, and the whole subjected to a priesthood. Under such a union religious sentiment is often blown into passion, to obscure and embitter the practical questions of morality and the speculative questions of theology.

Throughout their history, the Chinese have been remarkably free from religious persecution; owing in part, no doubt, to their having cooler heads than other people, but quite as much,

we think, to their having observed the distinctions we are pointing out. It may have been their practical turn of mind which led them early to see that religious worship need not encumber itself with creeds, and that morality could be placed in another department of life, where other and yet equally efficient helpers for it might be found. The Jews in small numbers have long existed in China, and, so far as appears, without molestation. In the ninth century the two Arabian travellers found Mohammedans numerous there. In the fourteenth century Ibn Batuta says: "In all the Chinese provinces there is a town for the Mohammedans in which they reside. They also have cells, colleges, and mosques, and are made much of by the kings of China" (p. 208). The Buddhists, by holding themselves aloof from politics and theology, and by amalgamating themselves with the original polytheism, spread themselves quietly through the whole country. Romish Christianity has interfered too much with the whole system of China to be always endured quietly. When, however, the priests or the native converts have suffered, it has been on political, not on religious grounds. Long ago the Chinese divined the tendency of Christian propagandism, filibusterism, and annexation, and had the sagacity to forbid by law the entrance of foreigners into the empire. For centuries this policy of seclusion has been effectual, though at last the filibusters are upon them.

We have spoken of Confucianism indirectly; we now present it in the direct form, and in the words of Confucius himself:—

"Things have an origin and a consummation; actions have first principles and ultimate consequences. He who understands the regular order of things has approximated to perfection. The ancients, desirous that virtue might pervade the whole people, first established government; in order to establish government, they first set in order their families; desiring to regulate their families, they first sought personal virtue; desiring personal virtue, they first rectified their hearts; to rectify their hearts, they first purified their motives; to purify their motives, they first extended their knowledge. From the king to the meanest subject there is but one rule, which is to make personal virtue the root. That the root should be disordered and the branches in good condition, cannot be; for if men treat lightly what is of most importance, they will not attend properly to what is secondary."—*Four Books*, p. 2.

Abel-Rémusat, and some other writers, assure us (Rémusat is probably our best authority on this point as on several others), that the Chinese have "confounded knowledge and virtue." Not always, as may be seen in the above quotation from Confucius. The truth seems to be, that in like manner as we often confound religion, morality, and theology, so the Chinese often

confound morals, knowledge, and politics. The difference, then, between the Chinese and us lies in three things:—1. They take theology away from religion, and place it with speculative philosophy. 2. They take morality away from religion, and class it with knowledge, education, and politics. 3. They recognize a closer connexion between morality, knowledge, education, and government, than we do. We do not say that they always strictly observe these distinctions, nor that their system is better than ours; we merely say that it has in some respects great merits, and deserves our study and respect. We here present a quotation from Rémusat's *Mélanges Posthumes Orientales*, without, however, adopting all the shades of his thought. Speaking of Chinese philosophy,—and his words admit a wider application,—he says:—

“The subject ought to interest those who would complete the picture of the process of the human mind. This succession of different opinions which developed themselves in the far East without any known connexions with occidental ideas; these Pythagoreans and Platonists anterior to Plato and even to Pythagoras; these Stoics, who, making *order* a universal dogma, habitually confounded knowledge and virtue, and founded a monarchy on the principles of their philosophy; these idealists, who have carried their allegorical idolatry through twenty nations, civilizing some and degrading others; these new Epicureans, who never knew Democritus nor Epicurus, these various schools, these dialecticians who have sounded the problem of Deity,—present a worthy subject of study and reflection and discussion.”—Pages 204, 205.

The close connexion between morals and politics among the Chinese explains the strenuousness of their government in regard to opium, and the abundant preaching mixed up with their executive proclamations. Believing, as they do, that opium produces immorality, it must in their eyes be the duty of government to suppress the use and the traffic, though their efforts in a moral point of view, which are praiseworthy, have been and will continue to be of little avail. In and out of China there is, we think, some little mistake on this subject. The use of opium, though very destructive to health and life, more so than the use of alcohol, is confined to a much smaller portion of the community, and does not spread immorality through the community. It is not a social, wide-spreading vice, and affects the community chiefly by withdrawing a portion of its physical force, a thing easily spared in China. Even among the Chinese colonists in Siam, Singapore, and Java, where opium can be had in abundance, the proportion who surrender themselves to this vicious indulgence is not very large. It is very unpopular among the thrifty and respectable Chinese, and a labourer who

is known to use it does not easily find employment. We have great respect, and even admiration, for Commissioner Lin, who "squeezed" the ten millions' worth of opium out of the "barbarians;" but we think he committed, as a statesman and patriot, two mistakes;—the first, in not clearly perceiving the rather limited extent of the opium evil, and the impossibility of suppressing it; the second, in the means he resorted to for obtaining possession of it, which were unjustifiable according to European rules, and thus exposed his country to war, though they were allowable according to Chinese notions. Lin resembled John Quincy Adams in character, and he made himself popular by a course which occasioned the war, while Mr. Adams suffered in popularity for the time by justifying the English. Technically the English were right on the opium question; they were also morally right in regard to older disputes. The Chinese had morality on their side so far as the opium was concerned, but a portion of the contempt and oppression long exercised toward foreigners was unjustifiable even from their own point of view. Consequently there was war, and the opening of China, as it was called—hailed by religionists and philanthropists as a blessing—and now another war;—all which may in the end very probably work round into blessings, but *how* we are not wise enough to discern as yet.

In organizing, maintaining, and administering government, the Chinese certainly deserve praise. Imperfections of administration can be pointed out, but they are imperfections growing not so much out of their system as out of their unspiritual and unæsthetic civilization, their merely objective culture. The idea of equality, as opposed to caste in the Hindoo sense, is as general in China as in France or America. Intelligence, virtue, wealth, office, are the only distinctions; and these distinctions hold nearly the same estimation as among ourselves. On the whole, taking the Chinese as they are, their government is one of the best. And should England and Russia ever divide up China between them, after the manner adopted towards Poland, they could not do better, they might do worse, than to let the Chinese go on and govern themselves. A governor-general at Canton or Nankin for England, and another at Peking for Russia, who should interfere little with the details of administration, with a few military men to teach the Chinese the art of national defence, would be the true system; but a system not likely to be adopted.

"They are a singular race, these Europeans," says Rémusat, "and their proceedings would make a strange impression on an impartial judge, if such a one could be found on the earth. Intoxicated by their own

progress in modern times, especially by their superiority in the art of war, they look upon all the other families of the human race with supreme disdain; all must think like them and work for them; they walk abroad exhibiting to the humbled nations their faces as the type of beauty, their ideas as the standard of intelligence, their arguments as the very basis of all reason; everything is measured by their scale; inglorious conquerors and ungenerous victors, they attack the Orientals as if they had nothing to fear, and treat them when subdued as formidable enemies."

We should be glad, had we time, to prove—for we think it admits of proof—that the population of China has been greatly exaggerated. After careful examination of the censuses of China, we have no faith in them. How is it possible Kiangsu, a province not larger than the State of New York, should have a population of 39,000,000,—850 to the square mile,—three times as dense a population as the most densely peopled countries of Europe! Four provinces, comprising a territory about as large as France, have, according to the census of 1812, no less than 125,000,000, almost four times that of France! These same four provinces have assigned to them in the census of a century before, 1711, only 9,500,000, as much too little, doubtless, as the other estimate is too great. The population must have been nearly stationary for some centuries, yet the seven different censuses appealed to in a single century, from 1710 to 1812, vary from 27,000,000 to 362,000,000. They are not censuses in our sense of the word, but estimates, guesses, and very poor guesses,—guesses made previous to the light thrown upon this whole subject by the careful censuses of Europe and America during these last fifty years. It is well known, that, while some portions of China are very fertile and very populous, other portions are the reverse. England, with the best cultivation in the world, is largely dependent on other countries for food; how, then, could some of the provinces of China support a population four times as dense? If we allow the most fertile provinces to be a little more populous than England and France, and assign to the less fertile provinces a population in proportion, we shall have for the whole empire about 150,000,000. At the utmost, 200,000,000 ought to satiate our largest appetite for exaggeration.

We must revert for a moment to the common remark that Chinese civilization is stationary. In all Asiatic civilizations the rate of movement is so slow that they seem stationary to us. Probably the Chinese are as nearly stationary as any people have ever been, not excepting even the Hindoos. Still, however slow the rate, there is movement—call it progress, or rotation, or mere change—and so doubtless it must ever be in all civiliza-

tions. This slowness, with all its evil in our eyes, is not without its compensating advantages. It makes life more even and cheerful, less anxious; it prolongs the lease of advantages when once entered upon; it gives a longer and smoother ride on the top of the wheel;—or if the theory of mere changes, oscillations, tides in human affairs, be adopted, it comes to much the same general result; or if we prefer the more popular and probable theory of progress, it becomes only a question of time. We certainly like the recent method of riding through existence on railroads, but then much could be said in favour of chariots and horses, those old-fashioned ways of the Egyptians and Hebrews, the Greeks and Romans. There were then better, or at least longer, opportunities for enjoying the beauties of the regions travelled through. Even the still slower Chinese custom of using the primeval feet, is a method of movement not to be despised.

It will be seen to be rather against our taste, but less against our reason and conscience, to praise the Chinese. The American prairies may not thank us, but we shall venture in good nature to call in their aid to help out our idea of the interminable and tiresome horizontality of Chinese nature and culture. In tame or in wintry weather the prairies are very dreary, but in the bloom of June how gay and how grand, and in August what counties and kingdoms of corn they grow! Something so with the Chinese: under many aspects, it is wearisome to survey the dead level of their aim and manner; but then what a world of work they do, how cheerful their toil, what an empire of order and contentment they are! We prefer the hills of New England to the prairies of Illinois; but is not America the better that we have also our Illinois? Chinese monotony—and for that matter American, or any other monotony—would make a cheerless world if spread out over all the kingdoms and continents,—over all history and all development; but shall we hence conclude that the Chinese are an impeachment of Providence, or shall we wonder how the Infinite Wisdom could have allowed in the past so wide a space and so long a period for this peculiar and inferior culture? Whether this culture is to be carried forward indefinitely, or whether it is to be greatly changed, or even terminated by a change of language or of race, one or both, are questions we shall not enter upon.

. By the insertion of this generally interesting paper, the Editor must not be thought to approve of all its opinions.

BABYLON AND ITS PRIEST-KINGS.

IN an article on the Rectification of Sacred and Profane Chronology, which appeared in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for October, I incidentally noticed the fact, that Babylon was, till a comparatively recent period, under the government—not of a king—but of an enthroned priest. Many students of prophecy, belonging to that school which considers the Babylon of the Apocalypse to be Papal Rome, may regard this fact as confirmatory of their leading position; and I am, therefore, desirous of bringing forward the proofs of it as fully as possible. It has been too much the case, heretofore, that persons have believed or disbelieved what has been said to have been discovered in ancient records, according as they have happened to like it or dislike it. Translations of ancient inscriptions have been published, which were, from first to last, altogether imaginary; and yet they have been eagerly accepted by thousands, merely because it would be so pleasant if they were true. And even with respect to the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions, where so much is known with certainty, a credulous public has acquiesced in the statement which was at one time confidently put forward, that in the great inscription at the India House, Nebuchadnezzar described the effect of his madness as recorded in the fourth chapter of Daniel; a statement for which there is not a shadow of foundation. This being the case, it is incumbent on those who announce discoveries which are likely to gratify a portion of the public, to state clearly the grounds on which they rest; and, I may add, it is incumbent on them, before they announce them, to examine jealously the evidence on both sides of the question, lest by any chance they should deceive themselves into announcing what may be *agreeable*, but is not *true*. This last, I can safely say, I have done; and I will now bring forward, at full length, the arguments by which I have been led to the conclusion at which I have arrived.

In the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and in the later inscriptions of Sargon, that is to say, in all his inscriptions, with the exception of those at Nimrūd, and those on the reverses of the pavement slabs at Khorsabad, a title is assumed by the king, which consists of the name of Babylon, preceded by the two characters  . I intend, in the first place, to consider the different contexts in which these two characters are met with, and from a comparison of these I hope to shew that they can signify nothing else than "Priest of." Secondly, I will consider the different groups which occur in the inscriptions having

the same meaning, or nearly the same meaning as this, and the different contexts in which they occur. Thirdly, I will consider the meanings of these different groups as indicated by an analysis of them. I hope to shew that whether their meanings be investigated by means of their different contexts, or by analyzing the groups, the same meaning of "Priest" belongs to them all.

I. The first context in which the group above expressed was observed, was in the royal titles of the Khorsabad king. We read there, denoting this group by X, "King of Assyria, X of Babylon, king of Mada Sumiri and Akkadim." In the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii. (1849), *Pol. Lit.*, p. 41), I observed that this title was manifestly distinct from "King;" and I supposed it to mean "Lord paramount." I had not then recognized the fact, that when Sargon bore this title he was the *immediate* ruler of Babylon. Sir Henry Rawlinson, in p. 81 of his *Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*, referred me to a second context in which the group occurred (British Museum, Series 12.1.9.). Here it was, as he supposed, "used as a simple conjunction to connect the names of two gods;" and, accordingly, he read the titles of the Khorsabad king, above given, "King of Assyria and Babylonia." To this it would be a sufficient answer, that the word "and" in the following clause, is always expressed by one or other of two characters, neither of which is ever substituted for X. There being some forty inscriptions in which this series of titles occurs, this constantly occurring difference in their use, proves that X was not an equivalent to the character for "and." Again, the fact of X occurring *between* two names of gods, by no means proved that it was used "as a simple conjunction to connect" them. Why might we not consider the passage as made up of two titles, "the delight of the eyes of Bel, the X of Assur?" This second context in which the word was found, shewed that it could not signify "lord paramount," or any title *directly* denoting *dominion*; but it by no means proved that it did not signify a *title*.

A third passage in which the group occurred, proved positively that it was a title,—a noun, and not a conjunction. On the reverse of the great pavement at Nimrûd, line 29, immediately after the name of the grandfather of the writer of the inscription it occurs; and it is followed by the words, "the great gods;"—"son's son of Ivukh, the X of the great gods." A fourth context in which the group occurs, is in the 22nd line of the inscription on the great bulls of Kouyunjik, for a copy of which, legible in this place, though unfortunately much muti-

lated, I am indebted to Mr. Layard. It begins a sentence, all the words of which, for a good way, are of known significations; being preceded by the determinative sign of offices of men, and followed by the ordinary sign of the plural number. I translate, "The X's and the people of Ekron, who on Padiya their king, an observer of the covenants of Assyria, had put fetters of iron, and had given him to Hezekiah of Judah . . ." What follows is mutilated and obscure. It treats of their sending for help to the kings of Egypt.

Comparing these four passages, we see that X denoted an office, which might relate to a god or to a city; there might be several X's in a city, which had also a king; or there might be a single X to the city, which a king might be proud to be. The meaning "priest" will suit all the contexts, and I cannot imagine any other meaning that would do so.

This group occurs in a fifth context. In the eleventh line of the first column of the great inscription at the India House, Nebuchadnezzar calls himself "the X *la.a.*  *kha*, who," etc. The four characters which follow X, as to the phonetic values of three of which there can be no question, are a qualification of X. They cannot be a genitive, for that never terminates in *a*; but they are evidently a compound adjective or participle, like *la.a.ma.gi.ri* "of the unloving;" *la.khad.du.u* "the unerring (arrow)" (). The adjective here used is in the accusative case, as are all the words in this introductory passage which are in apposition with the king's name. Its first character is one of those which has different values. Some persons have imagined that the fact of a character having more values than one, would render the reading of what is written impossible; and have, accordingly, denied that they could have more than a single value; in the face of the clearest evidence, both from Assyrian tablets, in which two or more values are expressly assigned to them, and from duplicate copies of inscriptions which afford equations of the same character to very different pairs of others. It is probable, however, that an Assyrian, who knew his language, would find no difficulty at all in reading these polyphonous characters, and even to us the difficulty is by no means insuperable. Of the character here used, the most common value is *kum*. That, however, cannot be the value here, because no adjectival form has *u* in the first syllable, except such as are derived from the fourth, or Puhā, conjugation; and these last double the second radical, if it admits of being doubled, and must, at any rate, have two syllables before the case ending. *Kum.kha* would be an impossible form for an adjective. This character has also the value *ab*; but never, I

think, at the beginning of words. It replaces 𐤠 *ap* in Babylonian writings in the derivatives of רַבָּה , לִיב , and perhaps other words; but when it was desired to express distinctively אֵב at the beginning of a word, the two characters 𐤠𐤡 𐤠𐤡𐤢 ($\text{אֵב} + \text{אֵב} = \text{אֵבֵב}$) were used. The Babylonians, while they were much more attentive than the Assyrians to the distinction between *p* and *b*, seem to have paid little or no attention to the sound of *v*. Considering, however, that the character is here preceded by an *a*, which *may* belong to the adjective and not to the negative particle, I must admit that the adjective *may* be read *abkha*, and derived from אֵבֵב , אֵבֵב or אֵבֵב . I much prefer, however, the following mode of reading the word. The value which I give to the initial character is *da*, 𐤠 ; as in the common words *da.im*, *da.'i.mu* "command" (אֵבֵב). This is the proper value for this syllable; but on account of the other values which this character admitted, the character which properly denoted *da*, 𐤠 , was very often substituted for it when this could be done without ambiguity; we should then have *da.kha*, from the root אֵבֵב . In Arabic طَاح , *inquinatus est*, is in use; and the title, with its epithet, would thus be "the undefiled priest." I ought to remark, that in subsequent passages of the E. I. H. inscription, VI. 23, 27, and VIII. 44, we meet with a similar adjective in the genitive case, with the ordinary *da* in place of *da*. Some may think that this is the same word, but I would derive the latter from دَاح , *subjugatus est*; and I suppose that the existence of this root with 𐤠 for the first radical, rendered it necessary to use the distinctive character for 𐤠 in I. 11. In two of the three passages, where the adjective occurs with 𐤠 , the meaning seems to be "the uncaptured wall or fortress." In the third, it is joined to a noun, of which I do not know the meaning.

II. I now come to consider the groups which are equivalent to that which I have been considering. It is from the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar that we have to seek information on this subject; and I must begin with distinguishing these, in order that I may be able to refer my readers to them. There is, in the first place, the great inscription in ten columns at the India House. To this I refer by the column expressed by a Roman numeral, and the line expressed by an Arabic one. There is the inscription in three columns, which was published by Grotefend, from a cylinder which is now in the possession of Sir T. Phillips. To this I refer by the letters Gr. and the column and line. There is the inscription in two columns, which was published by Rich, and which is now in the British

Museum. To this I refer by R. and the column and line; and there are two other inscriptions on cylinders in the British Museum, which are unpublished. One which has been there for many years, I refer to as B. M. Cyl. with the line. The other, of which there are several copies, was brought by Sir H. Rawlinson from the Birs Nimrûd. To this I refer by the word Birs and line.

I first observe that this last inscription is of peculiar value, as giving a number of words in phonetic characters which are expressed in the others by monograms. In Birs 6 we have five characters having the values *sa.ak.ka.na.ku*, preceding the adjective *la-dakha*. It is natural, therefore, to think that these characters express the group X, as it ought to be pronounced. I have not met with this word elsewhere, but Dr. Oppert, who has had access to many documents which I have not seen, in his *Rapport*, p. 29, quotes, as following the name of Sardanapalus, "*sa ak.ka.na ak.ku* of Assur." Dr. Oppert rightly remarked, that this title was not derived from the Assyrian language, but from the agglutinated language of the people whom he calls Scyths. He appears to resolve it into the three words, *sa akkana akku*, though this may be a mistake of his printer; and he translates it "vicegerent." I will, presently, shew that it is to be divided into the two words *sakkana ku*, which represent the two characters of the group X, which I have copied at the beginning of this essay. When two words were combined into one, of which the former has the accent on the last syllable, and the latter begins with a consonant, it was not uncommon to double this consonant. Hence the various forms of the compound word in Birs 6, and in Dr. Oppert's inscription.

As the two contexts in which this word occurs are included in the five in which the original group was found, they can throw no further light on its meaning. The meaning "vicegerent" certainly suits the passage cited by Dr. Oppert, but that of "priest" suits it equally well. We could not say, however, "the vicegerents and people of Ekron." Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the second volume of the *Herodotus*, translates *sakkanaku* "the subduer," and *la-dakha* "of the disobedient race!" He had better have left a blank for the clause.

In I. 11—19, and B. M. Cyl. 6—12, a long passage occurs, in which the only difference in the two copies is that the former begins with the group which I set out with considering, followed by *la-dakha*, while the latter begins with the two words, *is.sa.ak.ku zi.i.ri*. It would naturally occur to a person, that these two words must be equivalent to the former two; but a

fact ought to be noticed which tends to modify this inference. In a former part of the E. I. H. inscription, I. 5, we have *pa.te.ci zi.i.ri*; and there is nothing corresponding to this in the B. M. cylinder till we come to the beginning of line 6. The question then arises, are not *issakku* and *pateci* equivalent words, or nearly equivalent? and if they be, and each of them followed by *zi.i.ri* constitutes a distinct royal title, must not each of them be nearly equivalent to *sakkanaku*? The force of this argument will be more clearly seen when we have ascertained the meaning of *ziri*. Now, I would first observe, that in I. 5 *pateci ziri* must constitute a distinct title of the king, because the preceding and following lines do so. In the preceding line we have *migir*, followed by the group which denotes Marduk; in the Assyrian inscriptions (as Botta 44.3), immediately after his titles of sovereignty, Sargon calls himself "the *migir* of the great gods." Though the root m is unknown in Hebrew, it is found in Assyrian as a verb and participle, as well as in this noun, which, from its form, must express the action, or, by a metaphor which is common to all languages, the object of the action. In the beginning of the 41st line of the Pavement inscription at Nimrûd, I find *tamgurani*, "she (Istar) loved me;" the third person feminine singular of the aorist of Kal. In I. 61 we have *magiraka*, "the lover of thee;" and everywhere we have *la-magiri*, "of the unloving," that is, "the hating," "the enemy." This title, then, must signify "the love, i. e., the beloved of Marduk." Again, in I. 6, we have *naram Nabû*, the last word being the well-known name of the Biblical Nebo. Sir Henry Rawlinson translates this "the glorifier of Nebo." From what root he derives *naram*, or how he can make a *nomen agentis* out of such a form, I cannot conjecture. I suppose the root to be nr , and take this for the Niphal participle. This root, though, like m , unknown in Hebrew, is sufficiently common in Assyrian; it signifies *to choose, to prefer, to attach oneself to*. Thus, I. 37.38, *ina gimir libbiya kinim, aramu pulukhti iluti-sunu*, "With the entire of my true heart I have attached myself to the worship of their divinity" (i. e., that of Marduk and Nebo). In III. 36, Borsippa is called "the city *narmi-su*, of his choice or attachment;" and it is remarkable that he not only calls himself, in I. 6, "the *naram*, choice, or chosen of Nebo," but in I. 34, he calls Nebo *naram sarrutiya*, "the choice, or chosen, of my majesty." Through the whole of the introductory part of this inscription Nebuchadnezzar dwells on the connexion between himself and the two gods, Marduk and his son Nabû. He attributes to their special regard for him his elevation to the throne, and he declares his devotedness to *their*.

worship, above that of all others. There was, according to him, a mutual selection between the two parties; and the root *rw* was specially employed to express the making such a selection.

Between these two clauses which I have explained, "the beloved of Marduk," and "the chosen of Nabiû," the clause, *pateci ziri*, is inserted; and it is obvious that it must be a title, and one of no trifling importance. The first word occurs in a remarkable passage of the Tiglath Pileser cylinder. The remote ancestors of the king who made it, the original builder of the temple which he restored and his father, are each termed "*pateci* of Assur." When this passage was first noticed in 1853, I translated the title, "Champion of Assur." Sir H. Rawlinson made it "governor of Assyria," affirming that these personages were subordinate to supposed Chaldean sovereigns. I objected to this, that the latter part of the title was distinctly Assur, the god, and not Assyria, the country. Sir Henry has now translated it, "high-priest of Assur." I find nothing in the word which implies superiority. I take it to be simply "priest." But of this hereafter. What concerns us now is, that from the context in which it occurs in this inscription, *pateci* must be a noun in construction, and such as may be followed by the name of a god in the genitive. Sir Henry Rawlinson translates *issakku ziri*, "adorer of the gods," but *ziri* is in the singular number. It is an adjective, and is met with pretty frequently in the inscriptions. Properly, I believe it to denote large or long. In this sense it is applied as an epithet to the boats in which Sennacherib conveyed the timber for his palace (B. M. 38.11). The word is *zirdti*, the noun signifying "boats," being feminine. More frequently it is applied either to what is of long duration, when it may be translated, according to the context, "ancient" or "continued," or to what is excellent in quality, great, high, or the like. The masculine adjective is connected with nouns which refer to Nabiû, IV. 18; to the sun, IV. 29; and to the father of the obelisk king, Ob. 17. In a text parallel to this last (B. M. 12.2.10), *ziru* is replaced by *makh*, which certainly signifies "great." We may, then, translate *ziri* in I. 5, "of the Great One" or "of the Ancient One;" and we have now to enquire who was thus designated. In the obelisk inscription line 4, we have the following invocation: *Bil, ziru, abu*, etc. "Bil, the ancient one, father of the gods, begetter of them all." The same invocation is repeated on the frame about the statue in the British Museum of the father of the obelisk king. To no other god is this adjective applied without a substantive; consequently, I cannot entertain a doubt that this title expresses the relation in which Nebuchadnezzar stood to Bil, who was the

patron deity of Babylon. It expresses his official position with respect to the god to whom his city belonged, as the two other titles expressed his personal position with respect to his own selected deities. Accordingly, when about to speak of what he had done for religion in Babylon, as well as for the improvements of the city, in his capacity of priest of Bil, he, in the East India House inscription, after some clauses which I do not perfectly understand, falls back upon this official title, "the undefiled priest, who did so and so;" whereas, in the British Museum cylinder, where the mention of the priesthood of Bil was omitted at setting out, he here introduces it for the first time, "the priest of Bil, who did so and so." I here assume that *issakku* and *pateci* are equivalent; but of that it appears to me that there can be no doubt. In the India House inscription, and in that found at the Birs Nimrûd, the only two which fall back on the title "priest," we have two sets of three titles; the genitive cases are the same, the names of the three deities, Marduk, the Ancient One and Nabû; the noun governing the last, "the choice of" is the same in both sets; and it is next to certain that the preceding ones, which are not the very same, are equivalent. For "the beloved of," we have in the Birs inscription *itutkun libbi*, the last word signifying "of the heart of." What precedes it may signify "the occupant," or "the delight," or something of the kind. For the intermediate title we have *pateci* and *issakku*, both of which must have the signification "priest" in the same manner as *sakkanaku*.

III. I must now endeavour to explain, or, at least, to throw as much light as I can, on the equivalence of these four groups. I begin with stating the conclusion at which I have arrived. The former character in the group which I began with copying, is to be read *sakkana* or *issak* (or perhaps *issa*), words which had the same, or nearly the same, meaning in the agglutinated language of the Turanian inhabitants of Babylonia; the latter character in the same group is to be read *ku*, a word of the same language. To the two words in the agglutinated language, which are thus formed, *pateci* is the Assyrian equivalent. I have thus three distinct subjects to treat of in this section; viz. (a.) The values of the two characters in the group first considered; (b.) the resolution of the two agglutinated words into their elements; and (c.) The determination of the meaning of the Assyrian word from its *root*, and its *form*.

(a.) The last character of the original group signifies "a servant." It occurs in three different contexts in connexion with proper names, and with other words of known value, and this value suits them all. In the first place, it occurs in the

inscriptions on several clay tablets in the British Museum, such as those marked K.14, 21, 22, etc. These begin in the following manner, a different proper name occurring in each: "To the king my lord *thy servant* —; may I be acceptable to the king my lord! may Nabîû and Marduk be gracious to the king my lord!" "Thy servant" is expressed by the second character of the group for "priest," followed by the affix *ka*. Sometimes, as in K.79, the plural sign occurs between this character and the affix; and then two proper names, with the copulative conjunction between them, follow. "To the king my lord, thy servants — and —." In the second place, this character occurs before the name of a deity on a number of cylinders used as seals, such as Nos. 65, 67, 68, etc., in Mrs. Cullimore's collection. These cylinders generally contain three lines. In the first is the name of a man; in the second the character for "son of," and the name of his father; and in the third is the present character, with the name of a god. "A son of B, servant of the god C." In the third place, when Sargon speaks of kings who were ill-treated by their subjects on account of their fidelity to him, he uses this character to describe them, followed by *kansu, sadid niriya*, "an obedient *servant*, a carrier of my yoke," or "of the yoke of Assur." So Botta, 145.2.12; 147.10 and 151.2.9. I can think of no meaning but "servant," which would suit all these contexts.

The first character of the group occurs in some other groups also, but it is commonly found alone, or with the plural sign, or with two small vertical wedges after it, similar to those which are found in connexion with the characters denoting the hand, the eye, and the ear. It is then interchanged with the phonetic word *nir*. Now, this word is used in the Targum of Onkelos as the equivalent of נָשָׂא, which is unquestionably "a yoke," as *carried*; whether by cattle, as Deut. xxi. 3, or by a dependent nation, as Gen. xxvii. 40. In Syriac also, نَسَب is used, according to Castell, for *jugum aratorium, textorium et servile*. In Arabic it signifies much the same; but this is of no importance, as Ibn Doraidi, who is spoken of by Freytag as a writer of the highest authority, says expressly that it was a Syriac word, not generally used by the Arabs. The most common meaning in the Assyrian inscriptions is *a yoke*, metaphorically; that is, the burden of tribute, and sometimes military service imposed on a conquered, or weak nation, by a powerful neighbour. It frequently, however, signifies *a slope*; whatever was oblique to the surface of the earth, whether the acclivity of a mountain or the declivity on each side of a river. A third meaning, and what I take to be the primary meaning, is *the*

legs. Thus, in the sixth column of the Tiglath Pileser cylinder, line 51, etc., we have this passage: "The good road in my chariots, and the bad *ina niriya*, on my legs, I went after them." In Bellino's inscription, l. 21, we have the word again in a different context. "The bad roads on a horse I rode; and a chariot *niriya*, of my legs (i.e. in which I should stand) *ina tikkāti usassi*, in the rear I caused to be carried." I think that one or other of the three senses, "the legs," "a slope," and "a yoke," will suit the character whenever it stands for a word; in all these senses its Assyrian equivalent was *nir*. The primary meaning of this word was, I think, "the legs," from which the other meanings might be derived. When the legs are stretched out, the vanquished suppliant for mercy may crawl under them; they are then in the shape of the pair of oblique pieces of wood which constituted the rude saddle by which burdens were imposed on the ox or the ass; and either of these pieces may represent a slope. But the primary meaning of the *character* was a yoke, with a head under it. It seems evident to me that this was what the character was intended to represent. Now, according to the principles of the picture-writing in which the cuneatic characters originated, the representation of any object might signify not only that object itself, but the action proper to it. An eye represented not only the Assyrian word 𐎶, "an eye," but also 𐎶, "seeing," from the root 𐎶, the equivalent of the Hebrew 𐤠; and not only these but also *si*, which was the Accadian word for one or other of these. On the same principle, the character which represents a yoke would also represent the action of which a yoke was the instrument, that is, "bowing down, prostration." This is the proper force of the root 𐎶, which is constantly used in connection with *nir*. One instance has been already given in the beginning of this subsection; others are *la iknusu*, "they did not submit;" *la kitnusu*, "they were not submissive," and *usaknis*, or more anciently *usiknis*, "I made to submit;" all of which are preceded by *niriya*, "to my yoke." The meaning, then, which I give to the group in question, grounded on the meanings of the two characters composing it, is "a servant of prostration," "a servant of bowing down," or the like. When joined to the name of a deity, it thus signifies "a priest."

(b.) I have now to consider the agglutinated words *sak-kanaku* and *issakku*. Their last syllable is the same; and I take it to represent the second character in the group just considered, and therefore "a servant." Now, that this was the meaning of the word *ku* in the Accadian language is universally admitted. The only matter in dispute, is whether it was its only meaning,

In the Tiglath Pileser inscription it is always so translated by Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Oppert; but Mr. Fox Talbot translates it "weapons," and I "arrows," in several passages where it is preceded by the determinative of things made of wood. I have no doubt whatever that we were right; but the proof of it need not here be given.

I take *sakkana* to be a compound of *sak* "a head," and *kana* an adjective which may signify "bent," or "bowed down." The signification of *sak* is indisputable. A character, the portion of which on the left hand is evidently intended for a head, while on the right there is a vertical wedge representing the trunk, and between the two a pair of parallel horizontal lines, representing the neck, has the two common values *sak* and *ris*. The former of these is the Accadian, the latter the Assyrian name of a head. I suppose that *kana* is equivalent to the Assyrian 𐎲𐎵, which I explained in the last subsection; and that it is connected with γόνυ, *knee*, etc., and with the Egyptian *ken* and the Hebrew 𐤍. I accordingly make *sak-kana-ku* to signify "a servant of the bowed down head," and thus, "a priest." I here differ altogether from Dr. Oppert, who explains this word in one place as "vicegerent," and in another place calls it the supreme title of the Assyrian kings (*Rapport*, p. 16).

Having mentioned Dr. Oppert's *Rapport*, I hope I shall be excused if I correct an error into which he has fallen, which respects myself personally. In p. 7 he says: "M. Grotefend, avec cette sagacité féconde qui a illustré son nom, a reconnu qu'un fragment d'un cylindre en terre cuite de Babylone, et publié par Ker Porter, ne contenait autre chose qu'une transcription en caractères simples d'un passage de la grande inscription de Nebuchodonosor, conservée à Londres au musée de la compagnie des Indes. On a pu confronter deux exemplaires d'une même inscription dont la comparaison, instructive à plus d'un titre, a fourni les premiers éléments de l'identification des caractères archaïques et modernes." The important discovery here referred to was made by me in 1846; and I immediately announced it in the *Literary Gazette* of 25th July, 1846. Grotefend was aware that I claimed the discovery as my own; and I never heard that he controverted my claim to it; nor, indeed, have I observed any allusion to this plate of Ker Porter's in any of his writings, before or after my publication in the *Literary Gazette*.

I take it for granted that *issa* or *is-sak* has much the same meaning as *sak-kana*; but I am not prepared with any arguments in support of this, derived from the meaning of *is* or *issa*. Of these Accadian words I know nothing whatever.

(c.) I now come to consider the Assyrian word *pateci*, that is, $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. The value of the latter part of the second syllable, which I have here written *e*, is problematical. All that I can say respecting it, with perfect confidence, is, that this character expresses the first syllable of the third person feminine singular of the aorist, when *v* is the first radical. I have given above an example of that form, where the first radical was *v*, namely, *tamgurani*, "She loved me." If the first radical had been *v*, we should have in place of 𐎶 , what I have expressed by *te*, which is therefore equivalent to 𐎶 . This syllable is introduced into a verbal form before a consonant, as a sort of medial augment, or as the characteristic of a peculiar conjugation; and as it sometimes becomes *tan* before a vowel, I incline to think that the *v* was pronounced as a nasal; it may express the final sound in the French *étain*. We have an example of *tan* in the word *il.ta.nap.pa.ru* (Botta, 49.44), which is joined with *bahlat Bili*. The verb without the augment would be *isapparu*, from 𐎶 , *missit*; *s* being changed into *l*, before the dental, as in *kaldi* from *kasad*, and many other words. The meaning of the words *isapparu bahlat Bili* would be, "they send out the terror of Bil;" in a parallel passage, Bel. 47 *yumahiru* is used in place of this verb, which is well known to have a similar meaning. In another passage (Botta 51.92) the sword of Ninib, who was, like Bil, a god of war, is called "the terror (*bahlat*) of the four strange languages." While, therefore, it must remain uncertain what the precise meaning of the '*bahlat Bili*' was, it seems clear that it was either the Assyrian army itself, or some standard or ensign by which it was accompanied. The meaning of the augment in the passage quoted can scarcely be doubted. It expresses habitual repetition of the action. The predecessors of Sargon "*iltanapparu*, were in the habit of sending out from time to time the terror of Bil." In the Tiglath Pileser inscription, I. 33, the words *bahlat Bili* occur in connexion with a different verb, *yul.tas.pi.ru*. The value of the second character is given as *ta.as* in one of the syllabaries in the British Museum; and it has the same value in the second Persepolitan writing, as I stated in 1846, and as has never since been denied; yet Sir H. Rawlinson, in his two last publications, reads it *tan*, and has built a theory on this false reading. He seems to have forgotten that if *tan* were to precede *pi* in a derivative of his imaginary root 𐎶 , it would become *tap*; and that there are other characters in constant use by which *tan* and *tap* are expressed. The word before us cannot be fairly read in any other manner than as I have given it, *yultaspiru*; and it is the causative form, answering to *iltanapparu*; derived from *yusaspiru*, as that was

from *isapparu*; but with the augment π contracted to simple *t*, instead of being extended to *tan*. Or it may be that this shorter augment *t* may differ from π , not implying, as that does, repetition. The verb in the Tiglath Pileser inscription is applied to but a single king; the *u* at the end denoting the perfect tense, and not the plural number; the translation is, including the second accusative which precedes *bahlat*, "who has caused men to send out the terror of Bil." Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his translation of this inscription, renders it "ruler over all the people of Bil;" but in the *Herodotus* he corrects this to "who has hunted the people of Bil." This appears to me a complete perversion of the clause. Mr. Fox Talbot and Dr. Oppert did not translate it at all. According, then, to the view of the force of this augment which I have been explaining, *pateci* with the augment should mean one who does frequently and habitually what the verb signifies; *paci* without the augment denoting one who does this once or occasionally. It may suffice to say this of the *form* of the word; we have next to consider the *root*. It is plain that the first two radicals are π , and that the third is a weak letter. As I have never met with any other form of the root, I have no means of deciding which of the weak letters it is, otherwise than by a reference to the cognate languages. It might be κ , η , ν , or even π . There are some verbs with π for the third radical, in which it is dropped when it terminates the word, as in particular $\pi\pi$, *cepit*. In other cases a character for *ikh* is added, as in *na.ci.ikh*, "the carrier away" (Botta, 48.26). The ground of the distinction may be either that in some words π was pronounced with greater force than others—the Arabs have both π and π —or that the final character was added, when it was necessary to distinguish the root from other roots, having the third radical different, but still weak; while it was omitted when this was not necessary. $\pi\pi$ might need to be distinguished from $\pi\pi$ and $\pi\pi$, both of which are to be found in Hebrew lexicons; whereas, there is in Hebrew at least, only the root $\pi\pi$, from which the word which we are considering could be derived. Other roots which are found in the Aramæan dialects written with π have π in Hebrew; the Aramæan π corresponding to both π and π of the Hebrew; but these two letters are as carefully distinguished in Assyrian as in Hebrew. There is, then, a very strong presumption, to say the least, that the word *pateci* is derived from $\pi\pi$. We have now to consider the force of this root. I first observe that it denotes the action of the priests of Baal at the altar made by Elijah, 1 Ki. xviii. 26. It is here pointed as a verb of the Pihel conjugation; but this may be an error of the punctuators. The received translation of the

verb and the following preposition is, "they leaped upon;" others have rendered it, "they leaped over," "they were mad at," "they danced at." The Septuagint version is διέρπεχον ἐπὶ, the precise meaning of which may be doubted. I believe it, however, to be "they ran backwards and forwards, up to and down from." I do not believe, however, that this was the meaning of the Hebrew original. The force of the root is to be learned from its use in Ex. xii. 13, 23, 27 and in Is. xxxi. 5; but here we meet with great diversity of opinion. Some think, and the Septuagint version favours this opinion, that the Lord, to whom the action of this verb is attributed, was different from the destroying angel; that the verb implies active exertion for the protection of the Israelites from a destruction which would otherwise have smitten them. Others seem to consider the Lord to have been the destroyer, or at any rate the guider of his hand; and that the verb merely implies omission to act. This is the view taken by the translators of our authorized version; and it is certainly countenanced by the context, especially by Ex. xii. 12. On the other hand, this meaning seems scarcely admissible in the passage in Isaiah, where active interposition in the way of defence seems clearly implied. The reader must judge for himself; but I think it certain that we indicated an action which was used by some idolatrous priests in their worship; and I think it highly probable that this action was that of throwing themselves down, and stretching themselves out, before the altar or other object of their worship.

I should have liked to have reviewed the different passages in the inscriptions which bear on the priestly government of Babylon; but I think it better not to attempt this at all, than to make an attempt which must be very defective. I have never seen, and it is not likely that I ever shall see, the inscription which would be likely to throw most light on it. Grotefend, a private individual, had *fac-similes* taken in lithograph of all the important cuneatic inscriptions he could obtain; and the public can obtain copies of them at a cheap rate. This, however, was in Germany. In England a corporation, which is reputed to be wealthy, and the members of which describe it as liberal, withholds from the public generally the means of consulting an inscription of first-rate importance, which it unfortunately holds in its custody.

EDWARD HINCKS.

Nov. 16th, 1858.

NOTES ON JOHN XVII.

EVERY reader of the Bible will agree that there are particular passages in it, by which he finds himself especially attracted. Though perhaps not appearing so marked to others, yet to him they appear to possess a value surpassing even the rest of the sacred writings.

The causes of this enhanced value are almost as various as the passages themselves, which are thus enhanced to various readers. Sometimes it is an outward reason, external to the words themselves, which surrounds them with a halo of lustrous influence. Something in the disposition of the reader, or in his circumstances, or in association with persons, places, and other things which powerfully move the feelings, may be at the time so prominently before the mind, that any words which are peculiarly appropriate to any of these influencing accompaniments of his mental history, do at once acquire a position of absorbing interest, and retain it ever afterwards. At other times it is the internal attractiveness of the passages themselves which accounts for their enhanced value to the reader. The narratives may be affecting, the events wonderful, the lessons impressive, the whole tone of the passage solemnizing, to such an unusual degree, that, while being read, it becomes at once engraved upon the memory with a strength which can never be obliterated; and thenceforward it towers above life's stormy thoughts and passions, bearing above them its calm beacon-light of quenchless brilliancy.

By this latter kind of attraction,—the internal interest of the passage itself,—the writer of this article remembers having been very early drawn to the parting prayer of our Saviour for his disciples in the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel. There every moving circumstance which could be added by passing events, by the character of the speaker, by his coming trials, by the touching tone of almost unapproachable purity, dignity, heavenly holiness, and noble self-devotion;—all are combined to light up the passage with a never-failing attractiveness. The spot becomes "holy ground" in the soul's possessions. The memorabilia of the Redeemer's history become all clustered round it as a central point of spiritual illumination.

But there is, to the ordinary reader of the passage in the English Bible, this one drawback, that its meaning and connexion suffer to some extent from the form in which it is there presented to him,—the breaking up into verses, made more for convenience of reference than for helping out the sense. To

obviate this drawback, the reader in this, and in every similar case, will gain much more insight into the real meaning of the words, by re-writing them for himself in Greek or English, in stanzas, sections, or lines, marking the connexions or transitions of the meaning, and divided with a reference to the subject-matter alone.

This has been done in the following pages, as an illustration of the value of such a practice, which soon becomes natural and easy to any one who makes himself acquainted with the extent to which the principle of *parallelisms* applies to the New, as well as to the Old Testament. Both the Greek and English are arranged in lines, easily scanned by the eye, and which will, the writer hopes, be found materially to assist the student of Scripture in the examination of this most important passage.

For shortness and clearness the lines are numbered, and referred to in the notes by their respective numbers. This allows the condensing of notes within a much shorter compass than could be otherwise managed, and will not be found so troublesome to the reader as at first sight it might seem to be. The page of numbered lines being kept in view at the same time with the notes, will soon make the reference to the numbers no inconvenience, compared with these advantages of shortness and clearness.

The English is added in the same form, shewing how easily it admits of an arrangement similar to the Greek.

JOHN XVII.

1. ΠΑΤΕΡ,
2. ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα,
3. δόξασόν σου τὸν υἱόν
4. ἵνα καὶ ὁ υἱός σου δοξάσῃ σε,
5. καθὼς ἔδωκας αὐτῷ ἔξουσίαν πάσης σαρκός,
6. ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκας αὐτῷ, δώσῃ αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον
7. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή,—
8. ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν,
9. καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν
10. ἐγὼ σε ἐδόξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
11. τὸ ἔργον ἐτελείωσα
12. ὃ δέδωκάς μοι ἵνα ποιήσω
13. καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με, σὺ Πάτερ,
14. παρὰ σεαυτῷ, τῇ δόξῃ
15. ἣ ἔιχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί
16. ἐφάνέρωσά σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

17. οὗς δέδωκάς μοι
 18. ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου
 19. σοι ἦσαν,
 20. καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτοῖς δέδωκάς,
 21. καὶ τὸν λόγον σου τετηρήκασιν·

 22. νῦν ἔγνωκαν,—ὅτι πάντα ὅσα δέδωκάς μοι,
 23. παρὰ σοῦ ἐστίν·
 24. ὅτι τὰ ῥήματα ἃ δέδωκάς μοι,
 25. δέδωκα αὐτοῖς,
 26. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον,—καὶ ἔγνωσαν ἀληθῶς
 27. ὅτι παρὰ σοῦ ἐξῆλθον,
 28. καὶ ἐπίστευσαν
 29. ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας.

 30. Ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτῶ·
 31. οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐρωτῶ,
 32. ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν δέδωκάς μοι,
 33. ὅτι σοὶ εἰσιν·
 34. καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σὰ ἐστί,
 35. καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐμὰ·
 36. καὶ δέδοξασμαι ἐν αὐτοῖς·

 37. καὶ οὐκ ἔτι εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,
 38. καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶ,
 39. καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι·

 40. ΠΑΤΕΡ ἉΓΙΕ, τήρησον αὐτοὺς
 41. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου,
 42. οὗς δέδωκάς μοι,
 43. ἵνα ὥσιν ἐν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς·

 44. ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν
 45. ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,
 46. ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτοὺς
 47. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου·

 48. οὗς δέδωκάς μοι ἐφύλαξα,
 49. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο
 50. εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας,
 51. ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ·

 52. νῦν δὲ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι,
 53. καὶ ταῦτα λαλῶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,

54. ἵνα ἔχωσι τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐμήν
 55. πεπληρωμένην ἐν αὐτοῖς·
 56. ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον σου,
 57. καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐμίσησεν αὐτοὺς,
 58. ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου
 59. καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμι ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου·
 60. οὐκ ἔρωτῶ ἵνα ᾤρῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου
 61. ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ·
 62. ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰσὶ,
 63. καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰμι·
 64. ἀγιάσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου,
 65. ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθειά ἐστι·
 66. καθὼς ἐμέ ἀπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
 67. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπεστείλα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
 68. καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἀγιάζω ἑραυντὸν,
 69. ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥσιν ἡγιασμένοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.
 70. Οὐ περὶ τούτων δὲ ἔρωτῶ μόνον,
 71. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευσόντων,
 72. διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν, εἰς ἐμέ·
 73. ἵνα πάντες ἔν ὧσι
 74. καθὼς σὺ Πατέρ ἐν ἐμοὶ
 75. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν σοὶ,
 76. ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔν ὧσιν·
 77. ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστευσῇ
 78. ὅτι σὺ με ἀπέστειλας.
 79. καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς,
 80. ἵνα ὥσιν ἐν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἐν ἔσμεν,
 81. ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς,
 82. καὶ σὺ ἐν ἐμοί,
 83. ἵνα ὥσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἐν.
 84. καὶ ἵνα γινώσκῃ ὁ κόσμος
 85. ὅτι σὺ με ἀπέστειλας;
 86. καὶ ἡγάπησας αὐτοὺς,
 87. καθὼς ἐμέ ἡγάπησας.
 88. ΠΑΤΕΡ, ὃς δέδωκάς μοι θέλω
 89. ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ,
 90. καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς μετ' ἐμοῦ,
 91. ἵνα θεωρῶσι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμήν,
 92. ἣν ἔδωκάς μοι
 93. ὅτι ἡγάπησάς με,
 94. πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

17. ὅς δέδωκάς μοι
 18. ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου
 19. σοὶ ἦσαν,
 20. καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτοῖς δέδωκάς,
 21. καὶ τὸν λόγον σου τηρήμασιν
 22. νῦν ἔγραψαν, — ὅτι πάντα ὅσα δέδωκάς μοι,
 23. παρὰ σοῦ ἔστιν
 24. ὅτι τὰ ῥήματα ἃ δέδωκάς μοι,
 25. δέδωκας αὐτοῖς,
 26. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον, — καὶ ἔγνωσαν ἀληθῶς
 27. ὅτι παρὰ σοῦ ἐγγέλθον,
 28. καὶ ἐπίστευσαν
 29. ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας.
 30. Ἔγω περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτῶ
 31. οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐρωτῶ,
 32. ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν δέδωκάς μοι,
 33. ὅτι σοὶ εἰσὶ
 34. καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σά ἐστι,
 35. καὶ τὰ σά ἐμὰ
 36. καὶ δόξασμαι ὡς αὐτοῖς
 37. καὶ οἷός ἐτι εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,
 38. καὶ οὗτοι ὧν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶ,
 39. καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι
 40. ΠΑΤΕΡ ἍΓΙΕ, τήρησον αὐτοὺς
 41. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου,
 42. ὅς δέδωκάς μοι,
 43. ὥστε ὡσων ἐν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς
 44. ὅτε ἦμεν μετ' αὐτῶν
 45. ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,
 46. ἐγὼ ἐτήρησον αὐτοὺς
 47. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου
 48. ὅς δέδωκάς μοι ἐφύλαξα,
 49. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο
 50. εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας,
 51. ὥστε ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ
 52. νῦν δὲ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι,
 53. καὶ ταῦτα λαλῶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,

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54. ἔνι
55.

56. ἐγ
57. κα

58.

59.

60. οὐ

61. ἀλ

62.

63.

64. ἀγ

65. ὁ :

66.

67.

68. κα

69. ἔνι

70. Οὐ γ

71. ἀλ

72. δι

73.

74.

75.

76.

77. ἔνι

78. ὅτ

79. κα

80.

81.

82.

83.

84.

85.

86.

87.

88. ΠΑ'

89. ἔνι

90. κα

91.

92.

93.

94.

17. οὗς δέδωκάς μοι
 18. ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου
 19. σοὶ ἦσαν,
 20. καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτοῖς δέδωκάς,
 21. καὶ τὸν λόγον σου τετηρήκασιν·
 22. νῦν ἔγνωκαν,—ὅτι πάντα ὅσα δέδωκάς μοι,
 23. παρὰ σοῦ ἐστίν·
 24. ὅτι τὰ ῥήματα ἃ δέδωκάς μοι,
 25. δέδωκα αὐτοῖς,
 26. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον,—καὶ ἔγνωσαν ἀληθῶς
 27. ὅτι παρὰ σοῦ ἐξῆλθον,
 28. καὶ ἐπίστευσαν
 29. ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας.
 30. Ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτῶ
 31. οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐρωτῶ,
 32. ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν δέδωκάς μοι,
 33. ὅτι σοὶ εἰσιν·
 34. καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σὰ ἐστί,
 35. καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐμὰ·
 36. καὶ δέδοξασμαι ἐν αὐτοῖς·
 37. καὶ οὐκ ἔτι εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,
 38. καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶ,
 39. καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι·
 40. ΠΑΤΕΡ ἉΓΙΕ, τήρησον αὐτοὺς
 41. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου,
 42. οὗς δέδωκάς μοι,
 43. ἵνα ὥσιν ἐν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς·
 44. ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν
 45. ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,
 46. ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτοὺς
 47. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου·
 48. οὗς δέδωκάς μοι ἐφύλαξα,
 49. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο
 50. εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας,
 51. ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ·
 52. νῦν δὲ πρὸς σε ἔρχομαι,
 53. καὶ ταῦτα λαλῶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,

54. ἵνα ἔχωσι τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐμὴν
 55. πεπληρωμένην ἐν αὐτοῖς·
 56. ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον σου,
 57. καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐμίσησεν αὐτοὺς,
 58. ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου
 59. καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμι ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου·
 60. οὐκ ἔρωτῶ ἵνα ἄρῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου
 61. ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ·
 62. ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰσὶ,
 63. καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰμι·
 64. ἀγλασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου,
 65. ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθειά ἐστι·
 66. καθὼς ἐμέ ἀπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
 67. κἀγὼ ἀπεστείλα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
 68. καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἀγιάζω ἑμαυτὸν,
 69. ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ὧσιν ἡγιασμένοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.
 70. Οὐ περὶ τούτων δὲ ἔρωτῶ μόνον,
 71. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευσόντων,
 72. διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν, εἰς ἐμέ·
 73. ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσι
 74. καθὼς σὺ Πάτερ ἐν ἐμοὶ
 75. κἀγὼ ἐν σοὶ,
 76. ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν ὧσιν·
 77. ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεῦσῃ
 78. ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας.
 79. καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς,
 80. ἵνα ὧσιν ἐν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἐν ἔσμεν,
 81. ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς,
 82. καὶ σὺ ἐν ἐμοί,
 83. ἵνα ὧσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἐν.
 84. καὶ ἵνα γινώσκῃ ὁ κόσμος
 85. ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας;
 86. καὶ ἡγάπησας αὐτοὺς,
 87. καθὼς ἐμέ ἡγάπησας.
 88. ΠΑΤΕΡ, οὗς δέδωκάς μοι θέλω
 89. ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ,
 90. κἀκεῖνοι ὧσι μετ' ἐμοῦ,
 91. ἵνα θεωρῶσι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν,
 92. ἣν ἔδωκάς μοι
 93. ὅτι ἡγάπησάς με,
 94. πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

95. ΠΑΤΕΡ ΔΙΚΑΙΕ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω,
 96. ἐγὼ δέ σε ἔγνω,
 97. καὶ οὗτοι ἔγνωσαν,
 98. ὅτι σύ με ἀπεστείλας ;
99. καὶ ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς
 100. τὸ ὄΝΟΜΑ σου
 101. καὶ γνωρίσω
 102. ἵνα ἡ ἈΓΑΠΗ,
 103. ἣν ἡγάπησας με,
 104. ἐκ αὐτοῖς ἡ
 105. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς.
1. FATHER,
 2. The hour is come ;
 3. Glorify Thy Son :
 4. That Thy Son also may glorify Thee,
 5. As Thou hast given Him power over all flesh ;
 6. That to all whom Thou hast given Him He shall give
 life eternal ;
 7. And this is eternal life,—
 8. That they might know Thee the only true God,
 9. And Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.
10. I have glorified Thee on the earth,
 11. I have finished the work
 12. Which Thou gavest me to do ;
 13. And now glorify Thou me, O Father,
 14. With Thine own self, with the glory
 15. Which I had, before the world was, with Thee.
16. I have manifested Thy name to the men
 17. Whom Thou gavest Me
 18. Out of the world :
 19. Thine they were,
 20. And to me Thou gavest them,
 21. And Thy word they have kept.
22. Now they have known,—that all things whatsoever Thou
 hast given me
 23. Are of Thee ;
 24. For the words which Thou gavest Me
 25. I have given them ;
 26. And they received (them) ;—and knew truly
 27. That I came out from Thee ;

28. And they believed
29. That Thou didst send Me.
30. I pray for them ;
31. Not for the world do I pray,
32. But for them whom Thou hast given Me
33. Because they are Thine,
34. Indeed all Mine are Thine,
35. And Thine are Mine ;
36. And I am glorified in them.
37. I indeed am (to be) no longer in the world,
38. But these are in the world,
39. And I come to Thee.
40. HOLY FATHER, keep them,
41. Through Thy name
42. Which Thou gavest Me,
43. That they may be one, like us.
44. While I was with them
45. In the world,
46. I kept them
47. In Thy name :
48. Those whom Thou gavest me I guarded,
49. And none of them is lost
50. Except the son of perdition,
51. That the Scripture might be fulfilled.
52. But now come I to Thee,
53. And these things I speak in the world,
54. That they may have My joy
55. Fulfilled in themselves.
56. I have given them Thy word,
57. And the world hated them ;
58. Because they are not of the world,
59. Even as I am not of the world :
60. I do not pray that Thou shouldest take them away out
 of the world,
61. But that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil :
62. They are not of the world,
63. Even as I am not of the world ;
64. Sanctify them through Thy truth,

65. Thy word is truth :
66. Even as Thou sent me to the world
67. So send I them to the world :
68. And for their sakes I sanctify myself,
69. That they also may be sanctified through the truth.
70. And not for these alone do I pray,
71. But for them also who believe,
72. Through their word, on Me ;
73. That all may be one,
74. Even as Thou Father in Me,
75. And I in Thee.
76. That they may likewise be one in Us ;
77. That the world may believe
78. That Thou didst send me.
79. And the glory, which Thou hast given to Me, I have
given to them,
80. That they may be one, even as We are one,
81. I in Thee,
82. And Thou in Me,
83. That they may be made perfect in one ;
84. And that the world may know
85. That Thou didst send me ;
86. And didst love them,
87. Even as Thou lovedst Me.
88. FATHER, for those whom Thou hast given Me, I wish,
89. That where I am
90. They also may be with Me ;
91. That they may see My glory,
92. Which Thou gavest Me
93. Because Thou lovedst Me,
94. Before the foundation of the world.
95. RIGHTEOUS FATHER, the world indeed hath not
known Thee ;
96. But I have known Thee,
97. And these have known
98. That Thou didst send Me.
99. And I have declared to them
100. Thy NAME,
101. And will declare it ;
102. That the LOVE,

103. Wherewith Thou lovedst Me,
104. May be in them,
105. And I in them.

NOTES ON THE NUMBERED TEXT.

PART I. 1—29.

Our Lord's Messianic Office;—its results, future and past.

(1—9).—*Introduction: future results anticipated.*

1. Invocation of the *Ὁνομα ΠΑΤΕΡ*; to reveal which was the object of the Son's Incarnation. See 16.

2. Occasion of the prayer: the hour of the final struggle and triumph was near, which would lead to 3, 4.

3. Direct object of 2; and epitome of the whole prayer. See 36.

4—9. Direct objects of 3, and epitome of its future results: embracing a threefold succession, 4, 5; 6, 7; 8, 9; each beginning with *ὅνα*; each evolved from, and explaining the one before; following in order of accomplishment; and shewing the distinct offices of the Holy Trinity, which all unite for man's redemption, before and after *ἡ ὥρα*.

4, 5 refers to the Father's office, *ἔδωκας*, etc.; 6, 7, to the Son's office, *δώση*, etc.; 8, 9, to the Holy Spirit's office, *γινώσκωσί*, etc.: and each is further referred to in the remaining sections or stanzas of Part I., which give a review of past effects up to *ἡ ὥρα*, as a plea for the continuing of these effects by the same Holy Three, after *ἡ ὥρα*.

Thus, 4—5 is referred to in 10—15; 6—7, in 16—21; and, 8—9, in 22—29.

(10—15).—Our Lord, by *ἐγώ, μοι, με*, identifies himself with the *υἱός* and *αὐτῶ* of 4, 5, which there were more appropriate to the solemn introduction, with its reference to the relations and offices of the Holy Trinity: here he refers more directly to his work as Jesus, the Incarnate Messiah, and speaks more from the human side of his position. Referring to 3, 4; 10—13, are an argument for 3; and 13—15, the mode. 10—12. The complete fulfilment of his past Messianic *ἔργον*. 13—15. The secured fulfilment of his future Messianic *δόξα*. 10 and 13 are interwoven, like 3, 4, as reciprocal equivalents; 13 claimed as the previously arranged return for 10. 10 is particularized by 11, 12; and 13 by 14, 15: the place and state of 11, 12, *γῇ ἔργον*, contrasting with the place and state of 14, 15, *παρὰ σεαυτῶ, τῇ δόξῃ*.

The repeated emphatic position of *παρὰ σεαυτῶ, παρὰ σοι*, 14, 15, shew that the essence of divine *δόξα*, and of the happi-

ness of the Holy Trinity, is their mutual communion with each other: and hence, also, that, as fellow heirs with our incarnate Saviour, the essence of our future glory and happiness will be the partaking, as far as creatures can, of that divine presence;—the being with God, and “one with him;” as our Lord holds out to us in his words afterwards, 73—76, 88—91.

(16—21.)—Comparing with 6, 7, (to which 16—21 refer), the *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* is the result of σου τὸ ὄνομα, 16, rightly and spiritually received through τὸν λόγον σου, 21. 16, τὸ ὄνομα is further explained in 1, ΠΑΤΕΡ; in 40, ΠΑΤΕΡ ἈΓΙΕ; in 95, ΠΑΤΕΡ ΔΙΚΑΙΕ; in 100, 102, ἈΓΑΠΗ. Thus, the whole object of the ἐφανερώσά here, as throughout all the Gospel, is to reveal God to us as a Father, holy, righteous, and loving; in Christ, and for Christ’s sake: a result agreeing with the explanation of 8, 9. 16, shews Christ’s message to man; and is compared with 21, which shews man’s duty on receiving that message: the ἐφανερώσά 16, is emphatic; and so is τετηρήκασι, 21; both being equally necessary, and containing between them, (as is indicated by their pointed position,) the means by which the great purposes of 17—20 are accomplished, and the ζωὴ αἰώνιος gained. 17 and 20 contain parallel ideas, but with an instructive difference in the emphasis; which in 17 is on the οὗς, the men given: and in 20, on the ἐμοί, the man, the God-man to whom they were given, and in whom alone they can find a right to use the Ὄνομα ΠΑΤΕΡ. 18. That these ἀνθρώποι should be brought ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, 18, was the object of 19, when God “foresaw” them in past eternity; but 18 is placed first, being the intermediate step between that past eternity, and the further future fulfilment of 19, in a coming eternity.

(22—29.)—Referring to 8, 9, we see that the Holy Spirit’s office in 8, 9, which would not be fully accomplished till the day of Pentecost, had yet been so far begun and carried out, that νῦν ἔγνωκαν, etc. 22. The successive steps in the complete ἔγνωκαν, 22 (whose effect was continuing, as the tense shews), are the ἐλάβον, ἔγνωσαν, 26, and ἐπίστευσαν, 28. They were convinced of 22, 23, by the spiritual agency which accompanied 24, 25. πάντα ὅσα, etc., 22, are received, by faith, through the ῥήματα 24, which latter are the pledge or “earnest” of the former. Christ evidently lays stress on ῥήματα, as the means of true conviction; miracles being not in themselves convincing, but only useful to attract attention to the ῥήματα, are not here mentioned. 26, 27 would not be enough without 28, 29; for 27 might imply only a belief in Christ’s sharing with all the other prophets in power from on high; but 29 expresses the special redeeming object peculiar to Christ alone: he had not

only power from a divine source, 27, as a prophet; but, also, a commission above all others from God, 29, as the Great Prophet, the Messiah, sent to redeem: *ἔγνωσαν ἀληθῶς*, 26, is equivalent to *ἐπίστευσαν*, 28; as many other places of this gospel also shew, by their use of "know" and "knowledge" for true knowledge in a spiritual sense, as meaning saving faith.

PART II.—(30—69.)—*Special prayer for His disciples.*

(30—36.)—30, 33, 37, contain the main ideas of the stanza; and 31, 32, 34, 35, supplementary explanations; 31 applies only to this part of the prayer; the wider intercessions of 71—87 afterwards include the whole world. 33, 36, are the two main arguments for 30: 36, explains 3: 34, 35, reciprocal equivalents, explaining 32, 33.

(37—39.)—The reasons for special prayer on behalf of his disciples. 37, 39, his state; 38, their state, contrasted. 37, negative, general prospect of his absence; 39, positive, particular place of his future presence; both together making the contrast of their state with his, more striking; yet 39 in a measure relieves the blank desolation of 37, by suggesting the hope of what is afterwards expressed in 39, 90.

(40—43.)—40, the general prayer; 41, 42, its means; 43, its object, and necessary result, if granted; assimilation to God's character being the object and effect of God's revealing his name of Father, and giving them the spirit of adoption.

(44—47.)—Shews that up to *ἡ ᾠρα*, Christ had done what he now requests the Father to carry on; it was not for a new state of things, but a continuation of the same after his absence, that he was anxious; and this was arranged by the Holy Spirit being sent to supply his place, and perfect the work begun in them. The only sufficient safeguard, while 45, is 47.

(48—51.)—Continued statement of 46, 47, giving the one exceptional case. The *ἀπωλετο*, 49, and *υ. τ. ἀπωλείας*, 50, shew that the fate and character of the lost one were fitted to each other: he went "to his own place." 51 applies directly to the exception, 50; *ἡ γραφή* being the prophecy of Ps. cix. Both 48 and 50 were examples, though of opposite kinds, of the truth of *τὸ ἔργον ἐτελείωσα* (11): the permission of 50 being a fulfilment of Scripture, as necessary as the complete execution of the charge, 48. Yet *ὁ υἱὸς τ. ἀπ.* was one *ἐξ αὐτῶν οὓς δέδωκάς μοι*: showing that he was not by God's decree made *ὁ υἱὸς τ. ἀπ.*, but the contrary; by his own reckless character and will he had made himself such, against the good purposes of God, who placed him in a situation of highest privilege. But foreseeing

that such would be the conduct of this one *ἐξ αὐτῶν*, God had predicted it in *ἡ γραφή*, and Christ permitted it *ἵνα ἡ γ. πλ.*—See Acts i. 20.

(52—55.)—*νῦν δὲ*, 52, when 51 had been done, not before, the compensation for 52 is the *χαρὰν* of 54. 53—55 explain the tone and nature of the whole chapter. It was not only a prayer to the Father for the disciples, but also a means of instruction and comfort to them. Hence the open way in which the whole was spoken, in the midst of the disciples, not “apart,” as in the instances frequently given of our Lord’s private communing with the Father; hence the many explanatory and parenthetical parts, not necessary for the object of prayer alone, and touching on subjects of highest importance for the disciples to know, but entirely unnecessary, if the prayer had been a private one between him and the Father, to whom they would have been matters of such settled certainty as to require no mentioning whatever. For in looking through the whole of Christ’s words, we find that only a small part is direct petitioning—the prayerful portion might be entirely separated from the instructive, and occupies only the lines 1—3, 13, 30, 32, 33, 40, 43, 60, 61, 64, 65, 70—73, 88—90. The rest is a discourse or communing with the Father, for the information and instruction of the disciples, touching on points of special interest to them: the confirmation of his divinity by such expressions as 13, 15, 34, 35, 43, 74, 75, 79—83; the glorious hopes opened out to them, 6, 40—43, 49, 79—83, 88—91, 102—105; their apostolic mission, 66, 67, 71, 72; the opposition to be expected in their work, 38, 56—63, 95; the preserving and supporting power ready to protect them in the work, 40—43, 60, 61, 64, 100, 101, 102—105. Such subjects were the very ones that when he was gone would crowd upon the minds of his disciples. Some of them had been noticed already in his farewell discourse in the three preceding chapters, yet here they are made to re-appear clothed in words of unutterable majesty, and sealed with tenfold firmness by the stamp of that holy converse with the Father, which gave his final authority and countenance to all that the Son announced. They would by these means be so firmly impressed upon the minds of the disciples as to become the source of increasing comfort and joy: a joy not earthborn, but *His* joy, the “joy in the Holy Ghost;” which, when he was gone, would enable them still to “rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.” 55 contrasts with 53, shewing that Christians may have a happy inner world *ἐν αὐτοῖς*, although they are still *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*.

(56—69.)—The main ideas, 56, 57; 60, 61; 64, 65; 68, 69;

alternate with the supplementary 58, 59; 62, 63; 66, 67; the latter giving reasons for the former; 58, 59, repeated in nearly the same words in 62, 63, shew how earnestly anxious our Lord was that the great distinction between his followers and the rest of the world should be remembered by them; how important it was to act according to the requirements of their condition. At the same time, how affectionately he makes their case his own, joining himself and them together in a common cause, and shewing that he would lead them only through such states as he himself had undergone: thus come in the *καθὼς ἐγὼ*, etc., 59; the *καθὼς ἐγὼ*, etc., 63; the *καθὼς ἐμὲ*, etc., 66;—all consolatory and encouraging. The main ideas are closely connected; 60, 61, being the prayer arising from the facts of 56, 57; 64, 65, the means by which that prayer of 60, 61, would be answered; 68, 69, shews that our Lord had himself done his part towards the object he prayed for by his example and teachings, and could therefore ask it with full consciousness of his claims being complete. 60, 61, shew what part of the world is the injurious one; not its occupations in necessary toil or duty; not its pure sources of enjoyment; not its troubles even, or its calamities; but its *evil*—the evil which the evil one might indeed make to lurk in any of these mentioned circumstances of an earthly life, but which could by the Holy One be separated from them; and from which the disciples would be kept by his sanctifying power, applying the word of truth as a preservative, 64, 65. An unwillingness to take 68 in its most obvious and natural meaning of inward sanctification, has led to sanctification being taken in an outward official sense by some writers; as if *ἀγιάζω* in the whole passage, 64—69, referred only to the setting apart for ministerial work. But this is at variance with the tenor of passage, *ἀγιάζω* being used of the sanctification necessary to keep from evil—inward and spiritual evil, not outward troubles from ministerial position; that official sense is also unnecessary in *ἀγιάζω*, for it is sufficiently expressed in the *ἀπέστειλας*, *ἀπέστειλα*, 66, 67; and further, we need not seek any other sense for *ἀγιάζω* than its usual one in the New Testament of inward holiness, produced and continued so as to keep the heart from the evil of the world; for our Lord himself preserved his human nature pure by means of efforts and strivings against temptations, using the word of truth as a weapon against sin, and preservative from evil of every kind. It was this fact, that he had himself “suffered being tempted,” and had kept himself “unspotted from the world,” which he puts forward in 68 as an example and encouragement to his disciples, 69. The ministerial commission, 66, 67, is enclosed, as it were, between

64, 65, and 68, 69, to shew that the right qualification for it is that inward sanctification which God can give, 64, and which Christ expects each of his followers to possess, 69, as he himself possessed it.

It is interesting to compare this prayer of our Lord's for his disciples, 40—69, with "the Lord's Prayer," which he taught them to pray for themselves. Both begin with a petition respecting the NAME of God, 40—43, that name of FATHER which becomes, through Christ, the assurance of mercy and spiritual blessing; the right knowledge of him in that view, and hallowing of that name, leading to all other Christian duties; and being the means of keeping up a Christian unity, 43. And both end with a petition for a SANCTIFIED DELIVERANCE FROM EVIL, 60—64, which the temptations and dangers of a sinful world make most necessary, till "the last enemy" is over; and which one petition includes, in its widest sense, the other petitions of the Lord's Prayer, being a deliverance from all those evils to which Christ's disciples would be "exposed, from want of Providential care, from want of redeeming love, or from want of sanctifying grace."^a

PART III.—(70—105).—*Prayer for all future believers, and for the world, along with his own already chosen disciples.*

(70—78.)—70—73, anticipates the coming effects of 66, 67, and includes "the holy church throughout all the world." Each Christian may be assured that his Saviour here prayed for him. 71, 72, 73; 77, 78, shew successive steps in evangelizing mankind, the apostles influencing those who heard them, and then these in turn influencing the world. This is the order in which Christ has appointed missionary work, the effecting of 77, 78, is left in the charge of τῶν πιστ., etc., 71, 72; and great as is the blessing they may confer by conduct such as is described in 73—76, equally great (and, alas! we must confess it, more than equally common), is the sin they are guilty of, when by disunited un-Christian conduct they disgust, rather than convert the world. How impressively the need of Christian unity is shewn in these words—a unity of heart, aim, and effort for Christ's cause—such as might be expected Christians would desire and cultivate, urged by the noble standard held before them, 73—76, and by the benefits to be gained for others. 74, 75, are grand reciprocal equivalents, utterly impossible to be true of any one who was not "equal with the Father as touching his Godhead."

^a See *Gathered Lights; illustrating the Lord's Prayer*, chap. xvii. Grant and Sons, Princes-street, Edinburgh. Rivingtons, London.

76 adds to 73 the true source (*ἐν ἡμῖν*) of that union; not the Father alone, but the *Son with the Father*, will be the sufficient example and model for Christian conduct, and the suppliers (by the Holy Spirit "proceeding from the Father and the Son") of the grace needed to produce the required disposition and conduct.

(79—87.)—79, unfolds the "hope of glory" for the whole church, gathered from all ages and countries. 79 is an example of the exercise of the power claimed in 5, 6. Yet 79 is not to be taken as an act done by the Son alone without the sanction of the Father being sought and given, but is to be joined with 88—94, where the subject is submitted to the Father's will. Yet 79, in perfect assurance of unity of will, takes the Father's concurrence for granted; and Christ pleads for it afterwards, 88—94, as an example of the submission which humanity, even when worn by him, should offer in its holiest thoughts and wishes, to the Father's supreme authority. 80—83 expresses the reason of his revealing 79 to the church. That glorious destiny is held as a further inducement for the production of conduct worthy of such a "high calling." These four lines are in the main an emphatic repetition of 73—76, but there are points added also, the mode of union *ἐν ἡμῖν*, 76, is enlarged into 81, 82, shewing the mediatorial position of Christ to be necessary for constant supplies of grace, as much as for the wider purpose of redemption; and also 83 expresses the gradual manner of attaining to Christian unity, persons and churches being by degrees made more and more perfect, *εἰς ἐν*, *towards unity*, until it is approached as nearly as possible on earth, the complete perfection being left for a more perfect state. The influence of the church on the world is again stated, 84—87, both as an encouragement and duty, with the addition in 86, 87 of the allusion to the source of all man's hopes and happiness, the free love of God, this being a lesson also for the church to teach the world, by a life of Christian love reflecting that divine love. 86, 87 also shews how the great source of union between man and man, must be the same as that between Christ and God—the feeling of love—a love so prominent among all the causes and fruits of Christian union, that it may strike even the world as produced by God's love to his people, 86, being known, felt, valued, and imitated by them.

(88—94.)—88 includes evidently all Christ's Church; being still a continued prayer for those mentioned in 70—72. 88—91 being, as has been noticed above, an addition to the previous statement of 79, referring it to the Father's decision,—*θέλω* cannot bear the force sometimes here ascribed to it, of a commanding and authoritative requirement by Christ as God; but

simply the expression of his wish as the Messiah still in the lowly garb of humanity, referring his own will to the Father's, as he at other times did even more plainly than here. 89—94, fixes a locality somewhere as the scene of Christ's pre-eminent glory; but to his people the essence of that glory will ever be the *μετ' ἐμοῦ*, 90. 91, *θεωρῶσι*, carries out the similitude, so frequent in Scripture, of *seeing* God, for the highest heavenly enjoyment; yet not implying want of active employment, for that is the necessary consequence of sight, and the object of its being given. 93 is to be connected with 92, not with 94; 94 refers to 91 and 92; 94 fixing the time, and 93 the reason, for the gift of 92. See 15.

(95—105.)—Review of the whole position of Christianity at the time of our Lord's prayer. *II. ΔΙΚΑΙΕ*, 95, prevents any questioning of the rightness of that position, although it in some points was apparently less cheering than might have been hoped, from the fact of the Messiah having come. *Ἐγὼ* 96, placed, as in other places, between *ὁ κόσμος* 95, and *οὗτοι* 97: from him proceeded the different results to both, of proclaiming, 98; and through his grace alone could the Church inoculate the world with their belief. 98 contains a short epitome of the Gospel, or key to Christian faith. It is repeated here again, after having been prominently noticed as the aim of Christ's teaching, in 9, 29, 77, 78, 85. Such marked emphasis put on that doctrine shews how important it was for Jewish believers to bear in mind, and draw the attention of others, to the divine commission of Jesus as the Redeemer of the world,—that stumbling-block to the Israelites. It also must mean far more than mere intellectual conviction of the fact; it evidently includes the whole effects on the heart and life, of that truth, when rightly received, and applied by the Holy Spirit to the receiver. 99—105 supplies the explanation of all God had done in sending Christ: the light in which that gift of a Redeemer was meant to place his name or character:—100, 102, taken together, shew that *ὄνομα*, 100, is *ἡ ἀγάπη*, 102. To convince the Church and the world that "God is love," was the object of all Christ's past teaching, 99; and would be the object of all future revelations by Christ and by His Spirit, 101. If, then, we miss this truth we have lost the benefit to be derived from Christ's being sent into the world. 102—105. How worthy a conclusion for such a prayer as this of our blessed Lord for his people. He still keeps himself, 103—105, in his glorious position of Mediator between God and man, and conveyer of God's love down to man. And from this position he pictures forth and prays for a wondrous union between God and man, through

himself, which no human heart would have ventured to conceive. The God of love, the Son of his love, the saints redeemed by his love, all one, through him ! A prospect truly beyond all understanding now, but which remains here as the Church's guiding star, till safe beyond this troublous world, she will no longer be militant, but triumphant.

R.

EXEGESIS OF THE BOOK OF JOB.*

RARELY, indeed, is such devoted study and attention bestowed on any book of the Old Testament Scriptures as Mr. Carey has given to Job. After various preliminary dissertations in which the different opinions on the Book of Job are discussed, a very useful *analysis* is given of the whole of that book. Then follows an entirely *new translation*, on which a very great amount of labour must have been bestowed. Along the margin is a still fuller *analysis of the meaning* than that already mentioned, while a list of *various readings* compared, is placed at the foot of every page. Then come *the notes*, which are very voluminous, and everywhere bear the signs of scholarship and of an intimate acquaintance with Oriental manners and customs. The notes are so perspicuous and so judiciously connected with the effort to explain the original, that a young student of Hebrew, or an old student desiring to revive his knowledge of it, could not have pleasanter aid in the study of that language than is afforded by those interesting, full, and unusually suggestive notes. A number of beautiful illustrations (some of them copied by the author from sculptures and drawings, and significant of his skill in this department) are given as an appendix to the volume.

We can scarcely imagine a more faithful effort to explain and illustrate a book of Scripture than this work of Mr. Carey's. He has availed himself of every varied source of explanatory and illustrative material; and, although we do not warrant every translation he gives, as the right one, nor look on every explanation as precisely the same as we prefer, we yet look on the volume as truly a *magnum opus*, and as worthy of being put within the reach of every faithful student of the Hebrew Scriptures. From its peculiar form we think few works better fitted to *entice* the clergy to the study of Hebrew.

* *The Book of Job Translated, Explained, and Illustrated*, by C. P. Carey, Incumbent of St. John's, Guernsey. London : Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt. 1858.

Without some knowledge of the original, there are many verses well suited for texts, or for exposition, which it would be rash to preach from. Nothing is more remarkable than the frequent proofs given by popular preachers, that they are ignorant of the true meaning of the passages from which they have derived the texts for their published sermons. Surely increasing care should be given by every clergyman that the accurate and full meaning of the Scriptures, and especially of those parts of them on which he has to discourse, should be known by himself before he publicly gives forth his prelections on them. A true and accurate meaning is to a false and vague meaning very much as pious, intelligent, and manly speech, is to that form of speech which often receives the name of canting. Thus, true scholarship is not the enemy, but the nurse of genuine piety; and the clergy of all ranks and denominations, we have reason to believe, are beginning to be more of this opinion, and to avow it more heartily than before.

Trusting that many students of the ancient Hebrew will avail themselves of this admirable result of Mr. Carey's studies, we proceed to give specimens of his translation and of his notes, and also (in the exercise of our privilege as critics—a privilege in using which we claim no infallibility) to make remarks on some of the passages which Mr. Carey has not interpreted in the same way as we are disposed to do.

“III. 1.—After this Job opened his mouth, and *Job's complaint.*

2 cursed his day. *And Job answered, and said,*

3 Perish the Day wherein I was born;

And the Night which said, A man is conceived.

4 That Day! be it Darkness.

Let not God from above require it;

Neither let Light shine upon it.

5 Let Darkness and the Shadow-of-death claim it;

Let a cloud settle upon it;

Let darkenings of the day-[light] affright it.

6 That night! Thick-darkness take it.

Be it not united with the days of the year;

Into the number of the months let it not enter.

7 Lo! that Night! be it barren;

Let no peal of gladness come into it. . . .

He curses his Birthday, by praying that it may be unnoticed by God, not illumined by Light, reclaimed by Darkness, clouded, and obscured by eclipses,—

— he curses also the Night which assisted at his conception, and prays that it may be utterly dark; not counted in the calendar; never a season of happy marriage.

He questions why he had not died before, or at his birth; or why, when born, he had been at once so officiously attended to.

11 Why did I not die in the womb?

[Or] expire when I came forth from the belly?

12 Wherefore did the knees anticipate me?

Or, why the breasts, that I should suck?

- 13 For now I had lain down, and been quiet ;
 I had slept, and then had had rest ;
 14 With kings and counsellors of the earth,
 Who were building desolations for themselves ;
 15 Or with princes who had gold,
 Who were filling their houses with silver.
 16 (Or, as a hidden untimely-birth, I should not be,
 As infants that never saw light.)
 17 There, the wicked cease from troubling ;
 And there, the weary are at rest.
 18 The chained repose together ;
 They hear not the taskmaster's voice.
 19 The small and great are there ;
 And the slave is free from his Lord. . . .

—for otherwise he might have had rest in the grave, along with the grandees of the earth, who [when surprised by death] were only building their own tombs, and hoarding wealth, or [he could wish] he had never existed at all ; at least, in the grave, there is no oppression, no fatigue, no cruelty, no difference of rank, and no slavery.

- VII. 1.—Hath not man a soldiership to serve upon earth ?
 And are not his days as the days of the hireling ?
 2 [He is] as the slave [that] gaspeth for the shade ;
 And as the hireling [that] longeth for his wages.
 3 So have I had to inherit months of vanity,
 And nights of weariness are apportioned me.
 4 If I have lain down, then have I said,
 When shall I arise and the evening flee away ?
 And I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawn. . . .

He had inherited the hard lot of a soldier who must serve his time, or of a bondsman ; and, like them, might certainly long for the termination of his toil, or for some respite,—
 — but even at night he had no rest,—

- XIX.—21 Have pity on me, have pity on me, ye my friends,
 For the hand of God hath stricken me.
 22 Why do ye persecute me as God ?
 And [why] not be satisfied with my flesh ?
 23 (O that my verse might now be engraven !
 O that it might be inscribed in the book !
 24 With a pen of iron and [with] lead,
 That it might be carved in the rock for ever !
 25 For I know that my Vindicator liveth,
 And that later He shall stand up upon the earth ;
 26 And that after this my skin shall have been destroyed,
 In my flesh I shall see God.
 27 [Whom] that I may see, [as] mine own ;
 And that mine eyes may behold, and not [as] a foe ;
 My reins within me pine with expectation.)"

Seeing that God has so plagued him, he considers he ought to have been an object of commiseration, and not of further persecution.
 [But suddenly remembering that there is one who will vindicate his cause] he earnestly desires that the words he was about to utter might be transmitted as a lasting record to all generations ;—for he knows that he has a Vindicator—the living God himself, whom, though he die, yet shall he see, and that, in the flesh—a consummation for which he was most ardently longing.

Mr. Carey's alterations and new translations together average three to every verse. We shall now quote the notes on part of

the passage of Scripture, Mr. Carey's translation of which we have just given.

"*Might be engraven.* חָתַח (*chathav*) is evidently to be taken here in what must be its primary sense. The two other verbs with which it is in apposition—namely, חָקַק (*khakak*) and חָצַב (*khatsav*) convey the idea of *cutting out, carving, etc.*, and with the last of these חָתַח (*chathav*) is clearly, in some measure, cognate.

"חָצַב (*bassepher*), in the book. Perhaps *book* here means such leaves as are still used in the East for the purpose of recording, and upon which the writing is formed by the *incision* of some sharp instrument (חָתַח, *ichathevoun*). The expression 'in the book,' seems to refer to some particular book; perhaps that much of the Bible which was then extant, containing the records of the creation, and the history of the antediluvian world. In the Adite inscriptions found on rocks at Hasan Ghorab, and proved, as I think, by Forster to be as ancient as the period of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and deciphered by him, there is a remarkable reference to a book of importance as being the depository of sacred truths. His translation of the part to which I now refer is as follows:—'Over us presided kings far removed from baseness, and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men, and they noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Hûd (Heber), *good judgments written in a book, to be kept,*" etc., etc. I would suggest a change in the translation of this last word, *to be kept*. The word in the inscription is זֶב (*zeb*). This, Forster takes as from the Arabic root ج (za), and defines it, from Golius, to be *i.q.*, حَمَل (*khml*), 'Portandum, sustinendum, suscepit; sustulit; onus imposuit; oneravit; fecit, petiit, jussitve, ut portaret onus.' Now Castell gives also very similar meanings—Portandum, sustinendum, suscepit; sustulit; portavit. And compare with this the Chald. דָּאָבָא (*dava*) apportavit. All these meanings certainly convey the idea of something *to be carried*, something *portable* as we should say, and not something *to be kept*; and that, I take to be the true meaning of the word in this inscription, *a book that might be carried about* from place to place, and always at hand for use, and so, contradistinguished from writing upon rock. Job desires that his words might be written upon both.

"חָתַח (*guet, a pen*—in the first instance *a chisel, or graver*, but as it also signifies *a pen*, I have retained this meaning. *A graver* would not convey the whole idea intended, because of course Job means that particular sort of graver which was used for the purpose of cutting out inscriptions in stone. Here is evidence that the carving of letters, hieroglyphics, etc., was executed with tools of iron, and not necessarily entirely of bronze, as has been supposed. (See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, First Edition, iii., 249.)

"חָתַח (*gnophereth*), *lead*, not [*a pen*] of *lead*, as some take it, that metal being of course out of the question for such a purpose; nor on a *leaden tablet*, as Jerome and others after him, but rather, *lead poured*

into the cavities of the letters after they had been cut out in the rock, for the purpose of preserving the sharpness of their edges.

"How clear it is, from this wish, that Job expected that the vindication of his conduct would be after his death, and not before it; this is important in interpreting the verses that follow.

"25. ^{וַאֲנִי} (*waani*),—*For I*,—i.e., *for as regards myself*, the pronoun *I* being emphatic: whatever the creed of others may be, this at least is *my* belief, etc., etc.

"^{וְיָדַעְתִּי} (*yadagneti*), *I know*, i.e., as matter of experience, and may have known it.

"^{וְיָגוֹל} (*goeli*), *my Vindicator*,—I regret that I cannot retain here the translation of the A. V.,—*Redeemer*, for the word has become, so to speak, consecrated in this particular passage, by many sad though comforting associations: but ^{וְיָגוֹל} (*godeh*), as Lee remarks, is more properly the word for *redeemer*, in the sense of paying down a compensation price. The ^{וְיָגוֹל} (*goel*) might indeed be called upon, in the discharge of his duty as a vindicator, to pay money for the recovery of alienated estates, etc., but as this was only a part of his duty as *redresser of grievances*, the term *redeemer* is not sufficiently full to express his exact office. The principal duties attaching to the office appear to have been,—1st. To recover by purchase for the original possessor, being a kinsman, property which had become alienated by sale or mortgage, Lev. xxv. 25. 2ndly. To deliver, whether by force or by ransom, a kinsman who had been taken into captivity, or sold into bondage,—so Gen. xiv. 14—16. 3rdly. To avenge the death of a murdered kinsman,—Numb. xxxv. 12; and 4thly. To marry the widow of a deceased childless kinsman. See the book of Ruth.

"^{וְיָחַי} (*khai*), *liveth*,—I may and shall certainly die, but not so, my vindicator, he liveth, and will certainly, at some future time, stand up to avenge my cause.

"^{וְאַחֲרָי} (*akheron*) may perhaps here mean *Last*: and if so, the term is apparently applied by Job to the Vindicator with allusion to his being ^{וְיָחַי} (*khai*), for, as such he outlives all. It is worthy of observation that this term ^{וְאַחֲרָי} (*akheron*) is applied, in a very remarkable way, by God to himself, in two passages in Isaiah xlv. 6, and xlviii. 12, and both, in connexion with his calling himself the ^{וְיָגוֹל} (*goel*) the *Vindicator*, of Israel; this connexion is particularly obvious in the former instance, as it occurs in the same verse:—

'Thus saith The Eternal, the king of Israel,
And his *Vindicator*, The Eternal [the God] of hosts,—
I am First and I am Last,
And beside me there is no God.'

"If this be the meaning here, probably St. Paul quotes this passage where he says, 1 Cor. xv. 45, 'And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam [was made] a quickening spirit.' The word, however, may mean *later* in an indefinite sense; and, in the uncertainty, I have so translated it.

"*He shall stand up upon the earth*,—or *upon the dust*, meaning either the dust of the grave in particular, or the dust of the earth in general;

נָפֶשׁ (*gnaphar*) is often used in both senses in this book. *Stand up*,—to vindicate; he shall not then, as now, seem to sit still, and take no notice.

"26. *This my skin*,—perhaps, more literally, *this [thing] my skin*, for נָפֶשׁ (*zoth*) being feminine cannot strictly agree with בָּשָׂר (*gnori*), which is masculine; Job may be supposed to point to his body, and to mean,—this thing which you behold, this half-decayed worn-out thing,—my skin.

"*Shall have been destroyed*,—lit., *they*, i.e., some destructive agents or other (no matter what) *shall have destroyed*; and hence, the word may be rendered passively, of which there are not wanting innumerable examples. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the precise meaning of נָפֶשׁ (*nakaph*) to determine what sort of destruction is here intended, though I rather incline to that which is, perhaps rather too boldly, asserted in the A. V.—[worms] *destroy*; we certainly have in the Arabic נָפֶשׁ (*nakpih*) *worm-eaten*; and then compare with this, the Hebrew נָכַח (*nakav*), *to perforate*. I leave this, however, undetermined.

"*In my flesh*,—more properly, *out of*, or *from my flesh*, the flesh being the place, or the instrument of vision.

"*I shall see God*. Supply יָדַגְנֶתִי (*yadagneti*) from the preceding verse, *I know* that I shall see God. God is evidently the same being whom he calls, just before, his *Vindicator*, and who, he knows, will stand later or last upon the earth. *To see God* is evidently the great promise to, and the blessed hope of, God's people in all ages. Compare Isaiah xxxiii. 17; Matt. v. 8; John xvii. 24; 1 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 John iii. 2; and Rev. xxii. 4.

"27. אֲשֶׁר (*asher*) I take here in the sense of לֵמַגְנָן אֲשֶׁר (*lemagnan asher*), which is sufficiently usual.

"The parallelism will, I think, assist greatly in the translation of this verse, and so, I conceive that the words in apposition to each other, in the first and in the second hemistich, are אֲנִי (*ani*) *I*, and גְּנֵינִי (*gneinai*), *mine eyes*; עֵינַי (*ekhezeh*), *I may see*, and רָאוּ (*raou*) *may behold*; לִי (*li*) *as mine own* (lit., *to me*, or *for me*), and וְלֹא כִּי (*welo zar*), *and not as a foe*.

"*As mine own*,—i.e., decidedly taking my part as my *Goel* or *Vindicator*, and not allowing, as now, appearances to be against me.

"*Not as a foe*. God seems, by his silence and dealings with me, to be acting the part of an enemy against me (v. 6—13), but it will not be so then.

"*Pine with expectation*. For a similar use of צָלַח (*chaleh*) see Deut. xxviii. 32; Job xi. 20; Ps. lxix. 3; lxxxiv. 2; cxix. 81, 82; cxliii. 7; Jer. xiv. 6; Lam. iv. 17.

"בְּקִהְכִּי (*bekheki*),—*Within me*, lit., *in my bosom*; the bosom is regarded as the seat of strong desires.

"So many commentators have strongly contested that Job, in these three celebrated verses (25, 26, 27), makes no allusion whatever to the resurrection of his body, and only to a restoration to health and perhaps other temporal blessings, that I feel it will not be out of place for me to state some of the reasons by which I have been led, after much careful consideration, to adhere to the commonly received opinion, that Job here

makes a noble confession of his faith and hope respecting the resurrection of his body.

"1st. I consider that *the words speak for themselves*, and that they cannot be made to mean aught else than a hope in the resurrection of the body, without doing great violence to their plain, and literal, and grammatical sense. My translation may not express this view quite so strongly as that of the Authorized Version, but I have studiously avoided giving, in any the slightest degree, any colouring to a word which I conceived the original did not exactly bear; hence, I have not given גוֹעַל (*goel*) so specific a meaning as *Redeemer*, though undoubtedly it has that sense: I have not rendered אַחֵרֹן (*akheron*), *at the latter day*, though possibly it may have that meaning: neither have I defined the particular sort of *destruction* implied in נִקְפָּהוּ (*nikephou*), though, as I have noticed above, there is some little evidence in favour of its meaning *destruction by worms*: nor again have I made רוּחַ (*zoth*) signify *this [body]*, though possibly it might do so. The words, however, as they stand, evidently point out thus much.—Job's assurance that a Being, whom he calls both his Vindicator and also God, was living; not that he had any hope of immediate succour from that divine and living Vindicator,—his hope was respecting a future period which might be yet very remote, even when that vindicator should stand *later or last* upon the dust, either of the earth or of the dead (which of these I cannot determine), that, then, his skin and flesh (flesh is sufficiently implied by his statement in the next clause), having been destroyed by certain destructive agents (what agents is not clear, though perhaps worms), he would nevertheless, looking out from his body of flesh (רוּחַ מִיבְּסָרִי (*mibbesari*) and with his eyes (just as a person might be said to look out of his house and through his windows), see God: and his reins within him, he declares, were even now consuming with the longing desire he felt for that period to arrive when he might himself see God, not, as now, apparently against him, but, as his vindicator, decidedly taking his part, and, not as a foe, but as a friend.

"2ndly. I consider that *the preface, which ushers in these remarkable words, sufficiently indicates that the statements they contain must be of the highest importance, and such as cannot have a mere trivial or common-place meaning attached to them.* The sublimity of the language in that preface and the desire expressed by Job that the words he was about to utter might be perpetuated to the remotest generations, are certainly out of place, if those words were to imply no more than an assurance that God would shortly restore his half-destroyed body to health, and assert his innocence in opposition to his adversaries.

"After reading so magnificent an exordium, it is scarcely possible to turn to Dathe's translation of the verses in question, or that of any other commentator who cannot see here a hope of the resurrection, without being reminded of Horace's '*Parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus.*'

"3rdly. I consider that *the wish which Job repeatedly expressed that he might die, and that, as soon as possible, is utterly inconsistent with any assured hope of bodily restoration.* That such was his wish is evident from the following passages. It is implied in ch. iii. 20—22, and very positively stated in ch. vi. 8, 9:—

'O that what I ask might come ;
And that God would grant me what I long for !
Even that it would please God to crush me,
That he would let loose his hand and cut me off.'

"And again very plainly in xiv. 13 :—

'O that thou wouldest secrete me in the grave,
Wouldest hide me, till thine anger had turned away,
Wouldest appoint me a set time, and then remember me !'

"If language means anything at all, nothing can be more clear than that Job here desires, and with much earnestness prays, that God would speedily take away his life; nay more, he speaks of this as being, not only his request, but also his hope: how impossible then is it to reconcile with such a request and such a hope, the supposition of his entertaining the assurance that God would vindicate his cause, and restore to him, in this life, his flesh after it should have been destroyed! But

"4thly. This *last argument receives additional force when we consider that Job is at great pains constantly to disclaim any hope of a temporal restitution*,—a hope which his friends exhorted him to indulge, and which certain scholars, and some good men who follow in their train, are determined to make him express.

"Reference to the following passages will prove that his friends pressed him to indulge the hope of a temporal restitution. (Ch. v. 17—26; xi. 13—19, particularly verses 16 and 17.)

"How completely he disclaims the entertainment of any such hope—and that, partly on the ground of, what he supposes to be, the impossibility of a physical restoration,—is obvious from the following extracts. In his first answer to Eliphaz, and in evident allusion to the worldly hope which that friend had just set before him (v. 17—26), he replies (vi. 11—13):—

'What is my strength, that I should entertain hope ?
And what is my term, that I should prolong my desire ?
Is my strength the strength of stones ?
Is my flesh copper ?
Surely rather, there is no help for me in myself :
And substance hath been expelled out of me.'

"See the notes on these verses. Examine also the following passage with the notes upon it—xvii. 11—16 :—

'My days are passed away ;
My contrivances are broken—
The possessions of my heart.
Yet night put they for day !
And light near, out of the very darkness !
If I am to hope, the grave is my house ;
I have spread my bed in the darkness.
To corruption, I have cried, Thou art my father ;
To the worm, My mother and my sister.
Where then now is my hope ?
Ay, my hope ! Who is to see it ?
To the cells of the grave shall it descend ;
Yea, together shall we be set down on the dust.'

"The plain sense of all this is,—My former worldly expectations are

now at an end, and yet, my friends invert the true order of things; they try to darken my really bright hope, and persuade me to indulge a worldly hope when such is impossible. No; if I am to have hope, it is not with reference to this world. I already regard myself as an inmate of the grave. My true hope, however, is not extinct. No! it will go with me into the very grave itself. (But see all this more fully explained in the notes on the passage.) And now, once more, refer to xix. 10 :—

‘God hath ruined me on every side, and I am going;
And my hope hath he pulled up like a tree.’

“Could Job, I would ask, have spoken more fully, or more forcibly, or more to the point, than he has done in these passages just quoted, to make it as evident as possible that he utterly disavowed the entertainment of any expectation of a restoration in the flesh, or of any other such worldly hope as his friends pressed upon his attention? And if so, what must we say to the inconsistency of his so suddenly, and in such sublime language, asserting the very contrary, if indeed, the verses before us must bear the meaning which some commentators have determined to give to them? No! Job is consistent throughout. He feels that he cannot, and he will not, cherish any such hope, and he repeatedly says so; but at the same time he nobly proclaims what and where his hope is, even in God, whom, at some future time, and after his body shall have been utterly destroyed, he shall behold as his friend; and that, in his own flesh, and with his own eyes.

5thly. I urge as a further argument that,—*not only does Job repeatedly disclaim, as we have just seen, a worldly hope, but he has in the fourteenth chapter, decisively declared his real hope to be,—a hope full of life and immortality, and, as I believe, a hope in the resurrection.* This latter, however, I do not press. It is sufficient for my purpose to shew that he is speaking of a hope after death. I again refer, then, to chap. xiv. In the thirteenth verse Job prays that God would secrete him in the grave till his anger had turned away; and then the question suddenly suggests itself to Job,—But does man really exist after death? This question he most unhesitatingly answers in the affirmative, and, at the same time, very beautifully and feelingly describes the full assurance of hope which he entertained respecting himself on that important subject. He says (ver. 14) :—

‘But if a man die, shall he live?
All the days of my turn of soldiership will I wait,
Until my renovation come.
Thou shalt summon, and I will answer thee;
After the work of thine hands wilt thou hanker.
Though now thou numberest my steps,
Thou wilt not keep watch over my sin;
Though my transgression is sealed up in a bag,
Thou wilt smear over mine iniquity.’

“See the Notes on this passage; and see also xvii. 15, 16. Why then, should it be thought a thing incredible that Job should express a somewhat similar hope in xix. 25—27?

"6thly. And then, after all, the opinion I am here combating,—that *Job here entertains only a hope of temporal restoration, goes very much upon the supposition that he must have been ignorant of a future state of rewards and punishments*; for if not, why contend so strenuously against the most obvious, and certainly the most literal sense of this passage? I cannot, however, see upon what grounds such a supposition can be made to rest. On the contrary, Job's great piety, his knowledge of God, and, more than probably, his knowledge of the first great promise, and of the prophecy of Enoch respecting the future coming of the Lord to judgment; and then the examples and conduct of such men as Abraham, and Isaac, and perhaps Jacob, who declared plainly that they were strangers and pilgrims here, and that they looked for a better country and for the city which hath foundations; and then his own oft-repeated declarations that God did not make any particular distinction between the righteous and the wicked, so far as temporal blessings are concerned (see ix. 22—24), nay, rather, that often the ungodly prosper most (xii. 6),—all these circumstances put together go far to establish that, so far from Job's being ignorant of a future state, he must have known that there was such a state—a state in which God would deal with the righteous and the wicked according to rules of justice, rewarding or punishing each according as their deeds had been.

"7thly. And then, lastly, we have the fact that a remarkable inscription has been found at Hasn Ghorab in Arabia, carved upon the surface of the solid rock, by that most ancient of the Arab tribes, the Adites, the immediate descendants of Aws or Uz; and that that inscription, lately deciphered by Mr. Forster, and supposed by him to be coeval with the time of the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt, conveys to us *the imperishable record of the faith of that very ancient tribe in the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting*. The part of the inscription which contains this confession of the faith of an ancient people is as follows, according to Mr. Forster's translation:—

'Over us presided kings far removed from baseness,
And stern chaatisers of reprobate and wicked men:
And they noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heber, good judgments,
written in a book, to be kept:
And we believed in miracles, in the resurrection, in the return into the nostrils
of the breath of life.'

"On a subject so interesting I trust it may not be out of place to give also another and more literal translation of Mr. Forster's of the last line:—

'And we proclaimed our belief in mysteries: in the miracle-mystery, in the resurrection-mystery, in the nostril-mystery.'

"In the original, as deciphered by Mr. Forster, it reads thus:—

'Wa ran sharkab oo wa oo darkab oo wa oo mesharkab oo wa oo menarkab.'

"The alliteration of the words and the rhyming of the terminations are too remarkable to escape notice. Mr. Forster, whilst struck with the rhyming, was convinced that those singular terminations must have been intended to convey some sense, though they had been left unnoticed in

the Arabic translation furnished by Schultens; and accordingly, on turning to Golius, he found that the **خبا** (*khaba*) signified *occultavit, occultatus, occultusque fuit; latuit*; and its derivative **خب** (*khab*) *res occulta et abscondita* . . . ; in other words, *a mystery*. I may add, in corroboration of the correctness of this view, that the word has the same meaning in the Hebrew, and Chaldee, and also in the Ethiopic, in which particularly it is used to signify *mysterium*, as in 1 Cor. xiii. 2; and not altogether foreign from this is the Syriac meaning, *thick darkness*.

"I am inclined to differ from Mr. Forster in his rendering of the word **𐤒𐤓𐤕** (*shark*), which he translates [*our*] *belief*, and takes from **𐤒𐤓𐤕** (*shrk*), and which he defines from Golius to be, *Socios consortesque addidit Deo*; atque ita *credidit in Deum* (*he added fellows to God, and so he believeth in God*); in other words, *in the Trinity*, as Mr. Forster thinks; but he has evidently mistaken the meaning of the word. Castell says of it:—*'Socios, consortes addidit Deo; atque ita perversè credidit in Deum (hereticus fuit et infidelis),'* i.e., *he added fellows to God, and so he believed wrongfully concerning God (was a heretic and unbeliever)*. The fact is, the general sense of the word as given by Castell is:—*Socius, consors fuit, consortium inivit, communicio, consortium*; *he was an ally, a consort, went into partnership, communion, fellowship*. And this I take to be its true meaning in this place:—*We proclaimed [our] fellowship in mysteries*; in other words, that we were of one communion in the partaking in the hope of certain mysteries—mysteries which are afterwards explained.

"The word **𐤒𐤓𐤕** (*dark*) Mr. Forster takes from **𐤒𐤓𐤕** (*drk*), and defines from Golius to be, *Reparavit, resarcivit, restauravit*; and hence **𐤒𐤓𐤕** (*darkf*), *Comprehensiva potentia*, which he makes to mean *miraculous power*; but Castell gives it, *Comprehensiva potentia animæ*,—i.e., *comprehensive* (as applied to the power of mind or soul). It appeared to me at first that the more obvious signification, derived from the root, is *restoration* or *restitution*, and that is the meaning which I originally gave it here, referring it to what St. Peter calls '*the restitution of all things*'—a doctrine certainly closely connected with that of the resurrection, and yet sufficiently distinct from it. Further consideration, however, has led me to propose another rendering. In addition to the three meanings given above—*Reparavit, resarcivit, and restauravit*, Castell adds also *comprehendit* and *compensavit*. Now, put these several ideas together, and we have the general sense of *laying hold of, and making compensation, and mending, and restoring*; in short, as I conceive, all that is included in the doctrine of the *Atonement*; and if so, we have indeed here the **𐤒𐤓𐤕** (*derek gnolam*), '*the old way*.' The translation, then, which I would propose is as follows:—

'And we proclaimed [*our*] fellowship-in-mysteries: in the amendment-mystery, in the resurrection-mystery, in the nostril-mystery.'

"Here, then, we have the creed, graven with a pen of iron, and carved in the rock for ever, of a people who thus proclaimed it perhaps even

before the days of Job himself; and, from this imperishable record, we learn that men, whose fathers had conversed with the venerable Noah and the other survivors of the deluge, professed their belief in '*the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.*' The depth of their sculpture in the marble at Hasn Ghorab of itself attests the heartiness of their AMEN to these all-important articles of faith.

"I may now bring this long note to a conclusion, by briefly recapitulating the arguments which I have offered, in favour of the view that Job in this celebrated passage does express his hope in the future resurrection of his body, and against the view which supposes him to refer simply to a temporal restoration. If the words themselves of Job are to be taken in their literal and grammatical meaning, and if the preface which ushers them in is to be regarded with that admiration which its grandeur and sublimity demand, and not as a piece of ridiculous and misplaced bombast;—if we are to believe that the Patriarch spoke honestly, and was not playing a part of the deepest duplicity, when he frequently declared how welcome death would be, and even prayed that it might speedily come; and when he often positively disclaimed all idea of entertaining any such, as he conceived, preposterous hope as that of a restoration in this life; and when, further, he unequivocally asserted that his hope was beyond the grave;—and if we are to believe further, from the general tenour of his argument throughout, that he could not be ignorant of a future state of rewards and punishments;—and if, moreover, we find that a people, coeval at least with the time of the Patriarch, have transmitted to us, with a pen of iron on the surface of the hard rock, their faith in the resurrection and life everlasting—then, we have in all this, as I think, an amount of cumulative evidence to establish the commonly-received, though stoutly-impugned opinion, that Job had the fullest confidence that, though he should return to dust, yet he should rise again, and in his flesh see One who was at once his Vindicator and his God.

"I must, in closing, just notice an argument which has been much pressed against the view which I am maintaining, and as it is an argument which some have thought very conclusive against it, it requires a distinct answer. It is,—*that if Job is really here referring to the resurrection of the body, it is remarkable that none of the speakers afterwards make any comment upon it, or in any way advert to it.* I briefly reply, that this silence on the part of the speakers afterwards is perfectly natural. Job's appeal to a period of time indefinitely far off, and to another state of existence, when his character would be vindicated and cleared of the aspersions now cast upon it, however comforting to his own mind, could of course be no proof of his innocence, and, as such, could not be accepted as an argument by his adversaries. An appeal of this kind is, in the present day, common enough, especially in cases where persons are unable to adduce any substantial proof to back their assertions of innocence. What is more common, for instance, than for them, under such circumstances, to say,—'Well, the day of judgment will decide; it will be seen then that I am blameless in this matter?' Now, however consoling such an appeal may be to the individual making it, if it be

sincere, yet nobody would think of accepting it as an argument, and in a controversy it would probably be passed over, as here, without notice."

We now proceed to make some remarks on passages in Job of which we are inclined to adopt a different translation from that given by Mr. Carey.

And, first, of the phrase occurring in the second chapter of Job and at the fourth verse ; עֹר בְּעֹר וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִתֵּן יְהוָה אֶת חַיֵּינוּ trans-
lated in our English Version, "Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life." Mr. Carey gives no new translation here; but after mentioning the usual explanations given, such as *life for life*, and *like for like*, and the contrast between exchangeable articles and the life, he says; "My own view is, that the proverb contains a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* argument, thus :—*Never expect a man to part with his skin unless you supply him with another*,—an impossible condition, and therefore equivalent to, *Never expect that a man will part with his skin on any conditions whatever*; in other words, *On no terms will a man part with his life*. And then Satan draws a sort of inverse inference from this :—*Nay, more, to save his life a man will willingly part with everything else*."

Now, we never have felt satisfied with this translation, or with explanatory remarks like those just mentioned. The phrase may not have been a proverb at all, except in the mouth of Satan. Commentators have a weakness for proverbs when a passage is difficult to explain. But allowing a somewhat proverbial colour to this expression, what is the authority for using the Hebrew preposition *בְּ* as meaning *in exchange for*? We hold that this is not its meaning. It signifies various kinds of *nearness*; *close to*, *close by*, *close round*, *behind*, *round about*, *over* (in the sense of what is *close above*), as to throw *over* a wall; *between*, *among*, *through*; as to intercede or pray *among* a people; hence, *in behalf of*, where an intercessor is introduced. We find this preposition in a most important passage with which the long-doubtful passage before us has an evident connexion. At the tenth verse of the first chapter of Job we read; "Hast thou not made an hedge *about* him, and *about* his house, and *about* all that he hath on every side?" The Hebrew word here is *סָבַח*. It is used to signify the encompassing nature of the three-fold defence with which God had surrounded Job. First, there was a hedge (and observe that the original idea of the Hebrew word to hedge, is to *interweave*, to knit together, so as to make a screen, protection, or defence) *around Job himself*; then, another and exterior hedge or fence, *around his house*; and, lastly, a third fence or protection, *around all that he possessed*. It can-

not be denied that Satan's words at Job ii. 4, 5, bear the most direct reference, and are, as far as the chief words are concerned, a repetition of the expressions and ideas of Job i. 9—11. Then, at Job x. 11, we have the same word for the process of hedging or fencing that occurs in Job i. 10;—"Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews."

Satan, alluding to the destruction, for the time, of the two outer fences, and of the property and family of Job which were contained within them, speaks of them as if they were *mere skins* or *envelopes* which Job had submissively surrendered (and all the more submissively, the vile suggestion implies, that he himself was yet at the centre and untouched); still, adds the tempter, these are only skin-deep afflictions—the man may bear them and submit; but put forth thine hand now (breaking down the last fence, that is), and *touch his bone and his flesh*, and he will curse thee to thy face. *Reach unto* is a common translation of *וַיִּשְׁמַךְ*, and is still more appropriate than *touch*, in the passage before us.

The translation of the passage which we would suggest, then, is of this nature (but it is possible to find better words in which to convey the meaning, on the one hand, or more literal renderings by which to represent the Hebrew in the other); "*Skin around skin* (meaning a succession of skins), *yea, all that the man hath around HIMSELF will he surrender; but put forth thine hand now and reach unto his bone and his flesh . . .*"

It is better to translate *וַיִּשְׁמַךְ* himself, in this place, because the *life* of Job never came into question. No proposal of exchange, either, was made to him. The idea of Satan is, that of submissively surrender, in a slavish, selfish spirit. Instead of "*around himself*," it might be better to aid in giving the full meaning of *וַיִּשְׁמַךְ*, to say, "*short of himself*." We should be glad to have the opinion of any intelligent Hebraist on the translation now given; and we beg to notice particularly the meaning of *וַיִּשְׁמַךְ* in the context, and the gradation between *successive skins* and the *bone and flesh*, as the chief grounds on which our interpretation rests.

The English translation of Job xi. 5, 6, is, "O that God would speak and open his lips against thee; and that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom that they are double to that which is! Know, therefore, that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquities deserve." Here Mr. Carey renders; "O that God had indeed spoken—and that he would open his lips with thee; and shew unto thee the hidden things of wisdom, that reality and notion are double folds, and God deceiveth thee because of thine iniquity." We would suggest the following, how-

ever, as a possible translation, and one perhaps more consistent with the context, and with the Hebrew at the same time—"And that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom—that his purpose is manifold—but know thou, that God hath caused forgetfulness to come upon thee because of thine iniquities"—(a state equivalent to *judicial blindness* or *hardening of the heart*, spoken of in Scripture, and found also, curiously enough, in Homer).

Job xii. 5, is the next passage on which we make some remarks. Without alluding to the different translations given in the Septuagint, Vulgate, German, etc., which we have not time to review at present, we give the English translation and Mr. Carey's. The former runs thus; "He that is ready to slip with his feet is as a lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease."

Mr. Carey translates in this way, and we think his rendering better than any we have yet seen; "A lantern, contemptible to the thinkings of him that is secure, is got ready for those who are of faltering foot." At the same time we are disposed to think *torch* would answer better than *lantern*; and perhaps *fixed on high* (for the word is used in the sense of *high noon*, and in that of *set up, standing firm*) would be better than *got ready*; while *footstep*, we think, is the preferable rendering of the last word in the sentence. The version we suggest would read thus; "A torch, regarded with contempt by him that is in safety, is fixed on high (or is a steady light) for those who are of hesitating footstep." The reference appears to be to the careless indifference with which a beacon-light may be regarded by one who has no need of it, and to the welcome radiance it may at the same time be shedding on the eyes of those who tread in a dangerous track, and who but for the friendly light might go astray and suffer hurt or even death.

Instead of "The Lord" Mr. Carey uses the word *Eternal*; but we do think that the original word *Jehovah* is better. Mr. Carey says that word conveys no particular idea to the English reader. But this is a reflection on English Christians and on the clergy. Surely the explanation of such words as *Jehovah* (the very sound of which, in its soft grandeur—like a whisper piercing on through time and eternity—is an argument for its being retained), is an appropriate part of pulpit instruction.

In Job iii. 7, 8, where the afflicted man hurls anathemas against the day on which he was born, the English translation gives, "Lo, let that night be solitary, let no joyful voice come therein. Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning." Now, the word translated *raise up* means rather to pull down; for it is used in the sense of to lay

bare, to demolish, to destroy. And how our translators got the word *mourning* we do not at present understand. Mr. Carey gives us what is nearer the Septuagint translation, but we cannot think well of it. He renders, "Let execrators of days note it infamous, who are prepared to provoke the crocodile."

We believe that the allusion is to the lamentations of bereaved persons, or of hired mourners, such as the mourning women mentioned by Jeremiah. The light of the day that finds them bereaved and lamenting, they regard as accursed (such, at least, is the oriental and the *pre-Christian* view), and they are ready to destroy all that reminds them of joy; rending their clothes, etc.

We are inclined to translate the passage in this manner: "Let those who execrate days, declare it (that night) accursed;—even those who are ready to destroy (or skilled in destroying) their ornaments. Head-gear (for the word means garlands also), used as the mourning women in Egypt to this day use a kerchief, with which they are provided at funerals, twisting it with both hands over the head and before the face, in apparent agony at the thought of the deceased whose bier they follow, may be alluded to here as ornamental dress. And certainly it is ornamental dress, or personal adornment, on which the passionately mourning oriental most readily fastens as hateful. Hence the shaving of the head and the casting of ashes in place of ornament upon it.

The wish of Job was, that no joyful voice—no sounds of festivities, whether by reason of births or of weddings—might be heard on that night—but rather that funeral-wailings and wild grief should mark it for their own. Such, at least, is our view of this passage.

Where the English version has the words (Job iv. 17): "Shall mortal man be more just than God? shall a man be more pure than his Maker?" Mr. Carey translates, "Shall a mortal be just with God? shall a man be pure with his Maker;" and he says of the English Version, "This translation is not incorrect as far as grammar is concerned, but the objections to it are, that no sane man would ever have supposed that he was more just and more pure than God, and so it was not necessary that any revelation should be made on the subject." We demur to this. Men often, to this day, murmur against God's dealings, and tacitly, if not openly, assert as much as if they thought they could have done better than has been done, for them or others, by Divine Providence. Yet they think they are sane. How true, how grand, how awfully sublime is the answer to such murmurs! the answer given by the midnight spirit that passed

before Eliphaz!—"Shall mortal man be more just than God? shall a man be more pure than his Maker?" Believing the value of these words to be exceeding great even in our own day, we should prefer the old version, though it were not, as it is, more accurate than the other in a grammatical point of view.

In Job v. 6 (English Version), we read: "Although affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground; yet man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward." Mr. Carey changes the structure of the sentence, connecting it immediately with the verse that follows, thus: "Though iniquity cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground, but man is born unto trouble as the sparks of the flame fly upward; yet would I seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my cause." The metrical paraphrase of this passage used by the Church of Scotland has an ingenious explanation of the words, to this effect:—

"As sparks in close succession rise,
So man, the child of woe,
Is doomed to endless cares and toils,
Through all his life below."

The Septuagint, etc., understand by the sons of the flame, *vultures, eagles*, or other birds. Now, in the first place, the word rendered *upward*, is the word *אָפּ*, to vanish away, to be covered with darkness. It occurs in Job xi. 17, where Gesenius translates it covered with darkness. Certainly the idea most attached to the word is that of fading, disappearing, as an arrow, a ship at sea, a dream, human life, etc., or that of fading away, and being covered with darkness, or lost to sight.

Whether, therefore, we understand by the *sons of the flame* (or of lightning), the *lightnings* of heaven themselves, or the *sparks* that rise from rapidly burning fuel, the meaning appears to be that man is born to trouble (or exhaustion) as certainly and as inevitably as the sparks (if we so translate the expression), or, as the flashes of lightning are born^b—to vanish.

We have never seen the logical relation of the statement in the 6th verse to that in the 7th very satisfactorily set forth. May the indirect reference not be to man's being formed of the dust of the ground, to the pristine glory of his nature, and to his rapid transition from innocence to misery; and may not the assertion in the 6th verse be regarded as a denial of the great oriental heresy as to the essential evil of matter? while the argument of the verses might thus be explained (and be in pre-

^b From *נָבָה*, to emerge, rather than from *נָבָה*, to soar.

cise accordance with the argument in the last verses of the 4th chapter, which are separated by a parenthesis (v. 1—5), from the very verses we are now explaining), "Man's iniquity and sorrow are not to be charged against his Maker, who made him out of the dust of the ground; and yet man is truly the child of sorrow." We might render the passage somewhat in this manner; "Though iniquity doth not proceed from the dust, nor sorrow grow out of the ground; yet man is born to sorrow as the lightnings flash (out of the darkness) to fade (in the darkness again)."

The English version of Job ix. 30, 31, is, "If I wash myself with snow water, and make my hands never so clean; yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes shall abhor me." Mr. Carey translates, "If I had washed myself in the very snow, and had cleaned my hands with soap; then wouldst thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes would abhor me." In a note, Mr. Carey adds, "It is generally supposed, I know not how far correctly, that snow has greater detergent properties than ordinary water." Now we are sorry to accuse one unjustly, but here we must accuse our author of culpable ignorance of domestic affairs. There is a kind of water called *hard* and another called *soft*; and, whatever terms may be used instead of these in any part of the British isles, it is notorious that the more water is exposed to the air, the softer it becomes. It is supposed that the mineral salts which cause its hardness subside. Rain-water and snow-water are much more detergent than what is called *hard* water, or water with mineral salts in it. For the preparation of "the cup that cheers but not inebriates," the less of this hardness the water has, the better; and for all purposes of ablution and washing of clothes, soft water is indispensable.

We think the English Version which translates *snow-water* is preferable, and while "never so clean" is too conversational and vulgar for the place in which it occurs, it seems much nearer the meaning than Mr. Carey's rendering. The word he translates "soap" is used in Scripture for *pureness, clearness*. And in another part of Job (xxii. 30), it is used for *pureness* of hands (English Version), while Mr. Carey himself translates it there, "cleanness of hands." We account it equivalent to another phrase used by the Psalmist, when he speaks of "washing the hands in innocence."

The translation, "mine own clothes would abhor me," is not the only translation warranted by the Hebrew. Mr. Carey does not mention the other reading, namely, of רַחֵם for רַחֵם, from which we might render "my most intimate friends."

Our version of the passage would be after this manner: "Were I to wash myself with snow water and cleanse my hands in innocence; yet wouldst thou plunge me in the ditch, and my most intimate friends would abhor me."

The contrast runs between external purification and being plunged in a ditch, on the one hand; and between personal innocence and the abhorrence given to the guilty on the other.

In the last place, we may refer to Mr. Carey's note, given above (at page 329), in which he prefers Vindicator to Redeemer as the translation of *קָדַשׁ*. Every explanation in that note is an argument against the term preferred by Mr. Carey. Redeemer is a word fuller of meaning than Vindicator. Ask any humble Christian to which word he attaches the fullest meaning. Or take Mr. Carey's classification, under four heads, of the principal duties required of the *Goel*: 1, "To recover by purchase the lost possession of a kinsman;"—is not that what our Redeemer has done? 2, "To deliver a kinsman from bondage or captivity,"—do we not use redeem and Redeemer in that very sense? 3, "To avenge the death of a murdered kinsman,"—do not the ideas of an Avenger and a Redeemer in one, correspond to the words of the prophets and the facts of the Gospel history? Isaiah describes the Conqueror coming from Edom, with dyed garments, as declaring, "The day of vengeance is in mine heart, and the year of my redeemed is come." And if the 4th, which refers to the marriage of the widow of a deceased and childless kinsman seems less appropriate, as typical of Christ; yet in the New Testament is not the union of the purified soul with Christ, after the death of the old nature, and, still more comprehensively, the representation of the Church as the Bride of Christ, the Great Redeemer, sufficient to warrant us in calling this, too, a part of the Redeemer's redeeming work? But we must now part with Mr. Carey on the best of terms, and give his great and laborious work the tribute of our hearty admiration.

A new translation of Job, or of any other book of Scripture, if that translation were to be adopted wherever the English language is spoken, would require a universal approbation from scholars and from the people. Every new translation and every faithful effort to penetrate to the exact and full meaning even of a single passage, is a step in that direction. But much calm and friendly consideration of different views is required. An education in the true theory of evidence, and in the quick-sighted appreciation of what constitutes evidence, is absolutely required. But how often do we find able scholars and men of

consummate taste woefully ignorant of what constitutes evidence, and incapable of separating a fancy, a probability, or a possibility from one another, or from a fact that is proved!

Our English Version of the Scriptures is, in many parts, very smooth and musical. No needless roughness or want of rhythm should be tolerated in new translations. Not only the truest words, but the fittest also, in point of taste, should represent in our language the words of inspiration.

There would require also to be a common understanding among scholars as to words used not in one only, but in various books of Scripture. For, to change a term even for the better, in one book, may be to put it out of its proper harmony with another passage where it also occurs.

They who, like our author, give themselves to the devout and faithful study and illustration of the Book of God, have many a reward of which the world knows nothing. Horne, Bishop of Norwich, thus beautifully describes the feelings with which he used to betake himself to his *Commentary on the Psalms* :—

“And now could the author flatter himself that any one would take half the pleasure in reading the following exposition which he hath taken in writing it, he would not fear the loss of his labour. The employment detached him from the bustle and hurry of life, the din of politics, and the noise of folly; vanity and vexation flew away for a season, care and disquietude came not near his dwelling. He arose fresh as the morning to his task; the silence of the night invited him to pursue it; and he can truly say that food and rest were not preferred before it. Every Psalm improved intimately upon his acquaintance with it, and no one gave him uneasiness but the last; for then he grieved that his work was done. Happier hours than those which have been spent on these meditations on the Songs of Sion, he never expects to see in this world. Very pleasantly did they pass, and moved smoothly and swiftly along; for, when thus engaged, he counted no time. They are gone, but have left a relish and a fragrance upon the mind, and the remembrance of them is sweet.”

J. L. B.

ANALECTA SYRIACA.*

A WORK has been recently published under the above title, consisting of a series of selections from the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. The editor, Dr. A. P. de Lagarde, has already distinguished himself by his publications of ancient documents in ecclesiastical literature, and is well known as a philologist whose attainments are both extensive and accurate. In common with others his attention was directed to the fine collection above referred to, and he visited this country for the purpose of examining it and making extracts. One result of his labours is now before us in the form of an elegantly printed volume of somewhat more than two hundred pages. As this volume has only been printed in a very limited impression, is almost entirely without notes, and wholly without translations, and is at the same time one of considerable interest, although in a language known to comparatively few, we propose to give a short account of its contents. We shall also add a few translations of passages which come within the scope of this Journal, and which appear to be worthy of especial attention.

The prolegomena^b mainly consist of verbal criticisms. The Syriac text may be divided into two parts: first, the series of extracts from Christian writers; and, secondly, those from ancient heathen authors. The Christian writers are Sixtus or Xystus, bishop of Rome, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Julius bishop of Rome, Hippolytus, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and George an Arabian bishop. The second class comprises Aristotle, Socrates, Isocrates, Plutarch, Pythagoras, Diocles, and an anonymous life of Alexander the Great. Our concern will be chiefly with the former.

1. *Sixtus* or *Xystus*. Under the name of this person a work was published in 1725, by Siber at Leipsic.^c In the opinion of its editor it was composed by Sixtus the Second, who was elected to the Roman see in A.D. 257. Subsequent critics, however, have laboured to shew that it was not only a spurious work, but the composition of a heathen.^d As we have not the volume at hand we are unable to say, but we suppose it bears a close resemblance to that from which extracts are here printed. These

* P. Lagardii *Analecta Syriaca*. M.DCCC.LVIII. Lipsiæ formis suis excudbat, B. G. Teubnerus. Exemplaria facta cxv. Londini: prostat apud Williams et Norgate.

^b pp. 3—20.

^c *Sixti II. Enchiridion*. U. G. Siber: Lipsiæ, 1725. This work is a series of 460 moral Apophthegms, translated by Rufinus.

^d Compare also Jerome on Ezekiel, ch. xviii., and elsewhere; and Augustine, *Retract.*, lib. ii., cap. 43. Other spurious writings are extant, under the same name.

are certainly the work of a Christian author, and are claimed by Dr. de Lagarde for Sixtus I., who became bishop of Rome in A.D. 116. If this editor's view be correct, and he refers to Origen in support of it, we have here remains of the earliest Christian antiquity, and which come between those of Ignatius and Polycarp.* A careful examination of the three pieces printed has satisfied us of their high antiquity, but we are by no means prepared to endorse the judgment of the editor. The writer was a man of a meditative and philosophical turn, and his precepts and maxims have a peculiarly ethical and philosophical character. Sometimes the expressions employed remind us of the mystical writers of the later ages, and at other times we are reminded still more forcibly of the writers of the later stoical school. It would be easy to illustrate these observations by examples, but as the editor wishes to reserve for himself this particular portion of his book, we shall make no extracts.† At the same time, we do not admit his claim to be the discoverer of these remains, which were examined by the writer of this several years ago.‡ We will only remark further, that Sixtus, whoever he was, seems to have been far removed from ritualistic tendencies, possessed and was well acquainted with the whole collection of the sacred books, and lived at a time when men had learned to philosophize and make nice distinctions. It may be well to add, that a *Treatise on the Love of God* is among the works recorded to have been translated from Greek into Syriac; and, that the Syriac of the remains before us is remarkably pure, and free from Greek words, as compared with compositions of known recent date.

Let us come, then, to Gregory of Neocæsarea, or Thaumaturgus, who flourished in the middle of the third century. Like many others of early date, only a small portion of his works have come down to us, and others, not his own, have been attributed to him. The remains here published are partly new to us, and partly consist of spurious, or at least doubtful compositions. The first is a very short extract from a discourse to Gajanus on the soul, to this effect: "Since, therefore, the soul is simple, and does not consist of diverse parts, it is neither

* In the opinion of Dr. de Lagarde, Sixtus was probably adisciple of the apostle James, which is, however, very unlikely, as James is said to have suffered while the temple was yet standing.

† A single instance may seem to explain what we mean by the philosophical and mystical tendencies of the writer. "Whenever thou prayest, and thy prayer is received before God, know and see that thou receivest a great gift from God. For every man who is like God (or worthy of God), is a God among men. Now there is a God, and there is a Son to God, in one equality with the Spirit of Holiness."

‡ It does not appear that the editor has consulted all the manuscripts containing remains of compositions ascribed to this author.

composite nor dissoluble, and therefore neither corruptible nor mortal." The second is on the faith in sections, and is regarded as not genuine.⁴ The next is a discourse or tract to Philagrius on the co-essential. The fourth is a treatise on the impassibility or passibility of God, and is a discussion or dialogue with a certain Theopompous, who seems to have been affected with the heresy of the Patripassians, who held that God the Father must have suffered on the cross. This is the longest of the pieces, and is complete. It is of considerable interest, and has been copied from a manuscript written as far back as A.D. 562. Following this are a few fragments from a discourse upon the Resurrection, from a discourse upon the Faith;⁵ from another upon the Incarnation and Faith; and from discussions upon the nature of Christ.

After Gregory comes Julius of Rome, elected A.D. 337, represented by seven or eight extracts.⁶ First, from an epistle to Dionysius⁷ against Paul of Samosata: secondly, from an epistle to Prosidicus on the Trinity: thirdly, an extract on the divinity of Christ: fourthly, from an encyclical epistle on the same subject: fifthly, an extract upon the Advent of God: sixthly, from a discourse on the Incarnation: seventhly, from a discourse against such as oppose the doctrine of the Incarnation: eighthly, on the unity of Christ, and of the union of his composite body with his divinity. All these extracts belong to the great Arian controversies of the time, and as such are interesting, but present no points requiring special observation.

We, therefore, pass on to Hippolytus, whose name has of late years come very prominently before the public, and who belongs to the first quarter of the third century of the Christian era.⁸ The extracts are eight in number, and with the exception of the canons and a single passage on the Epiphany,⁹ are all the remains of this writer which exist in the collection at the British Museum, so far as we are aware. The first is a selection of passages from the exposition of the prophet Daniel.¹⁰ As this is not of great extent, and is a curious specimen of the mode of interpreting that prophet at a comparatively early period, a rough version of the whole of it is here presented to the reader.

⁴ The Greek title is *ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις*, and it is extant in Latin.

⁵ Extant in Latin and not genuine.

⁶ It is the intention of the editor to publish all that remains of Julius, in Greek. At the same time we hope he will add the Syriac fragments he has here omitted.

⁷ Mentioned by Gennadius as an epistle to Dionysius of Corinth.

⁸ The editor promises to publish an edition of all the Greek remains of Hippolytus.

⁹ Or more properly on the first Sunday in Epiphany.

¹⁰ Photius mentions this in his *Bibliotheca Cod.* 202. A manuscript of part of it, at least, is or was extant at Rome, according to Mabillon.

"Select Sentences from the Book of the Holy Hippolytus, the Exposition of Daniel the Prophet, taken as by force only.

"This doctor^p says of Nebuchadnezzar, that he reigned twenty-five years; eighteen before he saw the dream of the tree (Dan. iv. 10, etc.), and seven after the vision, and these were beside the time that he was driven out, seven times as it is written concerning him. Now he says, these seven times were either seven years, or seven changes of the year of three months each; I mean harvest and winter, and autumn and spring. Now of Evilmerodach the son of Nebuchadnezzar, he says, that he reigned twelve years after his father, and then Belteshazzar after him four years.

"And of the vision of the beasts which Daniel saw (Dan. vii. 1, etc.), he says, that the first beast, which was like a lion, was the kingdom of the Chaldeans; the second, which was like a bear, was the kingdom of the Persians, and the three ribs which were in its mouth, were the Medes, and Babylonians, and Assyrians: and this continued two hundred and thirty years; or, according to other writers, two hundred and forty-five years, until the reign of Alexander the Macedonian, king of the Greeks, which was the third beast, like a leopard.

"Now, when it is said that the beast had four wings, this is, that after the death of Alexander, his kingdom was divided to four chiefs, who were of his family, and the sons of his bringing up:^q I mean Seleucus, and Demetrius, and Philip, and Ptolemy. And after the kingdom of the Greeks had continued three hundred years; after it, the kingdom of the Romans prevailed, which was the fourth beast, which was very much more terrible, and hard as iron. And the ten horns which were upon its head, he says, were ten kings who were to arise in it at the same time. And the little horn, again, which sprang up among them afterwards, before which three of the ten were rooted out, this is Antichrist. And the three which were rooted out before it, are the king of Egypt, and the king of Cush, and the king of Libya. These three kings he slays, but the remaining seven he reduces to subjection. Now his birth is of the tribe of Dan.^r

"And again, he speaks thus of those things which were in

^p The copyist frequently calls Hippolytus Doctor, in accordance with Syriac usage. The closing words of the title clearly mean that these extracts are fragmentary and not consecutive: we have, therefore, put them as separate paragraphs. The translation is very nearly literal. We have followed the usual English spelling of the proper names.

^q Or, adopted Sons.

^r In his opinion, therefore, Antichrist was to be a Jew. The reasons why Antichrist was expected from Dan were chiefly derived from Gen. xlix. 17, where Dan is called a serpent; and Rev. vii., where the name of Dan is omitted. This opinion prevailed both in the East and in the West.

another vision:—The ram which appeared was Darius the Persian king, and the strong he goat, Alexander, king of the Greeks (Dan. viii. 1, etc.), and his high horn was broken off, and four came up instead of it; this is, that after his death his kingdom was divided to four kings, as is said above. And this, that from one of them proceeded one horn, which grew great and reached to heaven, is for the hosts of Antiochus Epiphanes. He conquered Egypt, and went up to Jerusalem in the time of the Maccabees; and judged and slew many of the Jews, and abolished the sacrifice and oblation, and did all those things which are written by the prophet, one thousand three hundred days, three years and a half. And afterwards arose Judas Maccabeus, and warred with the army of the host of Antiochus, and slew many of them, and drove them from his land, and took the city of Jerusalem, and purified the temple, and consecrated the holy^{*} (things and places) as before, as it is written in the book of Maccabees. And of these things thus (he speaks).

“Now concerning the vision of the weeks (Dan. ix. 24, etc.), the doctor speaks in this way—for the angel divided these seventy weeks into three times. And first, he says, thus: to Messiah the governor, seven weeks, which are forty-nine years. Now Daniel saw this vision in the twenty-first year of the captivity; when, therefore, these forty-nine are added to the twenty-one, they make up the seventy years which Jeremiah said the people were in Babylon. And here, Joshua the son of Jozedec, the high priest, who went up at the head of the people from Babylon, is called Messiah the governor. And afterwards, the sixty-two weeks, which made four hundred and thirty-four years. Now, after the people returned from Babylon, there were four hundred and thirty-four years to the coming of the Messiah.[†] Then, indeed, should come Messiah, who was everlasting righteousness. And Messiah, the holy of holies, both forgave sins and put away the guilt of believers, and accomplished the visions and the prophets. And then, when the times were determined and ceased, and the covenant was appointed unto many, the last week should come, which was left, after the Gospel was preached in all the world, and the end cometh, wherein cometh Elias and Enoch. In the middle of this (week) the Pollution of desolation, Antichrist appears, who announces desolation to the world. When he cometh, the sacrifice and drink-offering, that which is now offered in the churches, shall be taken away.”

^{*} Literally “renewed the holies.”

[†] This agrees with the usual computation. Hippolytus manifestly believed without suspicion, the early origin and really prophetic character of the Book of Daniel.

[‡] The word rendered sacrifice is not necessarily an offering for sin; if, however, as

"And again, concerning those things which were in another vision, he thus speaks: (Dan. xi. 1. etc.) These three kings, who should arise in Persia, and the fourth, who should enrich himself with great wealth, are these: Darius, who was after Cyrus, and Artaxerxes, and Ahasuerus,* and the fourth, Darius the latter." And afterwards, he says, shall arise a mighty king, and shall enter the borders of the kings of Egypt. This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who compelled the Jews to transgress the law, and to sacrifice and eat swine's flesh. Against him fought Mattathias and his sons, the Maccabees,† and they thrust out his hosts from their borders, as is said above; and they were helped with a little help.

"And again, concerning the daughter of the king of Egypt, (see Dan. xi. 6), he says, that she came with her two sons, Alexander and Ptolemy Philometor, to make covenants of peace with Antiochus, king of Syria. And when she came to Beishan, there she was slain, because he that was conducting her delivered her up." And afterwards Ptolemy reigned in Egypt, and came and made war with Antiochus, and when he prevailed over him, and Antiochus fled and came to Antioch, Ptolemy took all their arms, and their gold, and their silver, and their idols, and carried them to Egypt. And afterwards, Antiochus returned and assembled a great army, and made war again with the king of Egypt, and overcame him. And from thence he went up to Jerusalem, and wasted and overthrew whatever he pleased, and compelled the Jews to defile themselves, as is said above; and afterwards he went to Persia, and there he died.

"And again; after these things, there arose, as king, a man whose name was Alexander: and he held the kingdom of Syria, and sent to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and said to him—"Give me Cleopatra, thy daughter, to wife." And Ptolemy took his daughter, and came to the city of Ptolemais, which is Accho, and gave her to Alexander as wife. And, when he saw the realm and land of Alexander, and coveted it, he plotted against him, and spake with him deceitfully at one table (*compare* Dan. xi. 27), as it is written, and devised evil against him. And he returned to Egypt, and gathered a great army, and came and fell upon the land of Syria, when Alexander was himself gone to Cilicia,

it seems, the Eucharist is meant by the "sacrifice," and we do not see what else can be intended, it is a curious example of the word with that reference, at so early a period.

* Probably the same as Xerxes.

† Or, Darius the second.

‡ The reader will notice the repeated allusions to the Book of Maccabees, although no opinion is expressed as to its canonical authority.

§ Or, "betrayed her." *Beishan* is Bethshean or Scythopolis.

and his wife Cleopatra was left at Accho. And Ptolemy came and took away his daughter, and gave her to Demetrius. And when Alexander heard these things, he came and made war with Ptolemy and Demetrius; but when his army was not able to withstand them, he fled to the king of the Arabians, and was slain there. And Ptolemy took the government, and put on the crown of Egypt and of Syria; and after three days he died. And the Scripture was fulfilled which said—‘and in a few days he shall be broken,’ and ‘they shall not give to him the glory of the kingdom’ (*comp.* Dan. xi. 20, 21.)

And again, concerning this which is written—“And a daring king shall arise, and shall be lifted up above every god, shall be great, and shall speak great things, and shall prosper” (*comp.* Dan. xi. 36); the doctor saith, this is Antichrist. He layeth waste many lands and cities, Egypt, for example, and Cush, and the land of Libya: and he shall be exalted above every god and deity; “thinking of himself that he is god.”^a And he will build Jerusalem and the temple, and gather the people of Israel from all lands, and reign over them, and they shall worship him as God, proclaiming that he is the Messiah. He will slay the two witnesses and ambassadors of the Messiah, who preach his coming from heaven—that is, Enoch and Elias, as is said in another prophet.^a And he will give to the two witnesses to prophecy twelve hundred and sixty days, arrayed in sackcloth: as also Daniel says, “He shall appoint a covenant to many one week, and it shall be in the middle of the week, the sacrifice and the drink offering will be taken away (Dan. xi. 27). That one week being divided into two times, these two witnesses will preach three years and a half; but Antichrist, the other part of the week, will make war with the saints, and waste and destroy all the people of the Lord, in order that that may be fulfilled also, which is said, ‘and they shall give the abomination of desolation, about^b a thousand, two hundred and ninety days:’ and afterwards, says the prophet, ‘Blessed is he that endureth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days’ (Dan. xii. 12). Daniel says, therefore, that two abominations should come: one of corruption, and one of desolation.

^a 2 Thess. ii, 4. The word rendered deity agrees with the Greek *σείβασμα*—an object of reverence and worship.

^a *Comp.* Rev. xi. 1—14; and Mal. iv. 5. No prediction scriptural of Enoch's second coming occurs to us; but his return along with Elijah was very generally expected both in the east and in the west. See quotations from Joannes Darenis (end of fifth century) and others, in *Euoplia Fid. Cathol.*, p. 398, etc., ed. F. Nairon; Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. voc. *ἀντιχρίστος*; *Sermones* Hugon Pratens., iii.; *Methodii Revelationes*, s. fin; and many other evidences of this opinion.

^b Or, “as it were,” the expression is vague.

That of corruption is Antiochus, and that of desolation is Antichrist; and the one, he says, should continue thirteen hundred days, three years and a half; but the latter twelve hundred and ninety days. 'Blessed is he that endureth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred thirty and five days.' For when the abomination cometh and warreth with the saints, every one that survives its days, and shall draw near before him the other forty-five days, will attain to the coming of the Messiah and the kingdom of heaven.

"And again, on this he says; 'For a time, times, and half a time' (Dan. xii. 7), he means three years and a half, which are the time of the dominion of Antichrist. For he calls a year a time, but two years and a half, times, and half a year, half a time. These are the twelve hundred and ninety days, which Daniel mentioned before, and when the forty-five others of the end of the rebellion shall be added to these, then shall the Judge of judges be revealed from heaven, and the resurrection shall be, and the kingdom of heaven shall be given to them that are worthy."

Those things of holy Hippolytus which are from the exposition of Daniel, the prophet, end.

It is with much pleasure that we give the preceding extracts in an English dress, and bring them for the first time before the notice of Bible readers; for although their existence was known some years since by a few individuals, their publication by Dr. de Lagarde affords us a favourable opportunity of making them more generally accessible. The fragments in question are but a small portion of many precious relics of ancient expositions of scripture and other writings, contained in the volume from which they have been taken, and which is entitled "Plerophoria, or defence of the orthodox and apostolical faith," i.e., the faith received in the council of Chalcedon. Among the writers quoted in this volume are, Dionysius of Alexandria, Julius of Rome, Peter of Alexandria, Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Epiphanius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Alexander of Alexandria, Basil, Chrysostom, Origen, Cyril, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Jacob of Edessa, John of Asia, Zacharias the church historian, George the Arabian, and many more. The extract above given, is one, the criticism of which we leave to others, and we are quite sure it will be received with interest by the students of prophetic interpretation. As an appropriate supplement to it, we will give another extract from the same manuscript volume, and also printed by Dr. de Lagarde. It will be found at p. 115 of his book, in a

letter from George, an Arabian bishop,^c along with a passage from Bardesanes, already published by Mr. Cureton in his *Spicilegium Syriacum*, and Jacob the Persian, etc. To this we may have occasion to return. In the meantime we quote the following.

“Holy Hippolytus also, Bishop and Martyr, thus speaks in the fourth discourse upon Daniel the prophet.

“For the first coming of our Lord in the flesh, at Bethlehem, was in the days of Augustus Cæsar, in the year of the world 5505.^d And he suffered in the year 33 after his nativity. Now it behoves, of necessity, that six thousand years should be fulfilled, that the sabbath of rest may come, wherein God resteth from all his works, which God began to perform.

“And after a little—From the coming of the Messiah, therefore, we must reckon and bring down five hundred years, those which remain to the completion of the six thousand years, and so shall the end be.

“And this again, more openly, holy Hippolytus says, when he wishes, also, to shew that this world is not to exist more than six thousand years only. And these things are thus. But we must know that according to his opinion, this world has existed two hundred and fifteen years beyond the time, in this year of the Greeks, 1025. For if, after the coming of the Messiah, five hundred years, the six thousand years end, and this world too, as he says: but from the coming of the Messiah until the present year there are seven hundred and fifteen years, (because we reckon that the Messiah was born in the year 310, as we shew more carefully in another place); therefore, when we deduct from seven hundred and fifteen years, the five hundred years, as Hippolytus says, we have a remainder of two hundred and fifteen years, as also we said.”

We have given not only the exposition of the opinions of Hippolytus upon the world's duration, but the chronological calculations by which his mistake is proved. This is a very good case for such as require us to follow “unanimous consent of the fathers” in interpreting scripture. We leave it for their consideration. In the meantime, however, we think students of chro-

^c If we return to this work, we shall have occasion to say more of this George, who belongs to the former part of the eighth century, as he himself explains in the following passage.

^d The so-called Alexandrian era was calculated from B.C. 5502.

nology, will be gratified with the figures contained in both the preceding citations. For students of another class, we shall proceed to give another extract, a scholium on the Book of Psalms, containing an account of the authors of the separate Psalms, the time and occasion when they were written, their arrangement, etc. This, also, well deserves careful examination.

“Again of the same Holy Hippolytus: a Scholium on the distinction of the Psalms.

“The Psalms are in all 150, but they are not all David’s, as men fancy, but also of other psalmists, whom David chose and constituted chief of the psalmists of the tribe of the Levites. They were these, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, and Jeduthun. To these four psalmists he joined 288 men. To each of them were joined seventy-two men, who sang with instruments of music. These seventy-two psalmodists he appointed as a prophet, in the mystery of the seventy-two nations whose tongues were confounded of old, with this figure, that all nations should praise God. For they that sought to build a tower at that time were seventy-two nations, who were Atheists;[†] but when righteous wrath was upon them there was a division into seventy-two tongues; and when they were not alike in speech they came to enmity, when they were subjected under 288 chieftains, and by them they were thrust out. Now they who were then scattered, when they were driven from the east, after they had dared to build the tower, were these: of Ham thirty-two; of Shem twenty-five; and of Japhet fifteen; who were seventy-two in all; for hereby was it prophesied, that all tongues at the end of time should praise God.[‡]

“Now all the Psalms are 150, as was said.

“Without inscriptions two, 1 and 2.

“Of David 72, and 72 thus: the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 85, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 102, 103, 107, 108, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143: which are together 72.

“Of David again, 8, thus: the 16, 25, 26, 27, 36, 100, 109, 144, which are together 8.

[†] The word rendered “Atheists” is ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. It resembles nearly *ἄθεοι*, but is not in the lexicons. A noun or adjective is required, and this very well suits the connexion. We are not aware where Hippolytus got his classification of languages and nations.

[‡] We have broken up the text in what follows to shew the arrangement.

"Of the sons of Korah 11, thus: the 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 83, 84, 86, 87; which are together 11.

"Of Asaph 12, thus: 49, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82; which are together 12.

"Of Jeduthun 2, thus: 38, 61.

"Of Solomon 1: the 71st.

"Of Heman the Israelite 2:^a the 87, 88.

"Of Moses 1: the 89th.

"Anonymous 5: the 65, 66, 91, 99, 101.

"Songs of degrees 15,ⁱ—

"Ten anonymous, thus: 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131.

"Five with inscriptions,—

"Of David 4, thus: 121, 130, 132, 133.

"On Solomon 1: the 126th.

"Again the Psalms, Hallelujah, 20,—

"Fifteen anonymous, thus: 104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 134, 135, 149, 150.

"Those which are inscribed 'Of Haggai and of Zechariah' 4, thus: the 145, 146, 147, 148.

"All the Psalms together, 150.

"Now all those are anonymous which have inscriptions but do not shew whose they are, as the 65th, which is inscribed 'song of a psalm of the resurrection;' and the 66th, which is inscribed 'at the end in songs, a psalm of a song;'^k and the 91st, which is inscribed 'a psalm of praise upon the Sabbath-day;' and, again, the 99th, which is inscribed, 'a psalm upon thanksgiving.' There are, then, 31 anonymous, but 119 with inscriptions, altogether 150, as we said.

"The inscriptions then teach us whose the psalm is, or upon whom it is spoken. For when one says 'a psalm to the sons of Korah,' Asaph and Ethan say it; and when it says 'a psalm to Jeduthun,' Jeduthun is the psalmist. But when it says 'to David,' it is David himself who says it; and when, again, it is said 'of David,' it is spoken by others upon David.

"Since, then, the songs are various, and not all of them are psalms of David, perchance one says, 'Why are all of them reckoned to David, and named after him?' And we say, Because he was the occasion of them, for he chose the psalmists, and therefore this honour comes to him, and all those things which the psalmists said are reckoned David's. And we will bring yet

^a So called also in the LXX.

ⁱ Or, "Of going up."

^k Or, "At the end in praises, a psalm of praise."

another testimony which establishes this. The Book of Esther and of Mordecai is adduced.¹ Now Esther does some one thing alone, but of the rest Mordecai does everything, and it is not inscribed The Book of Mordecai, but of Esther; and the reason of this is, that when she was queen she gave herself wholly for the people, and therefore in honour of her it is called the Book of Esther. In this manner, therefore, when she was the cause of the deliverance of Mordecai, it was inscribed the deliverance of Esther, and the book was accounted hers. In this manner, also, concerning David, who was the cause of the praises of the Word which relates to God,² the Book of Psalms is reckoned his.

"The sons of the Hebrews divided the whole Book of Psalms into five parts.

"The first of them is from the 1st to the 40th.

"The second, from the 41st to the 71st.

"The third, from the 72nd to the 88th.

"The fourth, from the 89th to the 105th.

"The fifth, from the 106th to the end of the book.

"Now we must observe that this order of the Psalms runs and is constituted without adherence to the chronology. Now, this changes a number of times, as the Book of Kings shews.³ Therefore Ezra, who, with the other books of the prophets, and had care of a collection of psalms, did not find them all at one time, but at various times; and on this account he arranged those first which he found first, and afterwards those which were found by degrees. On this account also, those of David were not arranged after one another, but among those of the sons of Korah, Asaph and Ethan; and again also, of Moses and of Solomon; and afterwards those of David again are to be found, arranged without order in the book, and not according to the times which are spoken of in them, but according to the times in which they were found; and hence it happened, that those first in time, being found afterwards, are arranged second in order. The same thing thou canst also find happens in the books of the prophets, for one follows the order of its history, but another varies because of the time of its finding.⁴ And this is known by the histories on account of which these psalms were spoken. For the 58th psalm was spoken upon Saul's

¹ This reference to the Book of Esther deserves the notice of the reader.

² This seems only to mean that David was the occasion of the hymns of Holy Scripture.

³ He says Book of Kings, and not Books, because they were commonly regarded as one

⁴ Every one knows that the Prophets are not chronologically arranged in the Bible.

sending to slay David; and psalm 53, on this,—‘when David came to Nocah to Ahimelek the priest;’ and the 56th, ‘in the cave of Adullam.’ The 51st, ‘concerning Doeg the Edomite, when he reviled David and Ahimelek;’ the 62nd, ‘when David was fleeing in the wilderness of Edom;’ the 54th, ‘when the Ziphites reviled David:’ the 55th, ‘when the Philistines took him in Gath:’ the 9th and 50th, ‘when Nathan the prophet came to him and rebuked him;’ the 3rd and 10th, ‘when he was fleeing from before Absalom his son;’ the 7th and 11th, ‘because of the words of Hushai when he went to frustrate the counsel of Ahithophel.’ Behold, it is clear from these histories and from those that are like them, that the psalms are not arranged in the Book of Psalms as they were originally written, and according to the time in which each of them was spoken.

“*The scholium of holy Hippolytus ends.*”

The space we have devoted to the preceding extracts will render it impracticable for us to conclude our quotations. We shall therefore close the present paper with an observation or two upon the passage just given, and a few words about the remaining fragments here given from Hippolytus. The remainder of the volume will furnish us with sufficient gleanings for a subsequent paper.

It will be noticed that while Hippolytus clearly makes the Septuagint the basis of his remarks upon the Book of Psalms, he does not seem to be aware of the existence of the supernumerary or 151st psalm, now extant in that version. He was well aware of the different authorship of the individual psalms, and gives a reasonable explanation of their not appearing in chronological order, and of their division into five books. He relies upon the inscriptions as historically correct, but it is observable that they do not in all cases correspond with those now to be found in ordinary editions of the Greek.^p

For the other fragments of Hippolytus, they need not long detain us. There is a short extract from the Exposition of the Song of Songs, in somewhat inflated and fanciful style.^q Next comes a piece, also brief, headed, “Of Hippolytus, bishop and martyr. From a Discourse on the Resurrection, to Mammæa, the queen, for she was mother of Alexander, who was at that time emperor of the Romans. Now the cause of the heresy of the Nicolaitans was Nicholas, one of the deacons who were originally chosen, as is shewn in the Acts,” etc. This passage

^p We may remind the reader that in enumerating the psalms, the numbering of the Heb. and LXX is followed by Hippolytus.

^q Hippolytus is known to have commented upon the Canticles.

has been already published in English, and is valuable on two accounts especially : first, as identifying the princess, to whom one of his works was addressed, commonly called *ad Severinam*, and shewing that Origen was not the only Christian teacher from whom she received instruction ; and as giving us the subject of the treatise thus identified. There can be no doubt of the genuineness of this fragment, which is quite in the manner of Hippolytus.

The next piece "of Hippolytus the bishop upon the Passover," reads so much like a famous passage which has been ascribed to a number of authors, including Irenæus and Melito, that we may reasonably doubt its originality, although from a very ancient manuscript. This is followed by a piece with which the name of Hippolytus is well known to be connected—a calculation as to the time of the Passover (Easter). After this comes a short extract from an explanation of the four animals which Ezekiel saw praising God. The animals are the four evangelists. The one with the face of an ox is Luke ; that with the face of a lion is Matthew ; that with the face of a man is Mark ; and the one like an eagle is John. The last extract is entitled "of Hippolytus of Rome," on a passage in the genealogy of Christ as given by Matthew. The title of this deserves to be noticed.

All the extracts yet enumerated occupy about ninety pages, and the reader will easily infer how valuable are the additions which we derive from them to our stock of patristic information. And many volumes of such extracts might be published from the mass of Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum alone, to say nothing of what exists in other collections, in this country even, as at Oxford and Cambridge.* Including copies of the Holy Scriptures and liturgical works, *there are in the British Museum alone more than six hundred volumes of Syrian Manuscripts*. Many of these represent two or more works, and altogether represent more than two hundred authors. We have before us a list of authors whose works are given or quoted in these volumes ; it is not complete, and only includes the names found by the writer of this, amounting to about two hundred. Many of the writings thus preserved to us are of great value and importance to Biblical literature, and we ardently desire that every effort should be made to bring the

* The Oxford and Cambridge MSS. deserve to be looked into, as also do those in the Imperial Library at Paris. What we have seen convinces us that these have been too much neglected. We fancy, for example, that something from Bardesanes may turn up at Cambridge. *Verbum sat*. There is there also a MS. of several of the VIII books of the pseudo-Clement.

knowledge of them to those who are interested in them. The little that has been done in this way is an earnest of what we may yet expect, and we cordially welcome every new project to publish these texts. Hitherto various difficulties have prevented more from being attempted, especially in the translation and elucidation of texts, but we hope that the zeal and perseverance of Syriac students will overcome these difficulties, and that these precious remains will be rescued from oblivion.

B. H. C.

ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST. JOHN.—Rev. vii.

(Continued from No. XIII., p. 143.)

IN proceeding to analyse the emblems described in the seventh chapter, we must bear in mind that precisely the same reasoning applies to them as to those in the preceding chapter, in so far as it tends to shew that they were the substance of a portion of the indorsement on the back of the sealed roll, and not part of the writing on its inner surface; for the last of the seals has not yet been broken so as to admit of the separation of the two rollers and the exposure of the inner surface, that its writing might be read.

We may also, as in the former instance, conclude that the reason why the substance of the seventh chapter was written on the back instead of the face of the roll was to indicate that it was a repetition, in symbol, of a prophecy already existing in words.

The first in this new series of emblems (for such it must be considered) is described by the apostle in these words: "And after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree." The word here translated "earth" ought to be rendered "land" throughout the sentence; for it is obviously used in contradistinction to the sea. Daniel, speaking of the four winds, calls them "the four winds of heaven;" but the phrase "four winds of the land," evidently means four winds blowing from the four quarters upon some particular land; for the expression would obviously be inaccurate, as applied to the whole earth. There is a grammatical difficulty connected with the last clause of the verse which has led Bloomfield to suppose that we should read "nor *shake* every tree," a conjecture which appears very plausible. The word rendered

“holding” ought to be rather translated “restraining.” With these emendations this sentence would read thus: “And after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four quarters of the land, restraining the four winds of the land, that the wind might not blow upon the land, nor upon the sea, nor shake every tree.”

The introductory expression, “after these things,” indicates not only that what follows is a supplementary vision to that which accompanied the opening of the sixth seal, but that the events foreshadowed were to take place some time after those symbolized in the previous vision. Regarding this and the other emblems of the seventh chapter as a symbolical reproduction of a prophecy, already existing in words, the statement that four angels were seen restraining the four winds, to prevent them from blowing, is an intimation of its having been predetermined that these four winds should blow upon the land; but that at the date of the vision they had not yet blown, being, for some special purpose, withheld for a time. This circumstance indicates the transition from that portion of the prophecies here reiterated in symbol, which had been already fulfilled, to those portions of which the accomplishment was, at the date of the vision, still in the womb of futurity.

The land on whose four corners the angels appeared to stand, whose four winds they restrained, and on which those winds were about to blow, is obviously the same as that referred to in the preceding vision; that land whose sun was darkened, whose moon was turned to blood, whose stars had fallen, whose heaven had disappeared like the face of a scroll, when it is wound on its rollers, and whose inhabitants had fled for refuge to the rocks and caves of the mountains—the land of Judea. Hence the sea here mentioned is most probably the sea of Galilee, whose features were so familiar to the apostle’s mind.

In order to understand the meaning of this emblem, it is necessary to consider the effect which would be produced on the land by the four winds when they should actually begin to blow. It would obviously be to scatter all its contents in every direction, and to disperse them over the whole earth. Now this idea of dispersion, so naturally suggested by the approaching blast of the four winds, indicates very plainly the existing prophecy, which is here reproduced in symbol.

Among his other predictions relating to the downfall of the Jewish polity, in church and state, our Saviour says of the inhabitants of Judea, “And they shall be led away captive into all nations,” adding, “and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.” In this prediction our Saviour reiterates in the positive form that

very remarkable prophecy which Moses had uttered in the contingent form, wherein he delineates in very striking and forcible language the miseries that would fall upon the house of Israel in the event of their rejection of the promised Messiah. This prophecy will be found in the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, from the fifteenth verse onward. Among the various predictions embraced in that prophecy it is foretold, that after the overthrow of their city and nation (verse 24), "The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even to the other."

Now in the emblem of the four winds being about to blow upon the land, but restrained for a short time, we have a symbolical intimation of this dispersion of the inhabitants of the land being about to take place, and of its being postponed for a special purpose, which is presently explained. That such is the true meaning does not appear to admit of question. The four winds about to blow on the land are quite as clearly an emblem of dispersion as the rider on the red horse, with his great sword, is of war. That these four winds do not represent any indefinite judgments about to fall upon the land or on the earth at large, is evident, for we have already had presented to us emblems of every species of such judgments—of war, of pestilence and famine, of religious persecution, of national overthrow—each emblem quite appropriate to the idea it was designed to portray. Consequently the principle of unity of interpretation requires us to regard the four winds threatening to blow on the land as the representation of an impending judgment, of a specific kind, and not as symbolizing the approach of indefinite calamities. Now, there is no other specific idea which the blowing of the four winds can convey, except that of dispersion or scattering in every possible direction.

It cannot represent the advance of hostile armies into the land, because of such we have separate and specific emblems, both before and afterwards; nor is there any other emblem which could so appropriately symbolize the idea of an approaching dispersion of the inhabitants of the land to every quarter of the earth, as that of the four winds being ready to blow upon it.

But if this be the correct meaning of the emblem, there can be no doubt as to the land to which it applied. The dispersion of the Jews is an event in the history of the human race, which stands out prominently single and alone. It has no duplicate, no parallel. There is no other country or nation in the world which has been visited by this particular species of judgment. This consideration tends strongly to confirm the conclusion at which we have arrived on separate grounds, that Judea is the

theatre of all the events portrayed by the emblems of the preceding chapter.

It is here indicated that after the final overthrow of the Jewish polity in church and state, symbolized by the phenomena which immediately followed the opening of the sixth seal, an interval of time shall elapse before the infliction upon this rebellious people of the last of the judgments which had been predicted as the punishment of their rejection of the Messiah, namely, their being scattered over the whole face of the earth. The purpose of this interval appears from the sequel of the vision.

Let us meanwhile attend particularly to the statement, that the winds were about to blow upon the land, the sea, and the trees. These words may be taken either in a literal or in a metaphorical sense. If we are to understand them physically, then they will denote the removal of the native population from every part of the country—not only those dwelling in cities and those whose occupations were on the land, but also those who, like the apostle himself in his younger days, gained their livelihood on the sea, and likewise those dwelling in the woods. The mention of the trees, however, may refer to the uncultivated condition into which the land was about to fall, upon the removal of its native population, and its consequent unfruitfulness—a condition which has been remarkably realized in the case of Judea.

We shall find, however, that in future visions the terms “land,” and “sea,” and “trees” have a purely metaphysical signification; and it is therefore not improbable that they may have a similar meaning here; that the sea may denote that great sea of human society, into which the fishers of men were to cast their net, and fish up some good, some bad; that the land may represent the visible church, already constituted the garden of God, in which his good seed is sown, and in which his trees grow, some bearing good fruits, others nothing but leaves, while the trees may represent individual professors themselves. In the present case, it is of little importance which of these views we take; for the general idea to be derived from both is the same, namely, that all classes of society in the country on which the winds were about to blow, were to be affected by the blast, and alike scattered throughout every quarter of the world.

This dispersion was destined to be one of the most striking testimonies to the truth of Christianity. The unbelieving Jews were to be its unwilling witnesses; for they were to carry with them into every land the evidence of the truth of the predictions

of their own lawgiver, and of Christ himself, in regard to the consequences, that should result from their rejection of the Messiah; while those of the Jewish people who embraced Christianity should, in like manner, be dispersed into every land, to bear direct and willing testimony to the truth, and to convey the glad tidings of salvation to many nations.

The four angels who restrained the four winds must be held to personify that influence by which the impending judgment was withheld, not as symbolizing the agencies by which the judgment was to be inflicted; for of these last the winds themselves are the obvious emblems.

To understand this feature in the vision it is necessary to recur to the prophecy of our Saviour, concerning the events which were to follow his decease, and to herald the development of his religion throughout the world. Immediately after stating that the darkening of the sun and moon, the falling of the stars, and the shaking of the powers of heaven, in their metaphorical sense, were to be regarded as the sign in heaven of his approach, and that the mourning tribes of the land should see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory—an expression already explained—our Saviour adds (Matt. xxiv. 31): "And he shall send his angels, with a great sound of a trumpet (or rather with a trumpet of loud voice); and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other."

It is evident that we ought not to understand the word "angels" here to mean inhabitants of the heavenly orbs, but that it ought to be taken in its lower sense of "messengers," or "missionaries;" while, by the trumpet of loud voice, we are to understand the oral preaching of the Gospel. That such is the true meaning of this prophecy, and that it does not refer to the gathering together of the redeemed at the end of the world, is rendered evident by the solemn asseveration which immediately follows: "Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled." This gathering of the elect, then, being one of the events to be accomplished in that generation, could mean nothing else than Christ sending forth his missionaries to preach the Gospel, as with the voice of a trumpet, and so to gather all who might be willing to obey the invitation, and enrol themselves heartily among his followers, so becoming members of his chosen people.

Now, the next part of the vision of the apostle is an obvious repetition in symbol of this remarkable prophecy (verses 2 and 3), "And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the

four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads."

It is to be regretted, that in rendering this passage our translators did not give it more literally; for, as it stands, part of the meaning is lost. Literally rendered, the first clause is: "And I saw another angel ascending from the rising of the sun." When we read of an angel ascending from the east, we are at a loss to divine why he should have ascended from that quarter, rather than from any of the others; but when we read of his ascending from the rising of the sun, a new idea strikes the mind. Is this the natural or the spiritual sun? If we reflect on the circumstances, we shall perceive that the latter is by far the more probable meaning. In the previous chapter, the sun had been described as becoming black as sackcloth of hair, to denote the eclipse of Judaism. Our Saviour says, that this was to be regarded as a sign in heaven of his approach—not of his personal coming, but of the rise of his spiritual kingdom—the development of Christianity, which was to be seen breaking through the clouds that shrouded the Jewish heaven, and shining forth with power and great splendour.

Now, in the rising sun, whence John saw the angel ascend, we have a beautiful emblem of the rising of this sun of righteousness, with healing in his beams. The sun of Judaism had set; the sun of Christianity had begun to rise; and from this rising spiritual sun, this angel ascends. Hence, the sun is to be regarded as here symbolizing both Christ and his religion; so that the angel cannot be viewed as representing the person of Christ. Indeed the terms in which he speaks exclude the supposition. He cries: "Hurt not the earth, etc., till we have sealed the servants of *our* God." He speaks in the *plural* number, thus shewing that he is not the representative of an individual, but the type of a class. His address to the four angels intimates that both he and they were the servants of God, and that those who were about to be sealed were, in like manner, already approved servants of God. For, be it observed, they were not selected to become God's servants, but they were already his servants, and were about to have conferred on them a peculiar privilege, denoted by the sealing on their foreheads.

This angel is therefore to be regarded as a representative of those of whom our Saviour speaks in his prophecy, when he says that the Son of Man, on his coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory, shall send his angels with a trumpet of loud voice; and they shall gather his elect from the

four winds. This angel, ascending from the rising of the sun, ought accordingly to be viewed as a personification of the spirit of evangelism, emanating from the rising sun of Christianity.

What is meant by this angel having the seal of the living God? Upon this point we are not left in doubt; for St. Paul, in his second epistle to the Corinthians, speaking of himself and his apostolical commission, says (chap. i., ver. 21, 22): "Now, he which establisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the spirit in our hearts." Again, addressing his Gentile converts at Ephesus, he says: "In whom, that is in Christ, ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the Gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance."—Eph. chap. i. ver. 13, 14. And he afterwards exhorts them in these words: "And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption."—Eph. iv. 30. These passages leave no doubt that, by the seal of the living God, the apostles understood the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Hence, the angel personifies the spirit of missionary enterprise, armed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The next clause requires a little explanation: "And he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt (or to injure) the land and the sea." Here the four angels are spoken of as having power to injure the land and the sea; whereas, on their first introduction they were represented as restraining the four winds, to hinder them from injuring the land and the sea. The two statements, however, are easily reconcilable. The emblem of the angels holding the four winds is evidently designed to convey the idea of some beneficent influence, exerted to restrain the injurious powers, symbolized by the winds, and that the moment this influence is withdrawn, the injurious powers will burst forth and afflict the land. Hence, those exerting the restraining influence have, indirectly, power to afflict the land, by removing their restraint from the injurious agents; and it is therefore to the former, and not to the latter, that this command is addressed, "hurt not the land," etc.; that is, withdraw not your restraining influence over the injurious agents which are about to hurt the land and the sea.

To understand this matter thoroughly it is needful to fix in our minds the precise meaning of the four winds being about to blow on the land. Now, there is no meaning that fancy could devise for this emblem which would possess the smallest degree of plausibility, except that it denotes an imminent dis-

persion of the inhabitants of the land to the four quarters of the heavens by a superior power. Again, there is only one instance on record of a nation still retaining its distinctive peculiarities, having been thus scattered over the face of the whole earth. We are hence shut up to the conclusion that this emblem applies to the dispersion of the Jews, and represents that event as about to take place. The four winds, being the powers by which the dispersion is to be effected, must symbolize the Roman authorities who decreed the ejection of the Jews from Palestine, and also the officials, by whom their decree was carried into execution.

Now, the emblem represents these authorities as being restrained, for a season, from issuing their decrees. We may hence infer that there existed, in the minds of the ruling authorities at Rome, an intention to issue those decrees for some considerable time before they were actually sent forth, but that they were by Divine Providence diverted from their purpose for a season. The four angels will accordingly symbolize those persons who were employed by Divine Providence to exercise this restraining influence. From the terms of the command addressed to them, we gather that they were servants of the living God. This is evidenced by the phrase, "Till we have sealed the servants of our God;" whence we may draw the inference that there were true servants of God placed by Divine Providence in such situations, at the imperial Court of Rome, as enabled them for a time to exert their influence to prevent the issue of the contemplated decree for the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine, and that this fact is what is symbolized by the angels restraining the four winds, that they might not blow upon the land.

It will, of course, be understood that the number of the winds being specified as four is merely to denote that the approaching dispersion was about to scatter the inhabitants of the land in every direction; consequently, the number of the angels being also specified as four, is merely to preserve the symmetry of the emblem; and we are not to infer that the number of persons by whom the restraining influence was exercised was limited to four. It will further be understood that the command given to the four angels implies no more than that God should, by his providence, place some of his true servants in such positions and relations with respect to the Roman authorities as to enable them to exert a restraining influence for a limited period, to prevent the issuing of the contemplated decree for the expulsion of the Jews.

The seal of the living God having been already explained to

mean the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, it remains to be considered what is to be understood by the seal being applied to the foreheads of the servants of God. It will be particularly observed that the persons who are to be thus sealed are designated as being already "servants of God," so that the sealing was not to elect them to be servants, but to point them out as being *true* servants. Hence it is evident that this emblem furnishes no argument in favour of the erroneous doctrine of an arbitrary individual election of certain favoured persons, who are, for no other reason than the sovereign will and pleasure of the Deity, chosen to be his true servants. The tendency of the emblem is quite the other way. It indicates a fulfilment of that precious promise of our Saviour—"If any man shall do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." The people of Israel, who were about to be dispersed over the whole earth, would consist of two great classes: 1st, Of those who, by yielding their wills to the influence of the Divine Spirit, had become true children of God; 2nd, Of those who had resisted, grieved, and quenched the Holy Spirit, and so opposed their obdurate wills to the benign intentions of the Deity with respect to them.

Now, from the statement of the angel, it would appear that of the former class a large proportion had not yet received the seal of God on their foreheads; that is, they had not yet learnt the divine scheme of redemption through Jesus Christ, and imbibed it by their understandings. But before the scattering of the nations over the earth, the whole of those who had already yielded to the influence of the Divine Spirit on their moral affections, and so had become servants of the living God, were to have this seal applied to their foreheads. They were to have the true doctrine of salvation by Christ made known to them individually, and they were to receive such a measure of the enlightening influence of the Divine Spirit on their understandings as would enable them—not only fully to comprehend the rational grounds of the divine procedure in the redemption of mankind—to see clearly how it is that God remains just, while he justifies the ungodly, who, abandoning his errors, believes in Christ; but also, each for himself, to embrace Christ as his only Saviour; to renounce all dependence on his own righteousness, and trust entirely for his justification before God to the spotless righteousness of Christ, who, "although he knew no sin, was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him."

From the circumstance of their being styled servants of God, it is obvious that those persons had already received the Holy

Spirit in his capacity of a renovator of the moral affections; but they were now to have his influences applied to their intellectual powers, so as to enable them to comprehend and receive the truth, as it is in Jesus. The seal of God being explained by St. Paul to mean the earnest of the Spirit, its being impressed on the forehead can signify nothing else than the application of the Holy Spirit to the enlightenment of the intellectual powers.

What we are to understand by this part of the vision, then, is, that previous to the approaching dispersion of the descendants of Israel throughout the earth, all those among them whose moral affections had been brought into subjection to the divine will were to have the doctrines of Christianity communicated to them, and to have such a measure of the illuminating influences of the Divine Spirit applied to their intellect as should enable them to understand and embrace these doctrines.

It will be readily perceived how important it was that such a proceeding should be adopted; for it was thus provided, that while one portion of the descendants of Israel were scattered throughout the earth, to bear an unwilling testimony to the truth of Christianity, another portion were commissioned to carry the glad tidings of salvation, through Christ, into those distant countries into which they should emigrate when prohibited from remaining in their native land; for there is nothing in the symbolization to indicate that those who were sealed were to be exempt from the operation of the dispersive power, typified by the four winds. We may only infer that, before being scattered, they were to have their understandings imbued with the divine truth, so that they might carry it with them in their future wanderings.

The prophecy of our Lord, to which this part of the vision so obviously corresponds, seems indeed, at first sight, to indicate that these parties were to be exempted from the dispersion: "They shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." But this gathering may be understood as referring to their being gathered into the fold of the Great Shepherd, and not to their local gathering into one place. When thus explained, it will be perceived that the correspondence between the prophecy and the emblem is complete.

It is worthy of remark, that the process of sealing does not itself form any part of the scenic representation exhibited to the mental eye of the apostle. He merely hears it reported that there were sealed one hundred and forty-four thousand of all the tribes of Israel, and he goes on to specify that there were sealed twelve thousand of each tribe.

Now, this reference to the tribes of Israel appears completely to confirm the accuracy of the view, that this vision has reference to the then impending dispersion of those tribes over the whole earth, and to the previous conversion to Christianity of such as were true servants of the living God; for whatever may be further implied in this emblem, it appears impossible to form any other supposition than that, as regards its primary signification, it refers to Israel according to the flesh. But the evident application of this vision to Israel further confirms the accuracy of our view, that the previous visions apply to the same people.

With respect to the number, again, here assigned to the sealed ones, we must bear in mind that throughout the apocalyptic visions the number twelve and its multiples are used as a type of perfection and completeness. This fact is very evident in the description of the New Jerusalem. Hence, we ought to understand the number one hundred and forty-four thousand as here used figuratively for *totality*, and as designed to indicate that *all*, without any exception, who were found among the tribes of Israel, possessing the requisite qualification of being in their hearts genuine servants of God, were sealed in their foreheads; that is, they had the message of salvation by Christ communicated to them, and such an amount of the illuminating influence of the Holy Spirit imparted to their intellectual powers as enabled them to comprehend the message, and to embrace it on rational grounds. None were excluded but those who were uncircumcised in heart, who were only outward Jews—mere formalists, strict observers of rites and ceremonies—but destitute of the principle of vital godliness.

The assignment of twelve thousand to each tribe is evidently designed to shew, not that the number of the true servants of God would be found to be equal in each tribe, and amounting to exactly twelve thousand, but that God would deal with the most perfect impartiality in picking out his true servants from the several tribes, and sealing them with the earnest of the Spirit, that no one tribe should be preferred to another, but that in each case the perfect number would be taken, that is, *all*, without exception, whose moral affections had been brought into subjection to the influences of the divine Spirit, and who had thus become genuine servants of God. The meaning of the phraseology here employed, then, is, that the sealing comprehended *all* out of the several tribes of the children of Israel, all out of the tribe of Judah, all out of the tribe of Reuben, and so on, who were found to be true servants of God.

It is remarkable, that in the enumeration of the tribes of

Israel, that of Dan is omitted, and Manasseh is substituted, although the whole tribe of Joseph is mentioned. We must therefore understand, that by Joseph is meant the half tribe of Ephraim. See a similar signification in Ezek. xxxvii. 16—19. This omission of Dan appears the more remarkable, from the circumstance that in Ezek. xlvi. 1, we observe a portion of the promised land set aside for Dan. The exclusion of this tribe from the sealed ones may arise from the circumstance of its having been distinguished for its idolatrous practices. It was the first to separate itself from the other tribes, and set up an idolatrous worship of its own (see Judges xviii). Their chief city Dan, moreover, was the place where one of the golden calves, set up by Rehoboam, was worshipped. It was probably in reference to this foreseen defection, the germs of which he had detected in the characters of Dan and his immediate descendants, that Jacob prophesied concerning this tribe, Gen. xlix. 17: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward." We find, accordingly, that the tribe of Dan had become a byword for idolatry; as we observe the prophet Amos describing the deserters from the true worship of God as "they that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, Thy God O Dan liveth." This circumstance may accordingly account for the omission of Dan, which may thus be designed to imply that the peculiar sin of Dan is incompatible with the character of a true servant of God, and that none who adhere to this sin can be admitted among those who are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit.

While this emblem, in its primary signification, is to be understood as symbolizing the conversion to Christianity of all those belonging to the descendants of Israel, who should be found to be in their hearts genuine servants of God, previous to the dispersion of that remarkable people over the whole earth, we should, in all likelihood, greatly err were we to imagine it to have no other and further meaning. It must be borne in mind, that the descendants of Israel are uniformly represented in Scripture as being a typical people; and we are given to understand, that in the dealings of his providence with them, God designed to illustrate the principles on which he proceeds in his dispensations with the true or spiritual Israel—those who, by yielding their wills to the guidance of the divine Spirit exerted on their moral affections, have become, by adoption, sons of God, and brothers of Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God. For example, we are taught to regard the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage, their wanderings in the wilderness, and

their ultimate admission into the promised land, as symbolizing the deliverance of the redeemed from the bondage of sin, their subsequent pilgrimage in the moral wilderness of the present life, and their final reception into the happiness and security of the future state.

In like manner, in the passage before us, we may, without prejudice to the primary signification, regard the tribes of Israel as being typical, and the sealing of all the true servants of God among them, as symbolizing a more general truth. Contemplating the emblem in this light, there are two views which may be taken of its more enlarged import; Israel may be held to mean the visible church, and the selection of the true servants of God, and their being sealed with the earnest of the spirit may shadow forth the great general truth, that all who profess Christianity are not to be regarded as genuine Christians, but those alone who are, in their hearts, true servants of God; and that only they receive those illuminating influences of the Holy Spirit, applied to their understanding, by which they are enabled to obtain a reasonable ground on which to build their hope of final salvation.

According to this view, the mention here made of the several tribes of Israel may have reference to the foreseen division of the visible Christian church into various sects and denominations, while the sealing of an equal number from each tribe may denote, that in selecting his genuine servants from among the great body of professing Christians, God will deal with strict impartiality—that he will look, not to the particular sect or denomination to which any man may belong, but only to the state of his heart; and whenever he finds the will brought under subjection to the guidance of his Holy Spirit, operating on the moral affections, there will he apply the seal of the Spirit to the intellectual powers, and confer such an amount of knowledge as will suffice to impart a well-grounded and rational hope of salvation through Christ.

While the symbolization before us would quite warrant our drawing from it such an inference as the above, yet this is perhaps too narrow a view to take of its highest and ultimate signification. Although Israel is doubtless sometimes represented in Scripture as a type of the visible church embracing all professors, whether true or false, yet, in its highest and strictest sense, Israel is a type of those only who are sons of God by adoption, and so brothers of Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God. These compose the true Israel, the inheritors of the promise, made to the one seed of Abraham—Christ—and of which all are partakers who are united to him, and made joint-

heirs of his inheritance. Now, St. Paul assures us that all they are sons of God whose wills are subject to the spirit of God operating in their moral affections. If, in the passage before us, then, we regard Israel as used typically, in this higher sense, and the division into tribes as denoting the several sects and denominations in which these true sons of God may be found, then this sealing of the hundred and forty-four thousand may be designed to pre-figure the ultimate truth, which becomes more fully unfolded in the sequel of the prophecy, that even out of this true Israel, the sons of God by adoption, there shall be selected a limited number, consisting of those who have most distinguished themselves in the service of God, upon whom special gifts and graces will be conferred, to fit them for the discharge of high and important functions in the future and everlasting state. Nor is there any reason against our concluding that the number of those who are to be thus specially endowed, may be exactly one hundred and forty-four thousand, those being chosen out of the entire body of the redeemed who shall, on a strict and impartial examination, be found to have most distinguished themselves in the service of God. In this view, again, the division into tribes, and the selection of an equal number from each tribe, may be regarded as denoting the strict impartiality with which the deity shall proceed in making his selection, for God is no respecter of persons or of names. He will have no regard to the denomination by which any Christians may be called, or to the particular external forms of worship they may observe. All that he will look to will be the state of their heart and life, and the sincerity of their devotion to the cause of Divine truth, as unfolded in the Written Word. He will regard only their adherence to "the simplicity that is in Christ," irrespective of all such outward rites and ceremonies as tend to foster the spirit of superstition, rather than of pure religion. One exception only will he make in his selection of the worthiest of his servants for peculiar honour. None can be admitted into that number who are tainted with the special sin of Dan—Idolatry. This sin, indeed, is utterly incompatible with genuine Christianity; and none who continue guilty of it in their hearts can be regarded as belonging to the true Israel of God.

That the one hundred and forty-four thousand sealed out of the tribes of Israel, represent a particular class of the redeemed, and not the entire body, becomes still more evident from the next scene of the vision, which appears to be introduced for the express purpose of preventing the mind of the apostle, or of any reader of this prophecy, from so interpreting the sealing of the

hundred and forty-four thousand as to deduce from it too narrow a view of the extent to which the blessings of the redemption purchased by Christ are to be rendered available to mankind at large.

This next scene is thus described by the apostle, ver. 9, 10: "After this I beheld, and lo! a great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voice, saying, 'Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.'"

The phrase, "after these things" (for so it ought to stand), with which this description begins, indicates, not only that this new vision presented itself after the other scenes had vanished from the apostle's mental eye, but also that an interval of time (it may be a very long interval) should elapse between the events symbolized by the last vision, and those typified by the new.

The expression employed by the apostle in order to convey an idea of the immense multitude which was thus presented to the eye of his imagination is very striking—"A great multitude, which no man could number." It appears the more remarkable when we bear in mind that he had already described the angels who appeared on the scene of the vision as *many*, and that he specifies their number as being myriads of myriads, and thousands of thousands. We shall afterwards find him, moreover, specifying a still larger amount in his description of the horsemen in the vision that followed the blast of the sixth trumpet, whose number he states at two hundred millions. It may hence be fairly inferred that the multitude which he now beheld very greatly exceeded either of those specified amounts, and that it was so great that no man could reckon it in the course of a life time. According to the general estimate, it would take a man about four years to reckon one hundred millions, or forty years to count one thousand millions. Now, when we consider that the present population of the globe is estimated at about a thousand millions, and when we take into account the immense multitudes that have lived on the earth since the foundation of human society, it can excite no surprise that the apostle should describe the whole body of the redeemed, thus presented to the eye of his imagination, as being a great multitude which no man could number. This multitude he designates as being composed of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. This expression conveys a most cheering view of the universality of Christ's redemption, shewing that it is not circumscribed by any territorial limits, or by any distinction of race or nation, but

that, in the words of this apostle himself, "Christ is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the whole world's."

This great multitude, gathered from all nations, the apostle beheld with his mental eye, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and having palms in their hands. These particulars indicate in the clearest manner that this vision was designed to convey to the mind of the apostle an idea of the final triumph of the Christian church in the future state. It is necessary, at this point, again strictly to guard our minds against the supposition that this scene represented anything really existing at the time of the vision; that there really was, at that moment, such a great multitude of every nation actually standing before the throne, clothed in white raiment, and holding palms in their hands. This countless multitude is quite as much an emblem as were the throng of angels, the twenty-four elders, the four living beings, the seven lamps, and the glassy sea. This passage, therefore, lends no countenance to the imaginings of those who suppose the deceased portion of the redeemed church to be now thus standing before the throne, clothed in white, and with palms in their hands, instead of being, as the Scriptures assure us, in a state of profound repose, awaiting the renewed activity of the resurrection morn.

But while we recognise this countless multitude as being purely an ideal symbol, and not an actually existing assemblage, we must be careful that we rightly interpret its symbolical meaning. To suppose it to shadow forth any great triumph of the Christian religion during the temporal system of the world would be to convert it into a hyperbole, far too extravagant to have any verisimilitude. Indeed, the impossibility of applying this emblem to any phase of the temporal history of the church becomes still more apparent, from the sequel of the vision. During the whole of the temporal system of the world, the followers of pure Christianity compose a church militant. They have a continual warfare to maintain against the ignorance, deceit, superstition, and corruption which are natural to man—against moral evil, in all its complex varieties—and that not only in the outer world, but in their own hearts. No individual among the redeemed, therefore, far less any large multitude of them, could be truly represented as having, in the present life, obtained that complete victory over moral evil, which is symbolized by their standing before the throne, holding in their hands the palm-branch as an emblem of triumph, and clothed in pure white raiment, the type of their entire purification from

sin and corruption, and of their perfect justification in the sight of God from all guilt. To such a condition of triumph and purification neither the Christian church, as a body, nor any of its individual members, can hope to attain, until they actually appear before God in the future state, and after having received the approval of their judge, enter upon the enjoyments of everlasting life.

Viewing this emblem, then, in its most obvious signification, as foreshadowing the triumph of the redeemed in the future state, and as designed to convey not only an idea of the immense multitude of which the redeemed church is to be composed, but also the great and cheering truth that this vast assemblage is to be gathered from all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, the question naturally arises, why does the vision pass thus suddenly from the symbolization of so small a portion of the temporal history of the Christian church at once, to its final triumph in the future state?

Now this sudden transition would be quite inexplicable were we to regard the emblems exhibited to the apostle, during the opening of the six seals, as being a part of the inner writing of the roll, and forming with it a continuous and connected symbolical history; for, according to that view, it would be necessary to regard the whole of the emblems displayed during the opening of the six seals, including this last, as shadowing forth events that were to precede, in the order of time, those symbolized under the emblems displayed after the opening of the last of the seven seals. We should then be compelled to abandon the plain and obvious meaning of the last emblem, and put upon it a forced interpretation, making it symbolize some event occurring in the course of the temporal history of the church, and immediately preceding those typified under the seventh seal—and this, notwithstanding the great extravagance of the hyperbole which would thus be produced. But to this course there is this serious objection, that if we regard the language and symbolization employed in this vision as a hyperbolical representation of some comparative state of success and repose, to be enjoyed, or that has already been enjoyed, by the church during the temporal system, we may, with equal propriety, interpret in a similar manner all the language contained in Scripture, descriptive of the happiness of the future state; for none of it is stronger than what we find here; and we should thus be deprived of all assurance that any of the prophecies of the future triumph and perfect sanctification of the church refer to the future state at all, and might apply the whole of them to

temporary and imperfect successes of the church in the present life.

From all this difficulty we are quite relieved by the conclusion at which we have on separate grounds already arrived—that the whole of the emblems exhibited during the opening of the six seals constitute a representation of what was written on the back or outside of the sealed roll, and that this outer writing contained the substance of all that had up to that moment been revealed concerning the history of the Christian religion, from its commencement to its final consummation in the future state, including the latter event.

It must be borne in mind that the predictions uttered by our Lord himself, while on earth, in regard to the temporal history of his religion, did not extend beyond a series of events, all of which, he solemnly averred, were to be fulfilled before the passing away of the generation, to which these prophecies were addressed. Beyond this point, he revealed nothing, except the final triumph and justification of the redeemed in the future state. The interval he left a perfect blank; and although there may be found, in the prophecies of Daniel, some dark hints in regard to what should happen during that long interval, yet these were so imperfect and obscure as to render farther information necessary for their elucidation.

This great blank in the prophetic history of Christianity was about to be supplied from the inner writing of the sealed volume, to which access was immediately to be obtained, on the opening of the seventh seal. But, prior to these discoveries, nothing had been clearly revealed in regard to events that were to happen between the passing away of the generation to which the predictions of our Saviour were addressed, and the final consummation in the future life.

It is therefore with perfect propriety that, in this preliminary symbolization of all that had been hitherto revealed respecting the history of Christianity, the emblem which shadows forth the last of the temporal events predicted by our Lord, is immediately followed by a scenic representation of the final triumph of the redeemed in the future state. Christ foretold that before the passing away of the generation which he addressed, his religion was to be developed in great power and glory, and that he should send his angels and gather his elect from the four winds. This, the last of his predictions, referring to the temporal state, is reproduced in the emblem of the sealing of the one hundred and forty-four thousand; and it is immediately followed by a scenic exhibition of what he had foretold respecting the redemp-

tion of a great multitude, of every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue, and their final triumph and justification before God, in the future life.

This sudden transition from the temporal history of the church to its final triumph in the future state, may thus be regarded as an additional proof, if any such were wanting, that the symbolization which precedes the opening of the seventh seal was a representation of what was written on the back of the sealed roll, and that the substance of that writing was the whole that had been already revealed respecting the history of the Christian Church.

The circumstance that this triumphant multitude appeared, to the mental eye of the apostle, standing before the throne, and the subsequent mention of the angels, the elders, and the four living beings, shews that after the scenic representations previously detailed, and following the opening of the first seal, the throne, with all its adjuncts, reappeared on the field of the vision. Indeed it is evident that it reappeared after each of the scenic representations exhibited during the opening of the seals; for the apostle states that he saw each seal opened, so that after each of the emblems had disappeared from his view, the original vision of the throne must have been again presented to his imagination. On the other hand, it seems equally clear that the vision of the throne must have been withdrawn from his mental eye during the exhibition of each of the emblematical scenes; for the phenomena attending the opening of the sixth seal in particular are obviously incompatible with the idea that the throne and its adjuncts remained before him during that remarkable scene, including, as it did, the darkening of the sun, and the disappearance of the face of the heavens from the apostle's view.

This reappearance of the original throne and its adjuncts, after each scene, is a peculiar characteristic of the seal-opening visions. After the seventh seal has been opened and the contents of the inner writing of the volume come to be scenically exhibited, we find no such regular recurrence of the original vision of the throne. Twice, indeed, in the course of the subsequent visions it does reappear, as mentioned in chaps. xii. 16, and xix. 4; but these reappearances were at long intervals, many distinct visions intervening; and after the last of them, we hear no more of this original throne and its concomitants; but it is superseded by another.

The terms of the ascription made by the great multitude require particular notice, because there is a variation in the reading of the Greek text; and what is somewhat unusual, our

translators have here followed, not the received text, but that given by Griesbach, which is also adopted by Bloomfield and Sachmann. The received text stands thus: "And crying with a loud voice, saying, Salvation unto him that sitteth upon the throne of our God, even to the Lamb." Whereas our translation, following what is now the text of Griesbach, has, "And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb." To which of these two readings the preference ought to be given is a question depending upon the number and authority of the manuscripts in which they are severally found; but to neither of them could any objection be urged on the score of inherent improbability. The reading of the received Greek text is, perhaps, more fully in keeping with the song of the redeemed, contained in chap. v., in which they ascribe their redemption or salvation to the Lamb; and as we are informed in the same chapter, that the Lamb appeared in the midst of the throne, there is no incongruity in the multitude of the redeemed here ascribing their salvation to the Lamb, as being seated on the throne of our God. The difference of ideas conveyed by the two readings is not, however, of any great importance.

It is of more consequence to note the circumstance, that whereas in the vision described in chap. v. the redeemed present their ascription of praise to the Lamb through the medium of the twenty-four elders, they here present it in their own proper persons. This indicates an entire change in the situation of affairs, and shews that the first ascription of praise proceeded from the redeemed, while in the temporal state, in which they could present it only through the medium of the twenty-four elders, but that, in the future state, now symbolized, they have direct access to the Divine Majesty, and can ascribe their salvation to the Lamb, as being immediately present among them.

And hence may be deduced an important lesson. It was formerly shewn that the twenty-four elders are probably emblematical personifications of the virtues and graces that ought to adorn the Christian character. The circumstance therefore that the redeemed, while on earth, are represented as paying their tribute of praise to the Lamb, through the medium of these personages, teaches us that the followers of Christ, while they continue in the temporal state, can best display their love and gratitude to him for the salvation of their souls through the medium of those Christian virtues and graces which the elders personify, and that it is not till they enter upon the future life that they can personally express to Christ their

thanks and praise, or fully appreciate that great salvation, which he has purchased for them with his blood.

The apostle proceeds to say, verses 11 and 12, "And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying, Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen." By the expression, "All the angels," we are to understand the apostle to mean that great assemblage of angels which he had described in the fifth chapter, as amounting to myriads of myriads and thousands of thousands. The mention here of these angels, and of the twenty-four elders and four living beings, shews clearly that the throne before which the countless multitude of the redeemed appeared to stand, was the same as that described in the fifth chapter, and that this countless multitude formed a fresh addition to the assemblage before that throne. It is hence evidently impossible to regard the throne, before which the triumphant multitude stood, symbolizing that of any earthly monarch, or any representative of the Deity, in the temporal state of the world. The throne is plainly the emblem of the Divine Sovereignty itself, before which not only the redeemed portion of the human race, but also the unfallen portion of the dwellers in the orbs of heaven bow in humble adoration and praise. This consideration farther excludes the possibility of this emblem symbolizing any partial triumph of the Christian Church in the temporal state.

It is worthy of note that, now that the redeemed appear in their proper persons before the throne, the twenty-four elders and the four living beings do not unite in this act of adoration, performed both by the redeemed and the angelic hosts. The elders maintain their seats round the throne, and the four living beings their original position in the midst and encircling the throne, apparently as passive spectators of this act of worship. This circumstance indicates more clearly that these elders are not themselves a portion of the redeemed, nor the mere representatives of any individuals or class among the redeemed, otherwise they would have united with the countless multitude in ascribing their salvation to the Lamb; and the conclusion is thus strengthened, that they are not persons, but personifications. It further confirms the accuracy of the view, that on the former occasion they acted as proxies for the redeemed, who were not yet admitted to the immediate presence of their God and Saviour.

But now these emblematical personages maintain their places round the throne as adjuncts of the Divine Sovereignty, and

even as joint participators with the Deity in the adoration paid by the angels and saints, a circumstance which strongly confirms the idea that they personify those Christian virtues and graces, which are the evidences of the divine dominion over the hearts and minds of the intelligent creatures of God. They are enthroned and crowned in order to symbolize the sway which they exercise over the rational mind; and they encircle the divine throne to shew that their dominion is conjunct with the Deity himself.

The same considerations apply to the four living beings as tending to render it more clear that they do not symbolize either the redeemed themselves, or anything connected with them, but are elements of the divine attributes, representing those qualities in the character of God, which are peculiarly called into exercise in the work of redemption. Indeed it is only by thus regarding the elders as symbolizing virtues and graces, all possessed by the Deity in full perfection, and the four living beings as types of the divine attributes, that we can account for their being joint recipients of the homage paid in this scene to the Divine majesty by the redeemed of the human race, and the unfallen of the angelic hosts, as evidenced by their maintaining their positions around and within the throne, while the angels prostrated themselves before it.

Regarding the angels here mentioned as representatives of the intelligent inhabitants of all the habitable worlds scattered throughout the universe, who have not fallen from their first estate, we may gather from the circumstance of their adding their "Amen," to the ascription of salvation presented by the redeemed, and their own separate ascription of praise and thanksgiving to God, that the redemption by Christ of so great a multitude of the human race is a source of wonder, gratitude, and joy to the intelligent inhabitants of every orb in the universe untainted by sin.

The apostle proceeds to say, verses 13 and 14, "And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, what are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence come they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest." It is worthy of note that the apostle does not voluntarily ask what is symbolized by the great multitude, clothed in white robes, although he was evidently ignorant of the meaning of the emblem; but his divine instructor, perceiving this ignorance, invites him to make this inquiry. From this circumstance it may be fairly inferred that the apostle had fully understood the meaning of all the previous emblems presented to his mental eye, so that no further verbal explanation was required. But if the apostle thus understood

the previous symbolization, he must have had some rational grounds on which to found his conclusions. This circumstance farther confirms the idea that these emblems were scenic representations of the predictions already uttered by our Lord in words; consequently, that they were capable of being easily interpreted by any student who should compare the emblems with the prophecies. The doubt which appears to have arisen in the mind of the apostle as to the meaning of the emblem of the countless multitude, on the other hand, indicates the existence of a disposition in the human mind to misconstrue and misapply this symbol, and the seer is therefore invited to ask an explanation, in order to remove all doubt. The answer of the elder is in the following terms, verse 14: "And he said unto me, these are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

The commencing words of this explanation—"These *are* they," etc.—ought to be understood in the same sense as the similar expression employed in explaining the emblem of the seven stars and the seven golden candlesticks, where it is said—"The seven stars *are* the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest *are* the seven churches." The obvious meaning of this phraseology is: the seven stars symbolize the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks symbolize the seven churches. In like manner, in the passage before us, we must not understand that the great multitude seen by John was composed of the actual individuals whose characteristics are here given, and that these individuals were actually standing before the throne at that time in the manner here described; but the true meaning is, that the great multitude is an emblem of those who have emerged from great tribulation, etc.

The terms of the description here given of this redeemed multitude are such as to remove all doubt of this scene being a glimpse of the triumph and happiness of the saved in the future life, and to take away all ground for applying the symbolization to any temporary triumph of the church in the temporal state; for this redeemed multitude have already passed through all the tribulations of the present life. This statement shews that the great afflictions to which the people of God are exposed in the temporary state are a necessary discipline to which they are subjected, for the purpose of causing them to wash their robes, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb, so as to fit them for the occupations and enjoyments of the future life. By the washing of their robes we are, of course, to understand

the purification of their hearts and minds, and also of their outward conduct. This purification is here represented as being complete. Their robes have become pure white, indicating the removal of all taint and imperfection. Now such an absolute purification never takes place in the present life; for so long as man remains in the flesh the taint and imperfection of his fallen nature still adhere to him. This is another evidence that these parties have emerged from the temporal into the eternal state.

It is worthy of remark that the form of expression here is not passive, but active. These redeemed ones are not said to have had their robes washed for them, and whitened in the blood of the Lamb, but they are affirmed to have themselves washed their robes, and made them white in the Lamb's blood. This circumstance indicates very plainly that their wills were active, and not passive, in this purification. Doubtless the great tribulation is the stimulus applied to the will; but still the will acts freely in the exercise of self-control, and in subjecting itself to the guidance of the divine Spirit, brought to bear upon it with the view of purifying and exalting the moral affections.

The expression, "made their robes white in the blood of the Lamb," is very peculiar; for the natural effect of washing a robe in blood would be to make it not white, but red. This peculiarity indicates the allegorical nature of the expression, and shews that the blood of Christ, shed for man, is the only medium provided for the washing away of all his guilt in the sight of God. On the other hand, the circumstance that the redeemed are represented as having themselves washed their robes in this blood, shews that the concurrence of the human will is required to render the blood of Christ available for the removal of the guilt of each individual. Men, in order to be saved, must wash their robes; but water will not cleanse them,—the blood of the Lamb is the only bath from which they can be drawn forth pure and white.

The elder continues his explanation as follows, verses 15, 16, 17:—"Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple, and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them; they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, or any heat: for the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

The phrase, therefore, "they are before the throne of God," indicates that their having washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, is the reason why they are permitted to stand before the throne of God and serve him day and

night in his temple. While this phraseology, and that which follows, descriptive of the perfect happiness of the redeemed, ought to be taken in a figurative sense, yet there is nothing in it to warrant its application to any mere temporary and temporal success and repose of the church militant in the present life. When we compare the language here employed with that used in the twenty-first chapter to describe the blessedness of the redeemed in the future state, the correspondence is so exact as to leave no room for doubt that both descriptions relate to the same condition of the redeemed; and as it is perfectly manifest that the language of the twenty-first chapter is figuratively descriptive of the future life, the principle of unity of interpretation requires that the description before us should also be referred to the future state. Indeed, to interpret the throne of God here mentioned as meaning that of any earthly monarch, regarded as God's representative, would be not only foolish, but profane.

We are thus brought to the conclusion of the scenic representation of the contents of the writing on the back or outside of the sealed volume; and it has been shewn to embrace all that has been foretold of the temporal history of Christianity, from its commencement down to the ingathering of the Israelitish portion of the church, previous to the dispersion of the Jews over the whole earth, including also the final triumph of the church in the future state. The symbolization of the inner writing on the roll is about to commence on the opening of the last of the seven seals, so as to admit of the volume being unrolled; and we may expect that it will take up the temporal history of Christianity at the point where it was left off by the outer writing, and continue it thence down to the end of the temporal system. It will accordingly be found, on careful examination, that the inner writing does actually thus continue the temporal history of Christianity, so filling up the void left in the outer writing, between the ingathering of the Jewish portion of the Christian church and its final triumph in the future state. But it does more; it extends into the future state itself, and unfolds more clearly, and with far greater minuteness, the nature and blessedness of the life to come than is done in this preliminary sketch, contained in the outer writing.

The tract of duration thus embraced in the symbolization of the inner writing is therefore of vast extent, stretching in all probability through many thousands of years. Whosoever would undertake the chronological investigation of these scenic prophecies must approach the subject in a philosophical spirit, and divest his mind of all preconceptions based on Jewish, Gentile,

or early Christian fancies or traditions respecting the limitation of the temporal system of the world to the comparatively brief space of six or seven thousand years, founded on an imaginary analogy to the six days of creation. Modern science has made it clear that the six creative periods called *days* are not natural days, but indeterminate epochs of immense duration, distinguished from each other, not by the revolutions of the earth on its axis, or in its orbit, but by the character of the creative processes of which they marked the continuance; and that some of them may have embraced not merely thousands but millions of years. They can, therefore, furnish no analogy whatever by which to judge of the continuance of the temporal system of the world. We must bear in mind that the duration of this last is to be determined by Him with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day; consequently that, in his determination, He will be guided, not by planetary revolutions, but by the accomplishment of His great moral plans. His chief design is the ingathering of a determinable number of redeemed from an indeterminable number of human beings brought into the world—these redeemed ones being the reward assigned to Christ for his suffering and death, and being destined to constitute the permanent population of the globe in its renewed state, under the immediate sovereignty of Christ as the personal manifestation of Deity dwelling among them.

The number of this redeemed multitude, we are assured, by the scenic representation here given of them, is so vast as to transcend all human power to reckon it. When we consider this fact, and take into account the extreme slowness with which the ingathering of this countless multitude appears to be going forward, we should feel no surprise that several thousands of years may have yet to elapse before the number shall have been completed; and we may rest assured that, until that great end be attained, the temporal system of the world shall not be brought to a close.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE apostle proceeds to describe the opening of the seventh seal, as follows: "And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven, about the space of half an hour," or more literally,—"*as it were half an hour.*" This last expression shews that the definite term, "*half an hour,*" is here used in an indefinite sense, to denote a short interval of time; or perhaps it may mean, more precisely, the half of the interval, separating

the events symbolized under the sealing vision, from those symbolized under the first of the following visions, without, however, defining the exact duration of that interval.

Of this "silence in heaven," two views may be taken, either that it preceded the symbolization, by which the contents of the inner writing of the sealed volume were to be made known, or that it formed part of that symbolization itself, and represented the first of the series of events foreshadowed in this prophecy.

According to the first view, it may be regarded as the silence of expectancy—all the heavenly host remaining in mute expectation, eager to learn the contents of the mysterious volume, which, now that the last of the seven seals, which held together its two rollers, has been opened, is about to be unrolled, so that the writing on its inner surface may be disclosed. This view, however, is open to the objection, that the silence of anticipation might be expected rather immediately to precede the opening of the last seal, than to follow that act.

According to the second view, that this silence is itself part of the symbolization, evolved from the inner writing,—the first of the series of events foreshadowed, it may be regarded as representing a short truce between the opposing powers of heathenism and Christianity. Heathenism, in possession of the sphere of influence and power—the political heaven, maintains a brief silence towards the Church—the silence of indifference. The Church, on her part again, is equally silent and indifferent towards heathenism—ceasing to carry on that aggressive warfare against ignorance and superstition, which it is her special duty to maintain with unabated vigour. This would indicate a decay of zeal on the part of the Church—an idea which appears to be favoured by the sequel of the vision, which seems to portray the infusion of fresh enthusiasm into the Church, and a renewal of the warfare between Christianity on the one hand, and ignorance, superstition and bigotry, on the other.

The apostle goes on to say, verse 2, "And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets. A serious difficulty arises here, out of the use of the definite article, as applied to these seven angels; for there is no previous mention of any seven angels standing before God. The occurrence of the article here is the more remarkable, because, when the seven angels with the seven vials are introduced, it is omitted. This circumstance might almost warrant a suspicion that its insertion, in the passage before us, has arisen from an error of transcription. Possibly, however, when we ascertain what these seven angels symbolize, we may discover why the article is employed. On a cursory view, we might be led to

suppose that these angels are merely part of the machinery of the drama; for each does no more than blow a trumpet at the commencement of a new scenic representation—thus dividing the emblems from each other in a manner corresponding to that in which, in the previous vision, they were divided by the opening of the successive seals. We might, thence, be led to infer that these angels have no representative character, but are mere adjuncts, or aids to the symbolization. A more careful examination, however, will detect a probability that these angels have a very important representative character, and that they are not mere scenic heralds.

It is stated, that to these angels were given seven trumpets. Now, the trumpet is the instrument employed in war to summon the host to battle, and it may therefore be fairly inferred, that the sounding of the trumpet of each angel proclaims a renewal of the contests between Christianity and its enemies. Again it appears, that the blast of each trumpet is followed by emblems suggestive of great calamities, and especially of assaults on the pure religion of Christ. Indeed, the emblems which follow the blasts of the last three trumpets, are expressly declared to symbolize woes. Now, as the blast of the angel's trumpet appears to shadow forth that which summons to the conflict against Christianity, the powers of moral evil, in various forms, these angels can hardly be regarded as benevolent beings. A probability is thus raised that they are personifications of successive manifestations of the spirit of opposition to Christianity—that they symbolize the principle of moral evil in various forms, actuating those who were most conspicuous in their opposition to the cause of Christ.

In confirmation of this view, it will be particularly noted, that these seven angels are said to stand, not before the throne of God, but confronting God—an expression often employed to denote opposition. Thus, in the fourth verse of the twelfth chapter, the very same phraseology is employed, where it is said, that the dragon stood confronting the woman, who was about to bring forth, in order to devour her child as soon as it should be born. In that case there can be no doubt that the ideas of opposition and enmity are involved. Had the seven angels been described as standing before the throne, it might have been inferred that they were willingly submissive to the divine sovereignty—rendering homage to the Lamb, like all the other assembled angels, and the countless multitude of the redeemed. But the statement, that they stood confronting God, leaves us at liberty to infer that they stood arrayed in opposition to God, provided the subsequent symbolization warrants the conclusion,

that the effects of the blasts of their trumpets were to call into action various forms of opposition to the cause of divine truth. Assuming, in the meantime, that such will be found to be the case, we may regard these seven angels as personifications of the seven principles in human nature which are most active in their opposition to the advancement of pure Christianity, standing, as it were, arrayed against God, ready to engage in conflict against the divine truth. This view would account for the use of the definite article as applied to these angels. They are *the* seven specific spirits standing opposed to God, which the apostle had thus presented to his mental eye in bodily shapes. They may be regarded as the counterparts, or opposites, of the seven spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth to establish and maintain the dominion of Christ in the human mind, and which were symbolized by the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, and also by the seven eyes of the Lamb.

If this view be adopted, the giving to these seven angels trumpets, may denote the permission accorded to them by the Deity, to summon their forces to contend against Christianity; for unless God, for wise purposes, allowed those principles in human nature which are opposed to divine truth, to exert their influence in resisting its progress, they could have no power to renew the struggle.

This emblem of the seven angels standing opposed to God, and receiving seven trumpets, may, accordingly, be regarded as the mustering of the forces which are about to contend against Christianity, and endeavour to arrest its progress towards acquiring universal dominion over the human mind; and the next emblem may be viewed as symbolizing the preparation, made on the side of Christianity, to engage in this long and arduous combat. It is thus described by the apostle, verses 3—5: "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand. And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake."

To understand what idea is intended to be conveyed by this "other angel," it is necessary to attend, in the first instance, to his actions. It will be remembered that the vials full of odours, mentioned in the fifth chapter, as held by the twenty-four elders, are explained to mean the prayers of saints. Now we have here

the self-same word, again used in the plural number; and we ought, therefore, to translate it as before—"Many odours." "There were presented to him many odours, that he might present them, with the prayers of all the saints, upon the golden altar which is before the throne. And the smoke of the odours, with the prayers of the saints, ascended," etc. It is curious that the emblem, and the thing signified by it, should thus be presented together. This circumstance appears to indicate that the odours symbolize some quality, or ingredient, in the prayers of the saints, in which they had been previously deficient, but which was now supplied to them in abundance. In the 141st Psalm, the Psalmist says, "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense;" thus pointing to some analogy between prayer and the odours of an incense-offering. Now, this analogy seems to rest on three particulars—1st. The incense must burn with fire; hence, the idea of fervour is involved—2nd. The vapour of the incense becomes diffused; hence, diffusion or enlargement of spirit is the second idea implied—and, 3rd., the odour of the incense is agreeable, so that acceptability, or conformity to the divine will, appears to be the third of the involved ideas. Now, as all these three ideas are applicable to prayer, we may infer that the emblem under consideration denotes a pre-existing deficiency of these three qualities in the prayers of the saints—an idea which accords well with the conclusion, that the silence in heaven indicates an apathy and indifference, on the part of the Christian Church, to the yet unchristianized world, and that an infusion of fresh zeal was required to make it renew its aggressive attacks on the domains of heathenism.

Regarding the odours, then, to mean fervour, diffusiveness, and acceptability, or conformity to the divine will, requiring to be imparted to the prayers of the saints, in order that they might ascend before God and obtain a favourable answer, it will be particularly noted that these are *given* to this angel, and that he imparted them to the prayers of the saints, which were put into the golden censer along with the incense. The angel then applied to the censer the fire of the altar, and on the incense being thus inflamed he held the censer in his hand, and the vapour of the incense, combined with the prayers of the saints, thus ascended out of his hand before God. On the contents of the censer being thus exhausted, the angel fills it with the burning embers from the altar, and casts them upon the earth.

Of this symbolization two views may be entertained—1st. The agent and the action, taken together, may be regarded as a scenic representation of the intercession of Christ on behalf of

his Church. To this idea there are two objections—1st. The Lamb being the already recognized emblem of Christ's humanity—the sole Mediator between God and man—and seeing the Lamb has finished his assigned action of opening the seals, had this scene been intended to represent the intercession of Christ, we should have expected that the Lamb would have himself performed this Mediatorial act, instead of another angel being employed. A second, and still stronger objection is, that the odours are *given* to this angel that he may impart them to the prayers of the saints: whereas, had Christ himself been the actor in this scene, it would more probably have been said, that he *took* the odours and imparted them to the prayers of the saints. The first of these objections might be obviated, by supposing that the Lamb was appropriated as a type of Christ, in his sacrificial character only; and that a separate type was therefore required to represent him in his Mediatorial office. This scarcely meets the objection, however, because the actor here is evidently assimilated, in nature, to the angels who received the trumpets, but as being of another or opposite character; so that, if the seven angels are personifications of principles, this other angel ought to be regarded as being also a personification of some opposite principle. Besides, we ought to observe extreme caution before admitting that any of the angelic beings, introduced into these scenic representations, are impersonations of Christ in some one of his offices, because we have a permanent double emblem of Christ subsisting throughout the whole of them—the occupant of the throne symbolizing his divine nature, and the Lamb representing his human nature. Nor is it true that the Lamb symbolizes Christ in his sacrificial character only; for we find the Lamb, subsequently introduced, as taking his stand upon Mount Zion with the 144,000—a scene which bears no distinct reference to his sacrifice.

The second objection, moreover, still remains, that arising out of the circumstance of the incense being given to this angel; for this is obviously the counterpart of the giving of the trumpets to the seven opposing angels. Now, regarding the incense odours as symbolizing fervour, diffusiveness or enlargement of spirit, and acceptability, arising out of conformity to the divine will, imparted to the prayers of the saints, it is much more probable that these were given by Christ to this angel, than that Christ himself should have had them given to him.

Such being the objections to regarding this angel as being Christ himself, acting in his mediatorial capacity, we are led to inquire whether some more satisfactory explanation may not be found. If we have accurately interpreted the meaning of the

seven angels, to whom the trumpets were given, as representing the spirits, or principles, in human nature, most opposed to the progress of Christianity, preparing themselves to engage in combat, to prevent its diffusion, it seems natural to regard this other angel as the champion on the other side, as a personification of that single spirit or principle which actuates men in their endeavours to promote the advancement of Christianity towards universal dominion over the human race. This principle is the desire, existing in every thoroughly Christianized mind, to impart to others that happiness which arises from a well-grounded hope of salvation through Christ, and which may be called the missionary or evangelical spirit. The truly Christian mind cannot rest contented with its own possession of the Christian's faith and hope; but the more perfectly it is assimilated to the divine mind, so much the more does it burn with a fervent desire to advance the kingdom of God, and diffuse the blessings of Christianity throughout the whole world.

Now, if we regard this other angel as representing this evangelical spirit or principle, the symbolization becomes perfectly natural and appropriate. We have first a short truce between the opposing forces of heathenism and Christianity, represented by the half hour's silence in heaven. We have then the mustering of the seven spirits opposed to Christianity, and the divine permission accorded them to summon their forces to withstand the progress of the Christian faith. And now we have the counterpart. The evangelical spirit rises as the champion of Christianity; and to him is given fervency or earnestness, diffusiveness or enlargement of spirit, that is, a desire to extend itself far and wide, and lastly, that conformity to the divine will and intentions which finds acceptance with the Deity, in like manner as fragrant odours are delightful to human sense. The spirit of evangelism infuses these ingredients into the prayers of all the saints, and they rise together before God. It is thus indicated that the dormant spirit of evangelism having been roused into activity, all the saints united in prayer for the success of those upon whom this spirit more especially rested, and who are to go forth as the actual combatants in the struggle about to ensue.

Such is the preparation, on the part of the Christian Church, for the impending contest; and it will be observed, that in this, as in all other cases, the preparation of the saints consists in fervent prayer to God. They do not arm themselves with carnal weapons, but they apply to their heavenly Father; and he, in answer, supplies them with the fitting means of successfully meeting their enemies.

This answer we have typified in the second act of the angel : "And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire from the altar, and cast it upon the earth." This action corresponds very well with the idea that the angel may represent Christ in his mediatorial character ; but this correspondence is scarcely sufficient to over-ride the objections to that view previously urged. On the other hand, if we understand this angel to be a personification of the evangelical spirit, and the representative of those in whom that spirit was specially manifested, we may consider him to be acting, in this instance, as the commissioner of Christ, and as authorized by him to take the fire from the altar, and cast it upon the earth.

This fire from the altar is an obvious type of religious fervour and zeal, which the spirit of evangelism obtains, in answer to the prayers of the Church, and which he casts abroad upon the earth. Christ himself says (Luke xii. 49) : "I am come to send fire on the earth, and what will I if it be already kindled?" Our Saviour probably here refers to two sorts of fire, the fire of religious zeal which he was to kindle in the breasts of his followers—the fire of rage, opposition, and persecution which was to burn in the bosoms of his enemies. Of the latter species of fire we shall have abundance presently, but the fire from the altar is plainly of the former description ; and it will accordingly be observed, that when it was poured upon the earth this fire did not produce any destructive effects. When, in the vision of Isaiah (chap. vi. 6, 7), one of the seraphim touched the prophet's lips with a live coal from the altar, his lips were cleansed, and his mind was made willing to go forth and prophesy. In like manner, when, in St. John's vision, the fire from the altar was poured upon the earth, the effects were, "voices, thunderings, lightnings, and an earthquake." What are these voices and thunderings? The former may be regarded as the voices of prayer and praise, and of religious discourse ; the latter as the open and zealous preaching of the Word by the successors of the original sons of thunder. This idea confirms the view that the previous silence in heaven was a type of a state of silent indifference in the Church, requiring an infusion of new zeal from above to break it, and to cause the Church to utter her voice, and give forth the thunder of her eloquence. According to this explanation of the voices and thunderings we may understand by the lightnings, the gleams of light darted into the darkened understandings of men, and the convictions flashed upon their consciences by the preaching of the Word. The earthquake, again, may be a symbol of that excitement and commotion among the people produced by this renewed activity in the Church.

This fresh manifestation of zeal on the side of the Church may be expected to call forth renewed opposition on the part of her enemies. Accordingly, the seven angels who had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound. Regarding these angels as personifications of the principles most opposed to this activity we may consider this statement as denoting that Christianity, displayed on the side of the supporters of the Christian faith, in their endeavours to invade the dominions of heathenism, aroused the dormant passions in the minds of its opponents, who accordingly made preparation to repel the contemplated assault.

It is next stated, that "the first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire, mingled with blood; and they were cast upon the earth." This last word ought decidedly to be "land," because we find, that in the next emblem the destructive agencies are cast into the sea, in contradistinction to the land. We have, in this symbolization, an evident representation of the commencement of hostilities on the side of the opponents of Christianity.

The hail seems to represent something showered from above—that is, from the ruling authorities, and having a chilling effect—tending to quench the zeal, awakened by the fire from the altar. It may, therefore, mean a shower of proclamations, edicts and decrees, directed against the Christians, prohibiting the preaching of the word, and designed to quell the ardour of those endeavouring to propagate the new doctrines. It will be observed, that the hail itself is not said to produce any destructive effects, so that we may suppose it to represent something which would not alone have inflicted any serious injury; and this is the character of mere prohibitory edicts. But these were accompanied by "fire mingled with blood." Here we have the fire of the second sort—the furious rage of the enemies of the truth. It is "fire mingled with blood"—that is, fury causing bloodshed. It is worthy of note that the hail and the fire in this case do not emanate from a single source. It may hence be inferred that the persecutions which these symbolize, were directed by the provincial authorities and populacé, and did not emanate directly from the central authority.

The angel who blows the first trumpet may therefore be regarded as a personification of the spirit of popular prejudice, superstition and fanaticism, manifesting itself in scattered persecutions against Christianity—arising from mere popular impulse, similar to those which are frequently described in the Acts of the Apostles.

Let us now attend to the effects produced by the destructive

agencies here described. There is in this passage an unfortunate discrepancy in the manuscripts ; those from which the received text is taken have simply—"And the third part of the trees was burnt up ; and all green grass was burnt up ;" but others have—"And the third part of the land was burnt up, and the third part of the trees was burnt up ; and all green grass was burnt up"—a reading which is adopted, though with some hesitation, by Griesbach, and which is also adopted by Sachmann, and approved by Bloomfield. This latter reading would assign a territorial limit to the effects of these destructive agencies, whereas the former would restrict the term "third part" to the trees alone. This limiting phrase "third part" may be an instance of a definite term employed in an indefinite sense, as meaning merely a *considerable* part, but not the larger proportion ; or if it is to be taken more strictly, it may refer to some territorial division subsisting at the time. There would be considerable difficulty and dubiety introduced into the passage by the reading of Griesbach and Sachmann, a circumstance which should render us cautious in its adoption. First, it makes the destructive elements to be cast upon the entire land, and yet only a third part of it to be affected. Again this reading renders it doubtful whether it was the third part of the trees, and all the grass in the whole land, or merely in the third of the land, that was consumed. The latter would be the most natural inference ; for if only the third of the land was affected by the fire, we cannot suppose that the trees and grass of the remaining two-thirds were burnt. Now, had it been intended to convey the idea that the action of the destructive elements was confined territorially to one third of the land, it would have been more natural to have said that the hail and fire mingled with blood were cast upon one-third of the land, than that they were cast upon the entire land, when only one-third was to be injured by them. Again, had it been only one-third of the trees and *all* the grass in one-third of the land that was consumed, we should have expected the insertion of the limiting word, "therein" thus—"And one-third of the land was burnt up, and one-third of the trees, and all the green grass therein was burnt up." Moreover, if the entire third of the land was burnt up, and *all* the green grass therein, it seems strange how two-thirds of the trees should have escaped. On the other hand, if the third of the trees refer to the whole land, then it does not appear how all the grass should have been burnt up, and yet only one-third of the land be said to be affected by the fire. These difficulties tend to shew that the preference is due to the received text, and that we should understand the hail and fire, mingled with blood,

to be cast upon the entire land, and that the fire consumed all the green grass, but only one-third of the trees.

It is worthy of particular notice that no mention is made of the inhabitants of the land, and that the destructive effects are thus apparently confined to its vegetation; while, nevertheless, we have an indication of the sacrifice of human life in the emblem of the blood that was mingled with the fire. Now, as the burning of a portion of the trees and of all the green grass of the land is a calamity of comparatively small importance, when contrasted with the destruction of its human inhabitants, there is an extreme improbability that this description is to be taken literally—that the sacrifice of human life is to be merely inferred from the mention of blood, while the destruction of a third part of the trees, and of all the green grass by fire is so particularly detailed. We are thus led to the conclusion that the description ought to be taken in a highly figurative sense.

It has already been pointed out that the land is here specified in contradistinction to the sea—the theatre of the next scenic representation; and both of these terms may therefore be regarded as being used metaphorically. The land may be understood as denoting “the garden of God,” in which his good seed is sown, and in which his trees and herbage grow, namely, the visible Christian church. The meaning of the trees may be discovered by reference to Matt. vii. 17, where our Saviour says, “Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.”^a We may therefore regard the trees as symbolizing the professors of Christianity, some bearing good fruit, others bearing nothing but leaves; mere formalists believing in the doctrines of Christianity, but not obeying its precepts. What is signified by the green grass may be found by referring to the parable of the wheat and the tares in the original Greek, where it will be observed that precisely the same expression is employed for the green blade of the young wheat, as that which occurs in this passage. It may accordingly have a similar meaning here, and denote those who had heard the word preached, and shewn some signs of spiritual life, but who had not yet openly embraced Christianity.

It will be observed that a portion of the trees, and *all* the green blades were burnt by the fire. We may hence learn that the extinction of mortal life is not here meant; because that is denoted by the separate emblem of the blood which accompanied the fire, and which may be held to represent the blood of the martyrs shed in this persecution. By the trees and grass being

^a See also Isa. lxi. 3, and Ezek. xxxi. 3—9.

burned by the fire of persecution, then, we ought, perhaps, to understand that a number of the professors of Christianity—those probably who were mere nominal Christians—the trees bearing nothing but leaves, were led, in consequence of this persecution, to renounce their connection with the persecuted sect, and that those to whom the gospel had been preached, and who had shewn some symptoms of verdure in their souls—the green blades—were by this persecution deterred from embracing Christianity.

The apostle proceeds, “And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain, burning with fire, was cast into the sea.” The hail and fire had been cast upon the land—the garden of God—in which grew his trees and his young wheat; but this burning mountain is cast into the sea. Our Saviour compares the kingdom of heaven to a net cast into the sea; and in the vision of Daniel (chap. vii.) that prophet saw the four winds striving in the great sea, and four beasts rising out of the great sea, to represent four empires. Thus in both these cases the sea is employed as an emblem of human society. Ought we not therefore to assign to it the same meaning in this place, and to infer that, as the former fire affected the church alone, this mountain of fire was to injure society at large? The former fire was scattered; but this fire is concentrated, and vomited from a great mountain. Now a mountain is a well known symbol of imperial power, so that this emblem appears to denote the establishment of a great tyranny, which is to vent its fury, not on the church alone, but on the whole society subject to its sway. The angel who sounds the second trumpet may therefore be regarded as a personification of the spirit of tyranny, clothed with despotic authority.

The effects produced by this tyrannical power, burning with fury, being cast into the sea of human society, are thus described: “And the third part of the sea became blood, and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea and had life died, and the third part of the ships were destroyed. The figurative character of the language becomes here very manifest. The natural consequences of a burning mountain being cast into the sea would have been the vomiting forth of liquid fire, the drying up of a considerable portion of the waters, and the consequent death of the living creatures therein. But the effects here described are far different. The third part of the sea became blood. Understanding the sea to be here used as a figure for human society at large, this metaphor would be nearly equivalent to the more common phrase, “a large proportion of society became deluged with blood;” and we may accordingly conclude,

that under this emblem is denoted the violent destruction of human life on a great scale. The third part may involve the idea either of a territorial limitation or of a large proportion of human society, viewed in the mass, as being affected by this calamity.

The next effect produced by this burning mountain demands special attention: "and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea and had life died." It will be particularly noted that these creatures are not said to have been killed, they simply died. It will be also observed, that these creatures are described as having had life. Now, seeing the emblem of the conversion of a large proportion of the sea into blood, clearly denotes the prevalence of great slaughter; it is plain that this statement, that "the third part of the creatures that had life died," must have a different meaning.

It will be remembered, that when our Lord compares his kingdom to a net cast into the sea, the fishes, or living creatures caught in the net represent that portion of society brought under the influence of the Gospel, of whom only a portion become true Christians. By the creatures in the sea, which had life, then, we may understand those members of society in whom a certain amount of spiritual life had been developed, or at least those who had been brought under the influence of the doctrines which produce spiritual life. According to this view this part of the description may import, that in consequence of the destroying, debasing, and corrupting effects of the prevailing tyranny, the sparks of spiritual life which had been kindled in the bosoms of many members of society, were extinguished.

What, then, are we to understand by the ships? They appear to represent something which separates men from society at large, and keeps them apart from the great tide of human affairs. These ships, then, may aptly symbolize the various Christian churches established throughout the empire, in which the tyranny, symbolized by the burning mountain, prevails. It will be observed, that the ships are not said to have been burned by the fire, but to have perished from decay, for so the Greek expression imports. It may hence be inferred that many churches became extinct from lack of members; or, that in consequence of the corrupt state of society engendered by the prevailing tyranny, many of the churches became corrupted, and declined from the simplicity of primitive Christianity.

In both of the foregoing scenic representations the opposition to the advancement of the Christian religion proceeds from external enemies; but those which immediately follow appear to denote assaults from internal foes.

The effects which ensued from the blasts of the third trumpet

are thus described: "And the third angel sounded; and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp; and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters. And the name of the star is called "Wormwood;" and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter." It will be remembered, that in the first vision of the apostle, the angels of the churches, as they are called, were represented by stars in the hand of our Saviour. By this star, burning like a lamp, then, we may understand some conspicuous minister of the Church, some great preacher; while his falling from heaven may denote either his expulsion from the church or his falling away from the truth.

What mean the rivers and fountains of water? These are the sources whence men are supplied with water to drink; and we may therefore regard them, in a metaphysical sense, as representing the sources whence men are supplied with the water of life, or simply the doctrines taught to them, and the seats of instruction whence these doctrines are disseminated.

The name of this fallen star is said to have been "Wormwood." It is worthy of remark, in a critical point of view, that the usual name for the plant "wormwood," is in Greek, "*apsinthion*;" but the word, here employed, is the "*apsinthos*," as it were *a-psinthos*, which, etymologically considered, means disagreeable, or "the displeasing one." By the embittering of the third part of the rivers and fountains of water, then, we may understand the corruption of the pure doctrines of Christianity, the introduction of some remarkable heresies into the Church. The limiting phrase, "the third part," may apply either to the territories, in which the Christian faith prevailed, or to the seats of instruction established in different parts of those territories, and be understood to mean only a considerable proportion, not an exact third.

"And many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter." This expression may mean that many lost their spiritual life by imbibing the corrupted doctrines typified by the embittered waters.

The angel who sounded the third trumpet may thus be regarded as a personification of that spirit of scepticism and obstinate opinionativeness which is the prime cause of heresy and contention. The bitterness of the waters is an evident type of strife and bitterness of spirit, engendered by religious differences; and nothing tends so much to deprive men of real spiritual life as the engaging in such controversies. Doubtless a man may, from his position, be called upon to plunge into such a contest by standing up for the truth; and he may not

lose his spiritual life in the struggle. Accordingly, it will be observed, that it is not averred that *all* who drank of those bitter waters died, but that *many* men died of the waters because they were embittered.

That this emblem does not admit of being explained by a hostile invasion of the territories through which the rivers flowed, or by any other external calamities befalling them and their inhabitants, a very little consideration will suffice to shew. The evils produced by the falling star are not confined to the rivers, but they affect the fountains or sources of the streams, and it is the waters alone that are injured by the influence of this spirit of bitterness, while it is only those who drink of the waters thus embittered that lose their life. There is nothing in the features of this symbolization to indicate hostile invasion, or the ravages of war. The whole shadows forth the introduction of a deleterious ingredient into those waters, which ought to have supplied refreshment and health to mankind. The use of rivers and fountains as a metaphor for the sources of spiritual and intellectual nourishment is not unfrequent in Scripture, and might be illustrated by several passages, but one will suffice: Isaiah, in the forty-third chapter of his prophecy, verses 19, 20, says—"I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert; the beast of the field shall honour me, the dragons and the owls; because I give waters in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my chosen." Here it is evident that the rivers and waters in the desert signify the means of spiritual refreshment and sustenance, provided for the chosen people of God.

Now, in the passage before us, we could not, with any propriety, take the rivers and fountains in a literal sense, without taking the evil that befalls them also in a literal sense, and understanding that they were actually rendered bitter. But as such a notion would be absurd, it is plain that we must regard the rivers and fountains as a metaphor; and it is surely far more probable that they have here the same spiritual meaning, as in the passage in Isaiah, above quoted, than that they merely denote certain countries in which the rivers take their rise, and through which they pursue their course. A meaning which is far from being in harmony with the embittering of the waters; for that metaphor cannot, with the least probability, be applied to any calamity befalling the territories in which the fountains spring, or through which the rivers flow.

The explanation of the next emblem is attended with more difficulty. It is thus described by the apostle, ver. 12: "And the fourth angel sounded; and the third part of the sun was

smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened; and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise." Here we have a symbolization very closely resembling that which followed the opening of the sixth seal; yet, with such an amount of variation as to indicate a very considerable modification in the meaning. This variation consists not only in the limitation of the effects to one-third part of the heavenly luminaries, but also in the nature of the results, which are very peculiar. Our translation, however, scarcely conveys, with adequate precision, the meaning of the original; for we say, that "the day shone not for a third part of it," thus using a neuter verb; whereas, in the original, the verb is active, and governs "the third part." A nearer approach to the correct meaning would be to say: "And the day displayed not its third part, and the night likewise." A question thus arises, whether the limitation was in time, or merely in brilliancy; that is, whether a third part of the day-time, and likewise of the night-time, was entirely dark; or, whether the whole day was deprived of one-third of its usual brightness, and likewise the whole night. The translation, in the authorized version, favours the former view; but the Greek text keeps the point open, leaving the true meaning to be inferred from the general context, a due consideration of which renders it more probable that the limitation applies to the general brilliancy of the entire day and night, than that it involves the idea of total darkness prevailing during a third part both of the day-time and the night-time.

Such a total darkness during eight out of the twenty-four hours might be produced by the covering up of one-third of the visible heavens by very dense clouds or fog, so that as soon as the sun, and, in their turn, the moon and stars entered that region of the sky their light was arrested and prevented from reaching the earth. According to that view the third part would indicate a territorial limit, and lead to the inference that one-third portion of the visible earth became shrouded in total darkness. This view, however, is scarcely warranted by the description. Had it been intended to convey such an idea, it would have been said, that the third part of the face of the heavens became darkened, so that the sun, moon, and stars shone not during a third part of their course; or else that the sun, moon, and stars were darkened during a third part of their journey. But the description is far otherwise. It is the luminaries themselves that are affected and deprived of one-third of their illuminating power. The verb rendered "smitten" by our translators means not simply "to strike," but "to deprive of natural qualities."

The idea conveyed, therefore, is, that the sun, moon, and stars lost one-third of their brilliancy. Now, if the natural effects that would follow from such a phenomenon be considered, it will be perceived that it would not be to render eight out of the twenty-four hours absolutely dark, but to deprive the whole twelve hours of the day and twelve hours of the night of one-third of their usual brilliancy; so that this must be regarded as the more probable meaning of the phraseology here employed.

On comparing this symbolization with that of the sixth seal, it will be seen that the leading idea is altogether different. In the sixth seal vision the stars fall to the ground like untimely figs, but in the fourth trumpet vision the sun, moon, and stars are merely deprived of their illuminating power, and the result is the partial obscuration of the day and night. Hence the pervading idea is the loss of light; and that, not in any particular territory, but to the world at large. For, as the day and the night affect the whole world, so the depriving of the entire day and night of one-third of their wonted illumination implies, that human society, viewed as a whole, was bereft of a portion of its light, and not that the inhabitants of any particular district were left in total darkness.

To understand this emblem we must bear in mind that the previous scenic representations symbolized the entire obscuration of the sun of Judaism, and the rise of the sun of Christianity, which must accordingly be regarded as the sun now shining in the spiritual firmament, and as that to which the symbolization of the fourth trumpet applies. We ought hence to infer, that the emblem prefigures a partial eclipse of the light of pure Christianity, and the consequent loss of spiritual illumination by the church represented by the moon, and by its ministers represented by the stars. Were the phraseology to be so understood as to involve the idea of a territorial limit, the only alteration required in the interpretation of the emblem would be to regard it as foreshadowing the obscuration of the sun of Christianity, and of the reflected light of the church and its ministers in a third part (or a considerable portion) of those regions in which these luminaries had previously been shining.

This disaster follows very naturally from the previous calamity of the embittering of the waters—the corruption and adulteration of some of the leading doctrines of the pure Christian faith, and the adoption of those corrupted doctrines by a large proportion of those professing Christianity. The emblems of the fourth trumpet, however, go a step beyond those of the third. They shadow forth—not a mere adulteration of Christian truth, but the relapse of a large proportion, both of the teachers

and professors of the Christian faith, into the darkness of heathenism or infidelity. Thus, the angel who sounds the fourth trumpet may be regarded as a personification of that spirit, or principle in the human mind, which leads men to love darkness rather than the light, their deeds being evil: while the general scope of the emblem appears to denote a great inroad of this principle upon the integrity of the Christian church.

If we have rightly understood the emblems in this chapter, they appear to represent the following series of events. 1st. A short period of apathy in the church, and of indifference towards it on the part of the state, followed by an infusion of fresh religious zeal into the Christian community, resulting in an extensive and energetic preaching of the word, the conviction of many consciences, and much excitement in the minds of men. 2nd. Persecutions, attended by bloodshed, in many places arising from popular prejudice, and resulting in the purification of the church from many mere nominal professors, and that class of hearers, who, in our Lord's parable of the sower, are represented by the seeds that fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth, which forthwith sprung up—shewing the green blade, but which, when the sun waxed hot, were scorched, because they had no root, and they withered away. 3rd. The infliction upon society of a great tyrannical despotism, producing much bloodshed, persecuting the Church—detering many, who had in them some sparks of spiritual life, from embracing Christianity, and so causing their spiritual life to expire, and also resulting in the decay of many associations of Christians, either from the thinning of their numbers, or the abatement of their zeal, in consequence of the oppression of the tyrannical power. 4th. The fall of a conspicuous luminary of the church, and the introduction by him of a great heresy—an adulteration of the water of life—a corruption of the pure doctrines of Christianity, in consequence of which many souls should perish. 5th. The apostacy of a considerable part of the church from the Christian truth, and its consequent loss of the light of Christ's countenance.

It is worthy of note, that we have no dates, or periods of duration, assigned to these events; such definite periods, or at least an appearance of such, being first introduced in the succeeding emblems. For aught that is concerned in the narrative, the interval of time between the opening of the seventh seal and the sounding of the fifth trumpet may be of any length whatever. It thus becomes an open question, whether the four first trumpet visions shadow forth a series of events, which are to follow each other in the order of succession here indicated,

and each continuing to endure for a certain epoch of time ; or whether we may not take a more general view, and regard these four visions as prefiguring that the church should have continuously, or at least from time to time, to struggle against opposition from popular prejudice and tyrannical despotism as external enemies, and against the spirit of scepticism and apostasy as internal foes. There can be no doubt of the fact, that these four operate as continual hindrances to the progress of pure Christianity in the world ; so that these prophetic visions may be considered as being in the course of perpetual realization. But this more general view is not inconsistent with the idea, that these scenic representations denote some remarkable manifestation of the influence of these opposing forces, which was to follow the first great development of Christianity. The introduction of a chronological limitation, at least of the appearance of such, in the vision of the fifth trumpet, tends to favour this view of Christianity having to maintain an arduous contest with these four opposing forces assailing it in succession, previous to that great outbreak of the powers of moral evil, which is prefigured under the next vision, and to which a chronological epoch is apparently assigned.

The concluding verse of this chapter ought to have been disjoined from it and made the opening verse of the ninth chapter, to the subject of which it clearly belongs. In our translation it runs as follows, verse 13. "And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels, which are yet to sound!" There is considerable difficulty attending the explanation of this passage, arising out of a diversity in the readings of the original Greek ; for in many of the manuscripts, and some of the best editions, the word "eagle" is substituted for "angel." The reading "eagle" is adopted by Griesbach ; and in this preference he is followed by both Sachmann and Bloomfield. If that be the true reading, then, the correct rendering of the first clause would be, "And I beheld, and heard one, an eagle, flying in mid-heaven." This form of expression is required to give due effect to the numeral "one" used in the original, and even if the word "angel" is to be retained we should adopt a similar form—reading "And I beheld, and heard one, an angel, flying in mid-heaven." On the supposition that "one, an eagle," is the true reading, we must turn for an explanation to Isaiah xl. 31. "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles." The full meaning of the phrase used

by John, appears to be, "And I beheld, and heard one, represented by an eagle, flying in mid-heaven." The expression, "in the midst of heaven," used in our translation does not accurately convey the idea involved in the original word, which means the space midway between heaven and earth—the upper air.

This eagle or angel, then, ought to be regarded as an emblem of a man of exalted mind, who, by high intellectual culture and spiritual attainments, has soared far above the allurements of the world into a region of spiritual and intellectual enjoyments, inferior, indeed, to those possessed by minds untainted by sin, yet far exalted above those in which the men of earth find their satisfaction.

That an individual is here designated appears evident from the use of the numeral "one" in the original. "And I beheld, and heard *one*, either an eagle or an angel." Regarding the emblem as thus prefiguring an individual who should arise to give warning of the approaching woes, the variation of the reading becomes of less importance. If we read "one an eagle," we may understand the symbol as denoting the exalted spirituality of mind that should characterize this preacher. If we read "one an angel," we may regard the emblem as denoting simply that he should be one specially commissioned to warn the inhabitants of the earth of the coming evils, one of the angels of the churches.

Let us now attend to the proclamation of this preacher. The phrase, "the inhabitants of the earth," is here, as we shall afterwards find it in other parts of the prophecy, used in a spiritual sense to denote "worldly-minded men," as contradistinguished from those who had acquired some amount of spiritual life. This becomes apparent from the circumstance that the powers of evil, summoned into action by the sound of the fifth trumpet, are limited in their effects to the men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads. These are thus identified with the inhabitants of the earth, against whom the three woes are denounced. They are called "inhabitants of the earth," because they look not beyond the present world, but regard it as their permanent home. They never direct their thoughts towards the future state, and can therefore have neither desire nor relish for the enjoyments of eternal life. They are accordingly "earth dwellers," and no more.

The proclamation of these three woes indicates that the blasts of the three succeeding trumpets were to be productive of calamities far greater than those which preceded them. But the guilty inhabitants of the earth were not to be taken by sur-

prise; for the symbolization intimates that one should be sent to forewarn them of the disasters they were about to bring down upon their own heads by yielding themselves to the influence of the principles called into activity by the sounds of the trumpets. The preposition used in the Greek implies that the woes were to arise *out of* the sound of the trumpets, and this circumstance confirms the accuracy of the view which has been taken of these trumpet angels—that they are personifications of evil spirits, or principles, summoning their forces to oppose the progress of pure Christianity in the world. They accordingly involve a two-fold woe—an accumulation of guilt on the part of the wordly-minded among mankind, and the temporal calamities which are to follow as the punishment of that guilt; but the former appears to be the leading idea. Woe shall arise to the inhabitants of the earth out of what they shall do, when excited into action by the blast of the trumpets that are about to sound. But that the guilty deeds, to which they shall thus be incited, are to carry with them their appropriate punishment, appears also from the tenor of the symbolization, although the full measure of that punishment seems to be deferred for a long time, and to be shadowed forth more particularly in the future part of the prophecy.

CORRESPONDENCE

* * * The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

ON THE SYRIAC WORD ܡܕܗ *ĒMADH*, "TO BE BAPTIZED."^a

THE writer in the *Calendar* is mistaken in supposing that the Syriac word ܡܕܗ *Ēmadh*, "to be baptized," is in any way connected with the Hebrew ܡܕܗ *āmādh*, "to stand." A knowledge of Arabic would have saved him from this error.

There are in Arabic two guttural sounds, ʿ *ain*, and ġ *ghain*, for which the other Shemitic languages possess, in writing at least, only one representative, viz., א, ʾ, ʾ *ain*. I say in *writing*, because the so-called Septuagint or Greek version of the Old Testament furnishes us with ample evidence that the Hebrew had *both* sounds. In the LXX. the sound of ʿ is represented by a *vowel*, accompanied, when initial, by the *spiritus lenis* or *asper* (for example, Ἀμαλήκ=ܡܕܗ, Ὀδολλάμ=ܡܕܗ, Ἐβραῖος=ܡܕܗ, Ἠλί=ܡܕܗ, Γελοβουέ=ܡܕܗ, Ὀσηέ=ܡܕܗ, Βοόζ=ܡܕܗ); whereas the sound of ġ is represented by the *consonant* γ (for example, Γάζα=ܡܕܗ, Arabic غَزَا, Γομόρρα=ܡܕܗ, Σηγώρ=ܡܕܗ, Arabic زَغَرَ, Παγαυ=ܡܕܗ).

Hence we see that several roots, which are easily distinguishable in Arabic, are confounded (to the eye at least) in Hebrew and Syriac; e.g., ܡܕܗ, "to cry out, sing, begin to speak, answer,"=ܡܕܗ, "to sing," but ܡܕܗ, "to be afflicted or downcast,"=ܡܕܗ. In the same way the Hebrew must have made a distinction between ܡܕܗ, "concealed," particip. plur. from the radical ܡܕܗ (whence ܡܕܗ, Arab. عَالَم), and ܡܕܗ, "youth," from the radical ܡܕܗ=Arab. عَامَ; between ܡܕܗ, "to be surety for, to give in pledge," and ܡܕܗ, "to be sweet," on the one side, and ܡܕܗ, "to set (of the sun)," Arab. غَرَبَ, on the other.

To this class of words belong the verbs ܡܕܗ *āmādh*, "to stand," and ܡܕܗ *Ēmadh*, "to be baptized."

The former can be traced through all the Shemitic languages in its derivative noun ܡܕܗ, "a pillar or column," Syr. ܡܕܗ, Arab. عَمُود, Æth.

^a Suggested by an extract in the *J. S. L.* for October, 1858, p. 231.

𐤕𐤔𐤕: *'amd*. Its primitive idea seems to be that of *straightness*, whence the signification, in Hebrew, of "to stand upright," in Arabic, of "to make for, to go straight to." Here the first radical letter is ع *'ain*.

As for حَضَم, it never means "to stand;" its primitive idea is that of "being dipped or immersed," and it is so used, for example, in Numb.

xxxi. 23, هَذَا لَا تَدْخُلُ حَتَّىٰ تَغْتَسِلَ فِي الْمَاءِ, "and all that cannot pass through fire, dip it into water" (imperat. Af'el). The first radical letter, moreover, is, strictly speaking, غ *ghain*, for in Arabic we find the word in two shapes, viz., غَد *ghamada*, "to sheathe (a sword, by plunging it into the scabbard)," and غَمَطَ *ghamata*, "to immerse (in water)." It is true that the Arabic language has the forms أَعَد and عَد, "to baptize," مَعْبِدَان, "one who baptizes," and مَعْمُودِيَّة, "baptism;" but these are not genuine Arabic words, but merely borrowed from the Syriac, in which the last two appear under the forms ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ and ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ. As the sound of غ *ghain* did not exist in Syriac at the time when these words passed into the Arabic, it was but natural that the Arabs, being ignorant of or disregarding their etymology, should write them, according to ear, with ع *'ain*.

What has been said of حَضَم applies also to the Arabic word صَبَغ *ssabagha*, "to baptize," whence is formed صَبْغَة, "baptism." The primitive meaning is "to plunge in, to immerse," and, secondarily, "to dye;" Syr. ܘܫܐ, "to wash," "to dye," Heb. ַצָּב, "dyed cloth," Æth. 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹: *ssabkha*, "to dip" (with 𐌸 *kh* for 𐌹 *gh*, as in 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹: *rèkhba*, "to be hungry," Heb. ַצָּב = Arab. رَغِبَ *raghiba*, "to desire"). By an interchange of ַ *ss* and ַ *t* (as in ַצָּב and ַצָּב) we get the cognate Hebrew verb ַצָּב, "to be immersed," Arab. طَبَعَ, "to stamp, to print;" and by a further substitution of *m* for *b* (as in ַצָּב, 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹: *zaman*, ܐܡܢ, the Æth. 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹: *tam'a*, "to dip, to dye." A third change, viz., that of

^b That these words do not belong to the old, classical language, is clear from their being omitted in the lexicon of *al-Jauhari*; whilst even the *Qamūs*, which professes to give the entire Arabic vocabulary, mentions none of them except مَعْمُودِيَّة.

Besides, مَعْبِدَان is not an Arabic, but a purely Aramaic formation.

ܥ ʿain, or ܥ ǧhain, into ܥ ܐ or ܩ (as in ܥܐܢܐ, ܩܐܢܐ in Samaritan = ܥܐܢܐ), brings us to the Æth. ሄፂ፬፭: *atmaqa*, "to wash, to baptize," ተጠፈ: *talamqa*, "to be dipped, washed, baptized."

This exposition, which contains nothing that has not been long known to every Orientalist, will enable your readers to perceive how utterly mistaken the writer in the *Calendar* is when he says, "What, then, ought we to conclude, was that peculiarity of baptism which led our Lord and his apostles to call baptism a *stand* or *standing*?" Neither the element by which it was performed, nor the person administering it, nor the mode of its application, were prominent considerations, but the receiver received a *standing*, or else *took a stand*, in the Church, and on the side of the Gospel."

Dublin.

W. W.

DR. CURETON'S SYRIAC GOSPELS.

To the Editor of "*The Journal of Sacred Literature*."

SIR,—I trust that you will allow me to make a few remarks on the two reviews of "Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels," which appeared in your last number—that by Dr. Land and that approvingly copied from the *Literary Churchman*.

I do not think that either of these notices is characterized by fair criticism; and I cannot regard either as giving a proper notion, to general readers or to Biblical students, of the ancient Syriac version under discussion.

Dr. Land constantly brings forward collateral, and often trivial points, in such a manner as to keep the real subjects for discussion out of sight. The primary point to be investigated is, *What is the character and value of the Curetonian Syriac version?* This might be estimated wholly irrespective of the mode in which the editor has performed his part. I should be sorry if the value of the *Codex Vaticanus* were to be measured by the judgment which I form of the editorial excellence of Cardinal Mai. But so much dust is thrown in the reader's eyes by Dr. Land that the two subjects are really confounded.

But whatever opinion he, or any one else, may form of Dr. Cureton's labours as editor, he must, at least, have the merit of *discoverer* conceded to him; and that his service in this was important will be admitted by those who form any adequate estimate of the value of the version itself.

I gave, in my *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, in the chapter "On an Estimate of Critical Authorities by Comparative Criticism," pp. 132—151, a judgment as to the great value of this version, to which I still adhere. I may have to speak further on this point, but I only now remark that this judgment of mine was formed

on grounds of absolute demonstration, so that it cannot be refuted unless you first destroy the principle of comparative criticism, and thus cast aside the *united* evidence of Fathers, ancient versions, and ancient MSS.

As specimens of Dr. Land's mode of laying undue stress on collateral or even extraneous points, I notice a few things.

What if Dr. Cureton did give to Dom Pitra a Syriac fragment, as of Irenæus, and afterwards almost literally publish it himself, under the name of *Meliton*? Dr. Land himself allows that "it appears to be a different Syriac translation, so that the difference of author's names lies in the Greek originals." For *which* does he blame Dr. Cureton? M. Pitra wanted fragments bearing the name of Irenæus, and with such he was supplied. Ought this to have hindered Dr. Cureton from editing, and that in a *different Syriac translation*, what bore the name of *Meliton*?

But Dr. Land well knew that *this* had nothing whatever to do with the matter in hand. As to the work itself, Dr. Land adds a little information about the *present* condition of the MS. from which this version was taken. No one would object to receive this, only Dr. Land seeks to convict Dr. Cureton of error, or carelessness of statement. I only add as to this, that there is no reason for doubting that Dr. Cureton gave what *was* a perfectly correct account of the disposition of the leaves with which the Curetonian Syriac was intermixed, and that Dr. Land states how they are *now* to be found.*

What matters it as an essential point whether Dr. Cureton did or did not give the proper vocalization, or even the proper orthography of the name of the monk *Habibai*? As Dr. Land bears an ample testimony to Dr. Cureton's accuracy in the transcript of the Syriac text, it seems to me most likely that he also read and copied this name correctly. Dr. Land even does not deny that the final mark may be a *yud*, and so I believe it to be. But he finds fault with Dr. Cureton's Syriac, and says that such a name as *Habibai* "is against all grammar." He says, that if Dr. Cureton read it rightly, it should be "Hhabîbi," and, as he thinks that "there cannot easily be a proper name of such a form," he would read it without what was copied as its final letter. Now, I quite believe that Dr. Land would smile at my pretending to an acquaintance with Syriac, seeing that he puts down Dr. Cureton's knowledge of that tongue so complacently; but I do not know *why* *Habibai* is unlikely. Such names as *Mathai*, *Addai*, *Agai* occurred at once to my ear. However, I am not going into a *telegram* controversy. I notice this to shew the importance which Dr. Land chooses to give to such a point. How can it affect the real subject for discussion?

Dr. Land uses *Peshittô* as his mode of writing in English the name of that Syriac version; but does it not savour of hypercriticism that when Dr. Cureton writes *Peshito*, Dr. Land in citing should add "*(sic)*," just as if he had found something wonderful. "*Peshito*" is the *name* of that version in *English*, just as *we* say "the Hague," and not "s'Gravenhagen."

* I have just noticed that Dr. de Lagarde, in his *Analecta Syriaca*, speaks of the way in which he finds *parts* of the Nitrian MSS. changed *recently* as to the volumes in which they are contained.

Several pages are devoted by Dr. Land to the consideration of Dr. Cureton's English translation; and many of his remarks might have been spared if he had only considered what Dr. Cureton stated his object in this translation to be. All questions about the English employed, and the wrong notions that would be conveyed as to what the Syriac means, might thus be passed by, as wholly irrelevant. But Dr. Land has determined to write in a spirit of resolute hostility to Dr. Cureton, and this he has infused into every page.

If I were formally discussing Dr. Cureton's notes, I might express my dissent from many opinions and theories; but *even if* all that I had to say was of such a character it would not be a reason for simply finding fault. True criticism, when dealing with an important contribution to Biblical learning, should seek to *add* what may be further useful, but without assuming the possession of almost infallible knowledge, or seeking to hold up to ridicule the production of a scholar. I pass by the remarks on the English employed by Dr. Cureton (with the exception of a passage to be noted presently) with these general observations, that repeatedly a more extended knowledge of the full force of *English* expressions would have modified Dr. Land's censorious remarks; and that if he had condescended to look at Dr. Cureton's notes he would have seen *why*, and with what limitations, certain transfusions of the Syriac have been given. Dr. Land seems to have read no portion of the notes except 'just what he marked out for animadversion.

Dr. Cureton gives, as part of the rendering of Matt. ii. 16, "Bethlehem and in all its coasts." One of Dr. Land's notes on this is, "the reader is led to believe." . . . "Fourthly, that the Syriac translator took Bethlehem for a country washed by the sea, and having *coasts*, whereas *thëhhûmê* means boundaries, limits generally." I ask, is any reader who does not *wish* to be deceived, led to imagine any such thing? It is a pity that Dr. Land did not look for one moment at our English Authorized Version of the passage; he would there see our good hearty English word *coasts* employed just as it is by Dr. Cureton; and this might have suggested the *extent* of its meaning in our tongue, and that it does not *always* suppose the ellipsis of "sea." It is an unpleasant thing to criticize the English of a foreigner, and I should be most glad to possess the facility and correctness in the use of any foreign tongue which Dr. Land has of ours; I would therefore have been the last person to draw attention to any misapprehension of the force of words, were it not that *this* is made the occasion on Dr. Land's part of teaching his readers that Dr. Cureton has misled them. Had he no friend who would have kindly pointed out to him that his zeal against Dr. Cureton had carried him a little too far?

Dr. Cureton's opinions on the Hebrew square character having been employed by St. Matthew in his Aramæan gospel and in ancient Syriac documents, is designated "a singular delusion." I have paid some attention to Palæography; I know some of the facts and the difficulties also which encompass the subject, but I think that there was certainly a square character of some sort in use as early as the first century of our era. To consider the whole subject would involve the examination of the

Palmyrene inscriptions, and the inquiry as to the *writing* first used in the Hebrew Targums; the *onus probandi* rests on him who would shew that St. Matthew, in writing Hebrew or Aramæan, employed either the Samaritan letters or Estrangelo Syriac.

Dr. Land may, if he thinks it wise, say that the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's gospel is proved "in Roman Catholic fashion." It is really proved by a consenting body of *witnesses*, men competent to attest a *fact*, and this fact they do teach so clearly, that if there is *any* evidence that St. Matthew wrote a gospel at all, it is proved that he wrote it in what was then called Hebrew. The mode in which Dr. Land chooses to exclude the testimony of witnesses is very summary; and, if legitimate, it would equally disprove the reality of the Grecian victory at Salamis, and most other facts of ancient history. Dr. Land gives many peremptory assertions which sound strangely in the ears of those long accustomed to study and to weigh this evidence. And yet Dr. Land can go so far as to state (p. 156), "we may safely say that there is, in probability, AS WELL AS IN DIRECT TESTIMONY, a weight as heavy in the scale of the Greek text as in that of the Hebrew, not to go farther." If this means that there is TESTIMONY that St. Matthew wrote a Greek gospel, or that any one supposed such a thing until Erasmus invented the notion, then I say that I have not found any such testimony; and until it is produced I shall be as incredulous as to its existence as I am of the marvels of the river *Sambation*, or those mentioned in the Arabian nights. Dr. Land, at least, gives no evidence. He had said, indeed, "As, moreover, none of the authorities in Dr. C.'s chain has any suspicion about the full authenticity of the Greek text, we may safely conclude to a general belief from the most ancient times that this text was St. Matthew's original." What does this mean? *All* the witnesses say that the Greek was *not* St. Matthew's original; a "general belief" is a strange term to apply to that which there is no evidence whatever that *any one* believed. Did Dr. Land never pay *attention* to what Jerome says of St. Matthew's gospel: "Quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est." I have received no special information on this point.

But not only is this passed by, but Dr. Land ignores, and leads his readers to ignore, the distinct statements of Dionysius Bar Salibi. *He* states, that in his day, copies of St. Matthew in Syriac, from the Hebrew of that apostle, were still sometimes current. He gives a notice of certain remarkable readings (see *Cureton*, p. x. and xi.), and these readings, be they interpolation or what they may, *are* found precisely in the Curetonian Syriac. This affords a clue for identifying *this* version of St. Matthew, and for suggesting that it bears just the same relation to the original Aramæan of the apostle that the Syriac version of the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Ezra does to the original. This comparison is, however, so obvious that I suppose that it will occur to most of those who have read the Old Testament Peshito.

If Dr. Land's explanation of *Dampharsho*, in the title of St. Matthew, be correct, it might at least suggest to him the kind of relation to the original Hebrew of which I have now spoken.

I have not noticed the terms and expressions which Dr. Land applies

to Dr. Cureton; they are quite sufficiently disparaging. However, he says in conclusion, "As for the tone of these remarks, we are sure he will not take it amiss, as he has proved, heretofore, by his own example, to be a staunch supporter of the maxim, *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas.*" All this *sounds* very well, but assertions without proof will not pass for the *veritas* required; and it would seem as if Dr. Land were inclined to compliment Dr. Cureton's equanimity at the expense not only of his scholarship but also of his common sense.

It was needless to inform readers that *Lugduno-Batavus* is Dr. Land, for he took amply sufficient pains before hand to announce that he was the writer of this forthcoming article. The only time that I ever remember to have met Dr. Land, he immediately informed me, and all others who were near, *what* he was writing and *where* it would appear. He may despise our knowledge of Syriac, and yet some of us are aware that we should not expect to find the same Syriac colouring in documents written in the first century or in the fifth, and that we do not think that the most ancient Syriac version, by whomsoever made, must resemble the language used in the eleventh century. But I need not discuss such questions with a writer, however learned, who treats of an ancient version, avoiding every topic that bears on its real critical value, and who writes only to disparage and reprehend the scholar who was its discoverer and editor.

The notice in the *Athenæum* to which Dr. Land refers, was first brought to my knowledge through his article. If he had discussed the critical value of the Curetonian Syriac I could have shewn that the allusion to Owen and Faraday is not so absurd as he thinks, and that the writer made a very intelligent comparison. The Curetonian Syriac occupies a place that was wanting in the *proved* scheme of early authorities; the mode in which the Peshito had been attempted to be elevated into an authority of the second century was known to be as demonstrably preposterous as if some utterly incongruous bone had been produced as belonging to a fossil skeleton of a wholly different type. The true claimant for the vacancy has been supplied by Dr. Cureton, and to him must be ascribed all the credit that is due to a sagacious discoverer and laborious editor.

I allow that I cannot say that the long citation from the *Literary Churchman* passes by or avoids the real points for discussion, but I do say that it gives most fallacious conclusions. The writer is for once in the main correct, in saying that this version was made from a Greek MS. of the same family as the Peshito; but when he calls it a *corrupt Greek MS.*, and stigmatizes it as such, because of its greater resemblance to the old Latin than even the Peshito itself, then I am bound to pause and inquire,

In support of this charge of corruption, the *Literary Churchman* gives a list of passages. But did he first examine them in the light of ancient testimony, before he condemned them as *corruptions*? He says, "*Jesus* is omitted in Matt. i. 18;" and so, according to the explicit testimony of Irenæus, it *ought* to be. That venerable Bishop of Lyons says expressly that the Holy Ghost wrote by Matthew *Christ* WITHOUT *Jesus*. "Verses 4 and 5 in chap. v. are transposed;" why, we know from the *express*

evidence of Origen and the Eusebian canons that this is the *right* order, so that it is the modern text which is transposed. "*Openly* is omitted in vi. 4 and 6;" and so in all the most ancient MSS., and in one or both places in several of the other ancient versions, in Origen, Eusebius, and others. These, and other points specified, are *excellencies* in which the Curetonian Syriac, so far from proving that it was taken from a corrupt text, accords with the best; unless, indeed, the other old witnesses, MSS., versions, and fathers are unitedly *corrupt*. But the *Literary Churchman*, amongst other grounds of blame, finds fault with this version for connecting $\delta \gamma \epsilon \gamma \omega \nu \epsilon \nu$ in John i. 3 with what follows. Whoever connected it otherwise, I ask, prior to this being done, for the dogmatic grounds of avoiding certain interpretations opposed to the proper Godhead of the Holy Ghost?

After a long enumeration of all the passages in which the *Literary Churchman* can find fault with this version, the conclusion is stated in two propositions:—

I.—That this Syriac version of the gospels is of *no merit whatever*.

II.—That as a help towards establishing the original text of the gospel, it is of *no value at all*." There is added, "*We* have tested his Syriac translation of St. Matthew by comparing it with the Greek;" on this I ask, *what* Greek? modern or ancient? I know what the truthful reply must be; a false and *recent* standard has been assumed, and thus the Curetonian Syriac and *every other ancient document* are *really* condemned together. I, too, have compared this version with the Greek, and that in *all* the ancient copies known, and with *all* the versions anterior to the eighth century, and with *all* the Fathers of the three first centuries. I have used this version habitually for more than nine years, and I can bear an ample testimony to its value as a translation, and its special excellence in aiding in establishing the original text. I know that no version is perfect, and that no ancient writing has come down to us free from transcripural error; for these things I hope that I have learned to make allowance. I know, also, that *one* copy of any work, when *one* only exists, is in the ordinary course of things almost sure to contain many errors, which no one who understands the subject would ascribe to the writer himself. Is this version of the gospels to be judged of by a standard which no one would apply to the solitary copy (when there is but *one*) of any other ancient work?

The *Literary Churchman* says, "We really can discover no reason why the ordinary principles of sound criticism are to be dispensed with on the present occasion!" Agreed; then do not assume a false standard, and do not set forth an array of mistakes as if they were the staple of the document, attributing everything to the author of the version, and nothing to the copyist. Do not point out excellencies as if they were defects, and do not think that "sound criticism" disparages *every* Father and *every* ancient document.

It sounds well to speak of the common pointed Peshito as a "version of the second century," and to say that its "praise has ever since been in all the churches," and to contrast it with this Syriac version, "a fragment fished up the other day in a monastery;" but to what does it amount?

Who in Europe knew anything of the Peshito till Moses of Mardin brought it from the East in the middle of the sixteenth century? And *how* can *this* be identified with the version which we knew existed in the second century? And why speak of the Curetonian Syriac as a thing "fished up," when the express testimony of Dionysius Bar Salibi *identifies* St. Matthew as found in *this* Syriac version with that which was known in his day as translated into Syriac from the Hebrew of the apostle. What it may have suffered from transcribers is wholly a different question; it is, at least, not more injured in this manner than the common Greek text.

Let the Curetonian Syriac be judged as we judge of the other ancient versions. Let it be considered irrespective of any peculiar theories of the editor, *or of his reviewers*. Let the relation of *this* St. Matthew to the original Aramæan of the apostle be connected with the testimony of Bar Salibi, and not be put down as if it were Dr. Cureton's invention or dream. If it be a dream, it is one of old standing, and for which neither Dr. Cureton is answerable nor any one else who *believes* this old and respectable witness.

I remain, yours, etc.

S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D.

Plymouth, Dec. 1, 1858.

MR. HUGH MILLER'S "GEOLOGY IN ITS BEARINGS UPON THE TWO THEOLOGIES, NATURAL AND REVEALED."

DEAR SIR,—Will you favour me by the admission of a few cursory observations upon the late Mr. Miller's work; "The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its bearings on the two theologies, natural and revealed?" I do not know whether this work has been noticed by any members of the church; that it has not been canvassed in your Journal is a sufficient excuse for my venturing to bring it under consideration; since it has an appearance to me of possessing a very dangerous character, from the speciousness of its professions.

Mr. Miller says, in page 132 of his book, "that he appears not as a philologist, but simply as a geological student; who, *believing his Bible*, believes also, that it has not been pledged by its Divine Author to any falsehood whatever." This is put in a sort of antithesis to the commentaries of theologians; who, he says, "have striven hard to pledge it to false science, geographical, astronomical, and geological." He claims, if I understand his argument, to be of that number, "who honestly attempt to reconcile the Mosaic with the geologic record," in opposition to three classes: "1st—the antigeologists, who believe geology to be entirely false, and that our planet had no existence 8000 years ago: 2nd—some, who looking at the character of geologists, and the sublime nature of their discoveries, believe geology as sure a science as astronomy, and are contented to believe and propagate its irreconcilability with scripture: and 3rd—able and respectable men, Babbage and Powell to wit, who hold it

in vain to attempt reconciling the Mosaic writings and geologic discoveries; who are intimately acquainted with the evidence of the geologist; and though in the main friendly to the moral sanctions of the New Testament, virtually set aside the Mosaic cosmogony."—p. 380.

Let us see how far Mr. Miller is a believer in his Bible. He teaches that "the days of the Mosaic account were *great periods*, not natural days;" p. 152; to which there is no objection; but, he proceeds to define what those periods were, which appears to be very objectionable; and he assigns to the successions he assumes, creations that differ from the Mosaic. In "the history of the earth we inhabit," he says; "molluscs, fishes, reptiles, mammals had, each in succession, their period of vast duration; and *then* the human period began." "(1) The *creative fiat went forth*, and dead matter came into existence. (2) *The creative fiat went forth*, and plants, with the lower animal forms, came into existence: (3) *The creative fiat went forth*, and the oviparous animals, birds and reptiles, came into existence. (4) *The creative fiat went forth* and the mammiferous animals, cattle and beasts of the earth, came into existence. (5) And, *finally*, the *creative fiat went forth*, and responsible immortal man came into existence."—p. 154, 155.

These are Mr. Miller's creational "*days of great periods*;" and he gives them a Mosaic character, by shewing that they were conducted through the ordinance of an evening and a morning to each generation. "In each of these great periods, we find, with respect to the classes of existences by which they were characterized, certain well-marked culminating points, together with twilight periods of morning dawn and evening decline. The plants of the early and the terminal systems of the Palæozoic division, are few and small; it was in the protracted æons of the carboniferous period, that they received their chief development. In like manner, in the early deposits of the *secondary divisions*, the reptiles are comparatively inconsiderable, and almost equally so in the cretaceous and later deposits: it was between these, in the middle age of that division, viz., the Liassic, Oolitic, and Wealden formations, that the class existed, which rendered it so peculiarly above every other age,—an age of creeping things, and great sea monsters;—and so also in the Tertiary, there was a period of increase and diminution, a morning and evening of mammalian life; those of the early or Eocene age were comparatively small, and in its concluding age, immediately before the creation of *man*, they took again a reduced appearance: it was in the middle age, or that of the Miocene, Pliocene, and Pleistocene ages, that the huge giants, its *dinotheria*, *mastodons*, and *mammoth*s, cumbered the earth." Mr. Miller concludes, "I, of course, restrict my remarks to the three periods of organic life, and have not inquired whether aught analogous to these mornings and evenings, need be sought after in any of the others."—pp. 147—152.

It is clear Mr. Miller means his divisions to answer the Mosaic days; and it will be sufficient to point out, therefore, the incongruity of his arrangement with that of the Mosaic account, in that *creative fiat* which succeeds the call of *dead matter* according to his division, and can only refer to the mosaic "third day;" for with that "*fiat*" he says, there

came plants, and "*the lower animal forms*" into being. Now the science of geology has determined that "*fishes*" were generated in that period, and instanced *good skate and sturgeon* as far back as the old red sandstone formation; p. 61; but that class of animals is wholly assigned by the Mosaic account to "*the fifth creational day*;" while the sacred cosmogonist as strictly limits the creations of *the third day to the vegetable system*." Then why Mr. Miller thus designates "*fishes*" of a very perfect order "*lower animal forms*," may be known to the science he professes, though not apparent to the uninitiated; but without explanation it has an appearance of "*garbling the subject*," for the use of casual readers: who might be over much in doubt, as to the professed purpose of making the science of the geologist agree with the record of revelation, with so glaring a discrepancy in the first line of it, as *the introduction of fishes into the first day of the organic creation*.

There can be no quarrel with Mr. Miller's geology, which is perfectly well and truly represented: but he is stepping out of his line in his persistency, that his classification of old and extinct generations are those to which the Mosaic account specially refers; and, *that Moses could not have contemplated any other divisional creations*, than those of the "*great periods*" he has so scientifically exhibited.

His argument for this is, *that there never could be such an hiatus* in the book of creation, as Moses refers to at the commencement of his cosmogony, *except between the age, which he ascribes to the birth of "dead matter," and the very first Palæozoic period*. Of course, the "*dead matter*" refers to the planetary body, which Moses calls the "*earth*;"—but, where Mr. Miller found that interpretation for the old word, I do not venture to guess. We read, that God commanded this "*dead matter*" to bring forth herb and fruit tree, and beast of the earth and cattle; in the same way that he commanded the waters to bring forth "*fish and birds*;"—a course of "*fiat*," which appears to give a different character to the "*great mother*" from that of mere "*dead matter*." It seems rather to shew "*the earth*" as a vast tomb of past ages, in which the seeds of new generations were enwombed, to be called up into a new existence; as hereafter again, the earth shall "*cast forth its dead*," and the sea also, give up its buried inmates. This "*dead matter*" Theory gives indeed a very bad idea of the new science, in its philosophic or speculative department.*

In order to meet the great series of creations which geology shews

* Sir C. Lyell's theory of the formation of the "*hypogene strata*," or what we usually call primary rocks, entirely negatives this notion of "*dead matter*," or that the oldest fossiliferous formations were *necessarily the beginning* of the organic ages. We have not space to enlarge upon this subject: one passage from Sir C. Lyell's work will sufficiently shew its bearing. "When granite happens to have intruded itself in such a manner as partially to overlie a mass of *lias* or other strata, as in diagram, p. 371, we may prove, *that fossiliferous strata have become gneiss, mica-schist, clay-slate, or granular marble*." "It is possible, considerable tracts of hypogene strata may be altered oolite, altered *lias*, or altered rocks, inferior to the *lias*."—*Principles of Geology*—Vol. iii, p. 378. Some of the *secondary beds of limestone and slate have been altered into gneiss and mica slate*. We may easily suppose, therefore, that all traces of *shells and other organic remains* may be destroyed, and new chemical combinations arise, without the lines of stratification being destroyed, etc.—*Lyell*, vol. iii. p. 372.

to have risen up and passed away upon the earth's surface, Dr. Chalmers suggested that "the geologist might find room for his successive creations, in periods that had preceded the creation to which man belongs; between which and the old depositories of departed ages a *chaotic period* (the hiatus of Mr. Miller) might have existed." Mr. Miller argues that "we are led to know by geological facts, more recently brought to light than Dr. Chalmers' hypothesis, that *the present creation* (the present organic world) was not cut off *abruptly* from the preceding one, but that it dovetailed into it at a thousand points; whereby, we are led to know that any scheme of *reconciliation that would separate between the recent and extinct existences* by a chaotic gulph of death and darkness, is a scheme that does not meet the necessity of the case." p. 222. "It is a great fact, that between the plants and animals of the present time and those of the later extinct creations there was no break or blank; but on the contrary, that many of the existing organisms were contemporary during the morning of their beings, with many of the extinct races during the evening of theirs; and not a few shells which now live on our coast, and of the wild animals that live in the forest, were in existence many ages before the human period began." p. 121. By this he shews that the geologist does not find room for such a period of chaotic void as Dr. Chalmers suggested. So far again, his geological position is within its limits;—Dr. Chalmers contemplated a void of existence over the whole face of the earth, and a universal call into being of the present cosmos of organic life, and such a chaos cannot be found; but to my apprehension the just inference from that fact is, that Moses did not intend to describe such "a void" in his account. Then arose Dr. Pye Smith, who, like Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Miller, *honestly attempted to reconcile "the two records;"* and that gentleman put the case of the Mosaic void upon a possible reference to some *local subversion of the subsisting cosmos*, and a partial creation of new races (p. 118); but he held out for the natural days of twenty-four hours, as the periods of creation referred to in the Mosaic account, which was hardly worth contending for;—revolutions of the earth, without the twenty-four hours' diurnal limitation, would have been quite another and a sufficient postulate.

To this suggestion Mr. Miller answers, "That by its leaving to the geologist, except in some regions, '*his unbroken series*,' Dr. Pye Smyth's scheme does not conflict with the facts adduced by geological discovery;" p. 131; and so the great difficulty appeared on the point of being remedied;—at least, there was a fair opportunity of reconciling the two records, if Mr. Miller had been disposed to do so. For, it is a point admitted by the new science, *that the creations of its geological periods do not always proceed continuously in all places, and that particular organismic creations have occurred in particular districts of the earth's surface*;—two facts which, when admitted, create at once a possibility; or, if other records require it, a probability; or, if these records are authentic, a certainty; that there must have been *local hiatuses and local calls* into existence. But does Mr. Miller shew any disposition to reconcile the two testimonies in this way? After admitting that Dr. P. Smith's suggestion does not conflict with the geological discoveries, he proceeds in these.

words: "*It virtually removes Scripture out of the field!!!*" *Why or how is not hinted at.* p. 131. Of course, however, this is said under Mr. Miller's own private determination of the sense in which the scriptural account is given; for Dr. Pye Smith's version of that account made him think that a partial darkness and hiatus was sufficient to satisfy the Mosaic account; and this positive determination, as to the Scripture record bearing a contrary sense, is uttered almost in the same breath as Mr. Miller professes himself to be "*no philologist*;" the question being purely in that phase a philological one, and his decree pronounced in opposition to Dr. Smith, whose whole business was in the great waters of scriptural criticism, and "*essentially philological.*" I cannot, therefore, believe Mr. Miller's account of himself, or rather of his own estimation of himself, when he professes to be "*no philologist*," but a "*believer in his Bible*," and otherwise "*simply a geological student.*" Mr. Miller claims "*geology*" as a science, and that men ought to defer, on the geological point, to those who have thoroughly investigated the subject! Who questions that? But is not theology a science, and the interpretation of the Bible a science? and if there be indiscreet writers upon geology among the theologians, at least as much may be said of some who call themselves geologists on the theological point. When Mr. Miller confines himself to his calling he is respectable; but when he turns to the theological point he shews the cloven foot, and *no wish* "*honestly to reconcile the two testimonies*;" as his treatment of Dr. Pye Smith's proposition distinctly shews. For thus he proceeds from our last quotation of him on that point:—

"I must confess, on this and some other accounts, this scheme has failed to satisfy me. I have stumbled at the conception of a merely local and limited chaos, in which the darkness would be so complete that when first penetrated by the light, that penetration could be described as actually a *making* or creating of light, and that while life obtained all around, its precincts could yet be thoroughly void of life."

Now, on this paragraph I must pause a moment, to ask what steps Mr. Miller ever took to inform himself on the subject of his doubts? Did he ever consult any *theological philologist*, *not being one himself*, whether the scriptural writers ever expressed themselves in a pleonasmic phraseology upon matters, which in themselves are of a partial kind, but integers in their relation to God, as distinct dispensations. Dr. Pye Smith knew that the Scriptures very frequently convey expressions of that kind; and it is *observable that Mr. Miller himself uses that method of interpretation in discussing the subject of the Deluge*: but there his object was as much to deny the universality of that event, as here his *argument—no, not his argument but his views*—requires that he should insist upon a universality in the Mosaic chaos. He absolutely laughs at poor Dr. Kitto's argument in support of the universal assemblage of animals in the ark; though perhaps Dr. Kitto only gave credit to Noah for being a better cosmogonist than Mr. Miller; and so supposed him to have known exactly what were the creatures of that world he belonged to, and which was the object of the visitation and proposed deliverance. Whether the elephant was among them, according to Mr. Canning's idea, may be a matter of doubt; but I will venture to say the camel and the sheep, and

domestic ass were there; and the proper one of the dove family, but perhaps not of those that inhabit the woods of America, with whose peregrinations to the ark Mr. Miller makes merry; nor, probably, the marsupial family of Australia. Mr. Miller *stumbles* at the notion of a local chaos:—"I beheld the earth," says the prophet Jeremiah *when writing specially of the Jewish land*, "and it was without form and void, and the heavens had no light: the fruitful places were a wilderness, and thus saith the Lord, the whole land shall be desolate" (Jer. iv. 23). Here the words are as full as those of Moses: *the earth was without form and void*; but yet it is plain it described a local chaos, confined to the Jewish land and its local tribes.

Mr. Miller "*stumbles*" again at a darkness, which should be so complete, that when light penetrated it, it should be described as an actual making or creating of light, while life obtained all around its precincts. The passage from Jeremiah declares that "*the heavens had no light*," and that was clearly confined to the heavens of a Jewish land, or earth of that economy; and we cannot fail to recall such a partial and physical darkness over that same land on another occasion. But why may not this darkness of the Jewish cosmogonist be such as is commonly meant by the sacred writers; a darkness only by its comparison with a greater luminosity expected to arise, or already arrived? The darkness of our Lord's crucifixion was clearly not an absolute and dense darkness, but relational only. St. Paul argues of the Mosaic law as a darkness, though it had been the light, the ordained light, by which that people had been led for fifteen centuries; but he says it had "*no glory*," when he wrote, "*by reason of the glory that excelled it*," which was the light of the Gospel; while the prophet of old, in anticipating the coming change, declared of that future generation; that the "*light of the moon should become as the light of the (existing) sun*;" and the "*light of the sun should be sevenfold*" (Is. xxx. 26). In the old ages, the degree of light which had been sufficient to sustain the functions of life in a "*sponge*" or a "*fern*," or in the race of molluscs, might be wholly insufficient to mature "*the peach*" or "*the pear*" of an Alcinous; to furnish the generous courage of a "*war-horse*" or "*lion*;" or to give ardour to the inspiring juices of "*the vine*," or caseous unction "*to the milks*" of distended udders, that pour forth their streams night and morning, for families far more exigent and exhausting than the native progeny. That all suns and their dependent worlds are furnished with the full sevenfold web of our own luminous ether is plainly negatived by what we see in those binary stars; where *two sister suns* make up the sum of one integral light, by what appears to be the compensative colours of the whole web, divided between them. Why may not the development of creation in our system have admitted a gradual development of that luminous pabulum, by which the material life of the system has been and is cherished? But Mr. Miller insists upon it, that the Mosaic creational darkness must have been an absolute absence of all luminosity, and the light a "*new created light*;" all which is purely gratuitous, and wholly contrary to what a knowledge of "*Scripture philology*" teaches. He is very ready with common-place illustration, to shew the fallacies of non-geological writers; I will test him by his

own method ; for if he ordered his servant to "*let light be brought into his parlour,*" does such an expression imply a necessity that the light should be created, or that there was an absolute darkness in the room where it was to be introduced? He says the scriptural expression, "*the sun knoweth his rising up and going down,*" is equivalent only to the almanack notice, "*the sun rises and the sun sets;*" and so we should think he would have found in his own order to a servant to enlighten his own darkness, an easier solution, than a necessary creation anew of the light he ordered. It strikes me in the same way, as to that effulgence which in one form or other sustains and quickens the whole material universe, that it was not necessarily a new creation, but a dispensational decree which admitted its revelation there. I do not offer any opinion on these things; they are possible to be as I have suggested, and the Scripture supports such methods of interpretation; which should at least have withheld Mr. Miller from his dogmatical determinations on the subject.

The continuance of the passage from Mr. Miller's non-philological comment is hardly worth recapitulating; and yet, for the extreme "lightness" with which he treats so grave a matter, as whether the Scripture account of the creation is altogether a "*lusus nature,*" and badly concocted in the womb of chance, or a thing of more likelihood, it must not be passed over. So, after having shewn that a London fog is a partial darkness, but would hardly suit Dr. Pye Smith's creational one; we find him concluding this curious outbreak of "*geological theology,*" as follows: "*And yet further I am disposed,* I must add, to look for a broader and more general meaning in that grand description of "*the creation of all things,*" with which the Divine Record so appropriately opens, than I could recognize it as forming, were I assured it referred to one only out of many existing creations;—a creation, mayhap restricted to a few hundred square miles of country, and to mayhap a few scores of animals and plants."—p. 132.

The whole question at issue being, whether "*the Divine record*" does relate to the "*creation of all things,*" and Mr. Miller being in the very act of controverting the position that it relates to a special dispensation only of the creative power, HE IS DISPOSED forsooth, to look for a broader meaning than the true one, if it be true, than he could find in that true interpretation of the record; *and therefore, da capo;* Dr. Pye Smith's scheme "*virtually removes the Scriptures out of the field.*" Verily, the geological school is not a logical school! But upon reasonings, or *disposings* of the geological mind, such as this, Mr. Miller has again determined "*in order honestly to reconcile the Mosaic with the geologic record,*" and as a believer in a Bible but no philologist; that "*it must be remembered, between the scheme of lengthened periods, and the scheme of a merely local chaos which existed no one knows how, and of a merely local creation which had its scene no one knows where, geological science leaves us now no choice whatever.*"—(p. 152.)

To this we simply reply, that the "*divine record*" does not shew where the creation it refers to took place, and yet it is certain it took place somewhere; which is quite as much as Mr. Miller can predicate of any of his lengthened periods in their first organic development; if he or

his followers will tell us where the oyster or the fern were first brought forth, I will answer him on his own difficulty as to the birthplace of the first man and the first sheep. If he or they cannot answer that, I may say, as one better than myself said to some former spirits of prevarication, "neither may I tell you where your own doubt may be resolved." As to Mr. Miller's affirmation, that there is no geological facts which admit the notion of local desolations and renewed generations of life upon the old wastes, I subjoin a few extracts from his own work, *which plainly shew that such desolations and alternations are well recognized by the science of geology*; and that every geologist could answer in a thousand instances the "*no one knows where*" and "*no one knows how*," with which he has overwhelmed the minds of his non-geological readers.*

I think it quite clear therefore, that there was no very earnest desire in Mr. Miller to reconcile the two theologies, but a determination to have it all his own way; to which I, for one, am not at all disposed to submit. For, regarding the Mosaic account to be truly divine, I hold it probable that it is especially a true, and not a specious history. It does not give us an account of the star Sirius or Aldebaran, or of any other remote systems, whether in the earth or out of it, which are not immediately connected with the human family; but it records truly the creation of the plants and animals on which mankind live, and among which they have their habitation. One could fancy, in the colloquy of Adam with the affable archangel, which Mr. Miller delights to refer to; when the angel had recounted the days of creation, the first of men opening his eyes with

* "North America seems to be still passing through its later tertiary ages;" p. 97.—"It is a circumstance quite extraordinary, says *Agassiz*, that the fossil plants of the tertiary beds of *Eningen* resemble more closely the trees and shrubs that grow at present in the eastern part of North America, than those of any other part of the world. This allows us to say that the present eastern American flora, and I may add the fauna also, have a more ancient character, than those of Europe. The plants growing in our days in the United States are, as it were, old-fashioned—and the characteristic genera, *Lagomys*, *Chelydra*, and the large *Salamanders* with permanent gills, that remind us of the fossils of *Eningen*, are at least equally so—they bear the marks of former ages! How strange a fact! Not only are we accustomed to speak of the eastern continent, as the old world; but to speak of the world before the flood as the old world: and yet is America an older world still; an older world than that of the eastern continent; an older world in the type of its productions, than the world before the flood. And when the settler with his axe lays open the first time what he deems a new country, the great trees that fall, the brushwood he lops, the unfamiliar herbs, the lazy fish-like reptile that scarce turns out of his way as he descends to the neighbouring creek, the fierce alligator-like tortoise, and the little hare-like rodent without a tail, all attest by the antiquity of the mould in which they are cast, how old a country the seemingly new one really is: a country vastly older, in type at least, than that of the antdiluvian; and only to be compared with that which flourished on this side of the Atlantic, long before the appearance of man; and the remains of whose perished productions we find locked up in the loess of the Rhine, or among the lignites of Nassau."—Miller, p. 99.

We beg the reader's notice to this "remains of perished productions" of the sub-structure of Nassau, but coeval in type with the present soil of America, with the "fact of a new system of organic life" generated upon that soil; and say, if this is not an indication of a "void" in that locality, by some ordained destruction, and the establishment of a new order of life upon that chaotic ruin?

admiration and his mouth with worship, at the beautiful works that surrounded him, of the third great day of even and morn; and being corrected by his teacher for his ignorance of geology, with a gentle intimation that he had slightly mistaken the matter; for that the account did not at all refer to that creation which he so delighted to look upon, but to bowers possessed by the megatherium and other palæozoic patriarchs of "*many myriads of thousand years*" gone by. As a process of reasoning upon an evidence of things that are, the adducing an evidence of things that have been so many years ago, and which were quite unknown and unimagined by those to whom the account was written, almost amounts to a "*good joke*;" but people love a "*good joke*," if we may judge by the numerous ones directed by this popular writer against the geological indiscretions of some of his opponents; and I read in the title-page of my own edition of his work of the year of grace 1857, that the world had then already bought twenty-two thousand copies of his.

There are few people in the present day, I imagine, who do not agree with the geologists, that the Mosaic creation does not comprehend those organic worlds, which are buried in the great foundations of the globe. But there is no student in theology who will venture to say, to what precise system of organized life that account specifically refers, further than that it comprehends specially and wholly the first beginnings of the human family, and the auxiliary productions in the vegetable and animal world that were ordained for his sustenance and pleasure; bread-corn and certain "*fruit trees*" of a specific genus, and some suitable kinds of the animal world. For myself, I was among the first of those who generally recognized a pre-Mosaic system of worlds of immeasurable antiquity. Every one has his era and field of conviction, and mine came with the disclosure of the state of the Roman roads in the Auvergne, which are pretty much in the condition they were originally placed, with reference to the old water courses. There, are found to exist channels of vast depth, worn through successive volcanic beds of immense antiquity, between which are interspersed stratifications of conglomerate, the fruit of ages of attrition; and upon these ancient deep-worn channels Roman roads of the first periods of the empire are still found, within a few feet of the existing water levels. None of these torrents could have operated in the excavation of these beds, to the extent of three feet in the 2000 years that have elapsed since the roads were formed; and that fact put out of all question a period of 6000 years, or 60,000, as the age of the mountains, where these vestiges are found. But that conclusion was open to all men before the geological question arose upon the fossil remains; and my first conclusion was, that in a system so very open to proofs of a great antiquity in the earth, it could never have been the intention of Moses or the Spirit that bare record in him, to set forth that account, which professes to be an account of the creation of the present cosmos in connexion with the manhood; as having reference to a beginning, that was at all commensurate with systems, so evidently marked with a greater antiquity; and I asked, what could be the nature of that design, which was intended in this record of the creative Hexhemeron?

There is one proposition quite obvious—that in writing of the origin of

any one system of God's temporal dispensations, it must be regarded as a section or extracted particular out of the great Volume of what constitutes eternity; and if that system is in any manner a correlative with others of an associate and similar kind, it would not be possible to describe the one particular without touching upon analogies which belong to the whole series. If a physician were to set about describing the pathology of a single individual man, he could not fail to develop principles of being, which belonged to all past generations of the whole species; nor would his analysis be less applicable generally to the constituent elements of the life of Adam, because that particular individual was separated by the whole series of successive ages, which constituted the whole race of that order of created things. Individuals would all be different, but their systems the same. When Moses wrote of the origin of men and their abodes, and the cosmos or furnished world of their existence, taking it to be that that world was one in the succession of a series of analogous creation; it is plain in doing so, he must have developed types, which applied to every other creation of the series. This, it appeared to me, is what he has done, and it is not necessary to attribute any design in his record of describing the origin of the earth, or any of its present *Θεμέλιοι*, or foundational layers.

Mr. Miller professes as an item of his geological faith, in his "Introductory Address to the Reader," that the latest of the geologic ages was not at all separated by any chaotic gap from our own; meaning the age of the Mosaic manhood: "Many long ages, ere man was ushered into being, not a few of his humbler contemporaries of the fields and woods enjoyed life in their present haunts; and for thousands of years anterior to even their appearance, many of the existing moluscs lived in our seas!"

This statement may be very true, but how does it serve to determine the precise limits of the Mosaic creation? If those things were in existence before the creations of that Hexhemeron, the plain inference is, that Moses did not comprehend them in his account.

But in the way of a special replication to the above scientific propositions of Mr. Miller, I will put a few queries which most people will be able to answer; and which will at least serve to shew, that the Mosaic account is not necessarily quite so comprehensive, as it suits Mr. Miller to represent it. And first I will ask, do the words of that record necessarily comprehend the moluscular tribes? or, do those words permit an inference that a system of things was treated of, that was altogether posterior to the creation of that family;—or in effect, can that tribe of living creatures be at all included in the language Moses uses? So far as they are the creatures of the waters, and therefore of the fifth day of the Hexhemeron, this seems answerable in the negative; for the words of the record as to that day are: "And God said, let the waters bring forth abundantly the *moving creature that hath life*; and God created great whales and *every living creature that moveth*,"—can the oyster and coral be included in that description? And of "*the contemporaries of man in the fields and woods*:" are there no herbaceous productions, but such as come generically under the descriptions of "*grass*;" or "*tender grass*," according to a marginal

emendation; and *seed-yielding herb*, which is the sum of the Mosaic herbary; or *Flora, secundum artem*; the former being such as answers to the description in the penultimate verse of the chapter, of "*the green herb given for meat to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth wherein there is life*" (of that creation); and the latter, answerable to the "*every herb bearing seed*," which can be the endowment of the human race of that creation for their meat, in conjunction with the fruit of the "*fruit tree*" therein designated. A glance at these verses will shew that *what was created* on the third day was the same as was *given for food* to men and animals on the sixth; for the endowment is, of *every herb*, and of *every green herb*. But there are poisonous herbs on the earth's surface, and many that are otherwise unsuitable for animal sustenance. Could the endowment of poisonous herbs be included in that gift? and if not—and it includes the same extent of the earth's herbary as is described in the creation of the third day—is it not inferrible that the creations of that day were limited to those that were suitable to the life of that dispensation?

We will bring Mr. Miller as a testimony on our behalf on this point. He says: "We know that with each succeeding period there appeared a more useful and various vegetation than that which went before. I have referred to the unproductive character of the earliest flora; that it was *apparently unfitted for the support either of the graminivorous bird or herbivorous quadruped: so far as appears, neither flock nor herd could have lived in its greenest and richest plains*; nor until we enter upon the tertiary period do we find floras amid which man might have profitably laboured as a dresser of gardens or tiller of fields, or keeper of flocks and herds. The order of the Rosaceæ, to which the apple and pear, the quince, cherry, plum, peach, apricot, and almond; the raspberry, strawberry, and various brambleberries belong, with all the roses and potentillas, *were introduced only a short time before the appearance of man; and the true grasses, which, as the corn-bearing plants of the agriculturist feed two-thirds of the human species, and in their humbler species form the staple food of the grazing animals, scarce appear in the fossil state at all; they are peculiarly plants of the human period*. Of the labiate family—the lavenders, mints, thymes, and hyssops, with basil, rosemary and marjorum—the fossil botanist has found no trace, even in the tertiary deposits; they appear to *have been specially created for the gratification of man*," p. 48. He makes the same remark of the cod family among the fishes: "A numerous and useful species, which did not precede man by any time appreciable by the geologist," p. 69; and of the sheep, with all its peculiar adaptations to the wants of man, p. 105.

We may ask, if this does not fully bear out Dr. Pye Smith's theory of a creation peculiar to the human cosmos, and if Mr. Miller's observations are not a most happy exegesis of and commentary upon the Mosaic account of the herb and grass of the third day? But to return to our own argument. Again, I would ask the geologist if there are no trees in the world but such as answer to the Mosaic description of "*fruit trees*" first, and, secondly, of "*fruit trees yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself*?" Could the *Palm tree*, or any other tree where the seed is grown upon a

male stock, and the matrix of its generative organism, and its fruit, born upon a female stock of the same species, be included in that specification? and thirdly, of such "*fruit trees*" as in their kind were also fitted for human food?—for, like the herbs and grass, the endowment of the man is with "*every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed.*"—or, again, are there no trees whose fruit is noxious to human life, and could such be given for food; and if not, could they be included in the "*fruit trees*" of the third day's creation?

Surely these descriptions are indicative of particular classes of the vegetable kingdoms, and in that restrictive characteristic must indicate an intention in the record itself of confining its subject to some "*existing economy of life*" upon the earth, and could have had no relation to extinct species, nor to any other but such as belonged to the Cosmos Moses wrote of, though not definable by ourselves. If it is asked, why have not these distinctions been made before, the answer is that they were not called for: the record has answered its purpose, and will still do so. *The apparent generality* of the descriptions satisfied "*plain minds,*" according to Dr. Kitto's estimate of the Mosaic history in another particular, in an uninquiring age; and by its really restrictive character it is calculated to satisfy "*plain minds*" in an age that is an inquiring age;—not by satisfying an idle curiosity, or even the requirements of a scientific scrutiny; as to the particular individuals of existing orders of life; but by affording a plain indication that that brief record did not intend to refer to the whole system of existing things, and leaving a necessary inference that that system might be constituted of parts of many dispensations of the creative economy, in conjunction with its last and highest, in which the human race is included, and which it plainly forms the particular object of the Mosaic account to delineate.

The pertinacious opposition by Mr. Miller to Dr. Smith's scheme of local creations, and a succession of worlds—for that is the simple meaning of it—is the more remarkable, because Mr. Miller shews that whole orders of animals have failed, and new creations of a similar, *but not the same kind*, have been produced in the succession of ages; and also, that the same system of organized life has grown up in different periods upon different parts of the earth's surface. He says: "The greater remoteness of the mastodonic period in Europe than in America is a fact worthy of notice, as it is one of many circumstances that indicate a transposition of the later geologic ages on the opposite sides of the earth," p. 97. Does not this intend that the same creation appeared at one age in Europe, and at a later in America?

"Groups of corresponding character on the eastern and western shores of this great ocean were not contemporaneous in time; North America seems to be still passing through its tertiary ages," p. 97. But does this mean that when they appeared in America they were identical with what had before appeared in Europe; or are they not merely "*similar,*" and the fruit of a new creation in kind? "The group of mammals," he says, "which in Europe immediately preceded the human period, seems everywhere a remarkable one, and nowhere more than in the British Islands," p. 100; at least, here is a generation of animals created apart from those

of the western hemisphere; and a race extinct, that that continent never could or can know.

Sir Charles Lyell professes that there were great intervals or chasms in all the systems of organic life, even in the lowest order of beings. "No species of fossil shells has yet been found," says this accurate observer, "common to the secondary and tertiary formations; and this marked discordance in the organic remains of the two series is not confined to the testacea, but extends to all other departments of the animal kingdom, and to the fossil plants."—*Principles of Geology*, vol. iii. p. 327. This is surely the evidence of two worlds. Two races of these primitive orders of life appear which are occupants of worlds at an immeasurable interval from one another, and they are wholly distinct in kind or species—the one formation had its testacea, and the other had its testacea, and both had their "other departments of animal life," equally distinct and proper to themselves. There were creations of testacea and animals in both periods; how, then, could one be peculiarly the age of either order of life, as the predecessor in a general progressive series of the creative emanations?

My space does not admit of much remark upon Mr. Miller's objection to Dr. Pye Smith's "day" of twenty-four hours; which, to say the truth, was not a very wise postulate against a scientific geologist. But it is quite possible to conceive conditions in the earth's motions very different from its present vertiginous and ecliptical revolution. Sir C. Lyell affords evident proofs that England, within the limit of the tertiary period, was for many ages under a tropical climate. Skeletons of crocodiles and turtles are found in the isle of Sheppey, and immense numbers of ligneous seed vessels of plants, some of them resembling the cocoa nut *and other species of tropical regions*, and in such abundance that they are supposed to belong to several hundred distinct species of plants."—*Princ. of Geol.*, vol. iii. p. 280.

This puts an end to all calculations upon the character of the earth's revolutions, at any of the geological periods, down to this section of the tertiary formation. It is not surely improbable then, that the earth's vertiginous motion is the result of changes out of other less perfect and complex motions. Mr. Miller contends for a cloudy canopy, and gradual break up of a veil which at first covered the whole earth with darkness. Suppose a motion in the earth upon the sun, like that of the moon upon the earth, by which it bore one hemisphere towards its luminary and the other away from it, for many ages; might not that cloudy canopy cover the face of the dark hemisphere, or, at least, principally prevail there, and form the abode of those reptilian families, whose lives were fashioned for such a climate? Such a disposition, if it could be shewn, would account for a great many anomalies in both theologies. It certainly would account for the discrepancy of age between the formations of the eastern and western continents; since the one may have been under the dark canopy for ages, while the other was basking in the sunbeams. It would account for the two expressions of Moses, by which he describes the whole face of the earth as it appears—"that darkness was upon the face of the deep; while the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." For *the deep*,

or *abyss*, as the Septuagint renders it, would be that canopy of dark waters, which would descend into space from the earth; while the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters must refer, by the antithesis, to a pre-mosaic light; for God is light in prophetic language; and his Spirit would be the brooding power of the new Cosmos. It is clear "the deep" and "the waters" of the Mosaic account referred to different matters. It would account for the state of things in the first ages of the Manhood, when it is said, "that there was yet no rain upon the earth, but "a mist went up and *watered the face of the ground*." For, taking the earth to have first moved upon its axis in an even equatorial plane, the passage of its surface from the light side, into and through the dark cloud of the mighty covering, would have watered by that mist "the whole face of the earth;" and there is hardly any other way of conceiving how such a watering could otherwise be fully accomplished. It would account for the vast succession of the cosmical floods of the geologist, which must have fallen upon the earth in all directions, for many successive ages: for, if from a simple equatorial revolution, the earth's course became inclined to that path, the cloudy canopy would have been shaken to pieces, by a long continued action of cross motions, and in the gatherings of its waters by these impulses, there would have been brought down those vast cataclysms, which drowned the earth in different localities, as the geologist shews it has been continually. Of these continuous floods, which would result from the generation of an ecliptical motion, the Noahic might be the last, or nearly so, to which the moral catastrophe was associated; and the Greek and barbarian traditions may have preserved the memento of the system and its departure. And it would account, also, for the generation of the rainbow, as a witness of another ordinance and a new system, when God made a weight for the winds, and balanced the clouds for their "new office of a divided reign," a witness that "the head of leviathan was broken in pieces; that crooked serpent," the parent of old night, and of the vast reptilian brood, which Mr. Miller finds to have been the peculiar inhabitants of his cloudy ages.

The Mosaic record, that God separated the dry land from the waters, could hardly be better expressed by a geologist, than it has been by Moses, in that, God said, "let the dry land appear, and it was so;" for as, according to the "science" of the geologist, the rise of new continents is a perpetual process, and by a succession of terrene elevations, the process must have inevitably preceded, in all formations, the generation of the terrestrial productions, that were to inhabit the new-produced "dry land." In such a process, the method and ordering of these successions, may surely be conceded as a matter of arrangement, or bringing forth, to the ordination of the great Creator of the whole. That he separated the waters from the waters appears also by the geological creed, to *have been a process that has proceeded gradually* from the beginning, and that the cloudy state of the old abodes of life, which Mr. Miller refers to must be taken as an inceptive and imperfect state of the present atmospheric heavens, p. 176; while of the new created light, if new inspirations of spiritual light have been introduced into the seats of human life, without utterly destroying the old dispensations of religion; and that system has

been gradually ameliorated without a total destruction of the former generation ; so that the prophet, while he declares in his view of the transience of dispensations, "that he beheld the earth, and it was without form and void, and the heavens had no light," yet concludes his vision by the words, "yet will *I not make a full end*" of the existing system ; there seems no reason why, in the transience of the natural generations of the earth, there might not be the same "*void and formless periods*" in part of the general system, "*without making a full end*" of all the existing orders of life in the world, where that occurred.

Taking the mosaic creation as the account of a specific creation, out of a series ; and that it presents in itself a type of every other creation of the earth we live in ; and is a symbol of the whole system ; as a section of a chrystal figure is of all the combinations it is capable of, it appears to me that while Moses designed to give an account of that one world which he himself inhabited, he really disclosed the whole science of cosmology applicable to all systems. For, to every order of terrene existence he shews in that type, that there must be a sixfold development : a light, that is somehow proportioned to its life and energies : a heaven or firmament, in which exist the breathing elements of its existence : a terrestrial or an aqueous floor, upon which its body may rest, and out of which its material aliment may proceed ; which preparation is provided in the period before the creature is formed, as the third Mosaic day bears relation to the sixth ; that the light of every particular world, first appears in the place of creation as the Ζώνη, or "*leaven*" in the work of its proper Cosmos ; and that, in some period subsequently (as the fourth day is to the preceding ones), that that light is transferred to a Solium or throne of emanation, from which it may rule over and cherish the creation it has worked in producing ;—and that, these preliminary dispositions being provided, there is an order of generation, by which the creatures of the waters, and of the air of every respective world, should appear in their places before the beast and cattle of the earth of that Cosmos. Moses does not shew what specific animals or plants were the production of his own particular system ; but he shews that his system was in some way limited to particular orders of plants and animals ; and in those particulars he shews the course of creation of all worlds, in a way sufficient to answer all the demands of the geologist, if he is disposed to be answered.

These are the suggestions which have presented themselves to my mind under the conviction of a succession of creations prior to the Mosaic, of which we are the occupants of such parts as are not extinct, in conjunction with what is peculiar to our own world. They have satisfied myself that the Mosaic account is an exactly true account ; and that it is both a simple narrative of events, and a most scientific development also of the course of God's creational agency in the earth. If they serve to remove any scruples from the minds of any of the readers of the *J. S. L.*, it will be a sufficient excuse for my having ventured to submit them. I should have been glad to see the subject taken up by abler hands, but as that does not appear likely, I have had recourse to the shepherd's weapons : the thoughts of a "*plain mind*" upon the ways of God in his work.

Hitcham Rectory,

H. M. G.

30th October, 1858.

REVISION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

SIR,—Three hundred clergymen, or more, have declared for a revision of the authorized version of the New Testament. How many may or may not have given this proposed step the consideration it deserves might be hard to say; but at any rate, judging from the letters in the public journals, we may lawfully infer that, as in most popular movements, there are not a few of these individuals with whom the removal of what they consider a present defect far overbalances any apprehension of risk from future emendation. And no doubt there is a great shew of Christian trust and boldness in seeking a revision, independently of any consequences which may ensue from it. Whether there is any promise that such confidence will be followed by beneficial results is another question.

But amid the various conflicts of opinion on this subject, there are very many who agree with the Dean of Westminster, who says, "There are times when the whole matter presents itself as so full of difficulty and doubtful hazard that one could be well content to resign all gains that would accrue from this revision, and only ask that all things might remain as they were." In this last expression the writer fully coincides, and trusts that it may be prophetic. The Dean, however, thinks a revision will come; not, however, as yet, for "we are not yet in any respect prepared for it; the Greek and English, which should enable us to bring this to a successful end, might, it is to be feared, be wanting alike." It seems, therefore, rather doubtful at what period the revisers, whoever they may be, will have attained that stock of philological knowledge in sacred criticism which would enable them to enter upon their task with some degree of confidence. But supposing such competent persons to be met with, the "precise principle" on which a revision ought to be made has never yet been settled by those who are favourable to it.

Dean Trench deprecates, and very justly, any meddling with the existing text. The question, then, is, would the revisers consent so to abstain? I hardly think so, when those who urge a revisal ground one of their chief reasons on the fact couched in the words of Dr. Biber, that "since the publication of the English A. V., in 1611, additional light has been thrown both upon the original text of the Holy Scriptures by collations of MSS., and upon the sense of particular passages by the researches of biblical scholars." Now, if I am not mistaken, it is this very fact that has the greatest weight with many individuals in favour of a revision, and yet to what dangers and perplexities does it not lead? Will those who undertake to amend our version be satisfied to pass over texts which, though existing in the English translation for three hundred years, rest on a very doubtful support from MSS.? Could they safely expunge the appearance of the angel and the moving of the waters at the pool of Bethesda?^f or that touching expression of our Lord, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," which Olshausen declares is not found in the

^f *On the Authorized Version of the N. T. in connexion with some recent proposals for its Revision.* By R. C. Trench, D.D., Dean of Westminster.

^g Trench's *Notes on the Miracles*, p. 247.

best MSS.^a Again, though we might feel the force of Heb. xi. 13, much more vividly if we omitted the words "and were persuaded of them," which, as the Dean remarks, "have no right to a place in the text," and were to read, "those all died in faith; not having received the promises, but having seen and saluted them," like mariners homeward bound desecrating the well-known features of a beloved land,—he must be a daring critic who would venture on this alteration. Equally so with the condemned text of the three heavenly witnesses. Pruning like this might be regarded by some persons as giving strength to the plant; and were its consequences merely confined to such as were versed in sacred criticisms, no detriment, but rather benefit, might result from the use of the knife. But we cannot forget that the A. V. is most truly the Vulgate, not merely of the poor, whether of the Church or Dissenters, for to them "each individual word is the word of inspiration," but to thousands of otherwise well-educated persons who are unacquainted with the Greek language. With what feelings would such persons look upon the removal of the portions just mentioned? Would that be one of the methods of "building them up in their most holy faith?"

If, as the writer is prone to believe, there are not many individuals (Mr. Heywood and the Socinians excepted) who would deliberately place the readers of the A. V. in this dangerous predicament, the next question is, would it be worth while to run a tremendous hazard because some texts "might" be rendered with greater clearness, it being evident at the same time, from the Dean of Westminster's publication, that there are not half-a-dozen in which the true sense is any way obscured. It might in some cases be made brighter and clearer, but can mislead no one. Dr. Trench admits that "the flaws pointed out are frequently so slight that it would almost seem as if the objector had armed his eye with a microscope for the purpose of detecting that which otherwise would have escaped notice."ⁱ And again, if our clergy were in the habit of "postilling," *i. e.*, of explaining to their people each verse of a portion of a chapter consecutively, there might be some good reason in the wish for a revision; but, as every one knows, this ancient and commendable usage is of very rare occurrence. A sermon is built upon two or three texts at the utmost, and can have no reference to any minutiae of criticism. Let it also be remembered that the "force of authority" is infinitely less at present than at the period when the A. V. was completed. The knowledge of Greek was then but little extended, yet there were scholars not only versed in it, but deeply imbued with Hebrew and other Oriental lore. A translation or revision emanating from such persons as Saravia, Lightfoot, and Reynolds, with an almost European reputation, would naturally be received by the clergy in general with the greatest respect and deference. Many of the clerical order at present have at least a competent acquaintance with the original language of the N. T., nor is the difference between

^a *Biblischer Commentar. Erster Band.*, p. 577.

ⁱ Whoever has attentively read the criticism on the versions of the five clergymen of "St. John" and the "Romans," in this Journal, will be disposed to admit that these expressions of the Dean of Westminster are by no means overstated.

themselves and our best critics so great as to inspire any very profound respect for the judgment of the latter. That any emendations would be thoroughly satisfactory can, therefore, hardly be expected.

But, at any rate, some will say, the phraseology of our version has frequently become obsolete, and there can be no reason why a more modern idiom should not be adopted. To which it may be justly answered that such a change would too often weaken the impression which the archaic phraseology produces in the mind of reverence and attachment. Blanco White mentions that the Spanish translation of the Scriptures struck him frequently with a sense of the incongruous and the ludicrous, as compared with the to him familiar but dignified language of the Vulgate. As the touch of a modern chisel frequently impairs the almost imperceptible beauty of the outline in mediæval workmanship, so would in any degree the adoption of a more modern phraseology, loosening gradually that reverence for the "words" of inspiration in the vernacular language which has so strong a hold upon the English mind.

There is one point in the Dean of Westminster's valuable little work, which appears to the writer of this so fundamentally objectionable that he trusts, under Divine Providence, it will never be carried out; and that is, the inviting learned Dissenters to assist the revisers with their suggestions. Of all schemes to lower the Church in the eyes of the people, and to elevate Nonconformity, none could seem better adapted. If they are to share with us in the task (as some suppose) of rendering our translation better and clearer, it must be evident that their teaching will come with a weight and authority which it never had before, and the weight of the argument be entirely taken away, that however Dissent may "interpret" that word, the Church alone was the "translator." And as we "profess," at least, that the germs and commencement of episcopacy may be deduced from the N. T., is it probable that our allies would surrender without a struggle the retention of the term Bishop, so obviously contrary to their own ecclesiastical system.

As to a revision of the O. T., that is hardly even looming in the distance. And here the case stands somewhat different as regards it and the N. T. We have very few Hebrew scholars of any mark, and the vast majority of our clergy are utterly unacquainted with the language. Whatever the revisers (whoever they were) might propose in the way of emendation must be "implicitly" received, which is not very probable; for we can scarcely imagine that expounders of Scripture would take other readings "upon trust." Let us console ourselves, however, with the fact that our authorized interpretation is of wide-world celebrity. The writer was acquainted with a pupil of the celebrated Gesenius, who had frequently declared to him that the English translation of the Hebrew Scriptures was, in his opinion, superior to that of any other modern version whatever.

In conclusion, may I be allowed to say, that if the maxim, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri*," be of any validity, the words of one who was nurtured in the bosom of our church, but unhappily quitted her to find peace elsewhere, ought to be strongly impressed upon us as a caution against rash meddling, and at the same time as the most valuable of all testimonies.

"Who will not say," observes Dr. Newman, "that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy (*Protestantism*) in this country? It lives in the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft and gentle, and pure and penitent and good, speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of religiousness about him whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."

To this praise nothing can be added: May neither we nor our children's children ever be destined to see anything taken from it.

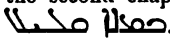
I remain, sir, yours truly,

H. P.

Cheltenham, Nov. 30, 1858.

2 PETER II. 18.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—While lately reading the second epistle of St. Peter, I remarked the Syriac version of the 18th verse of the second chapter, where the *δντως* of the *textus receptus* is rendered . My copy of Bloomfield's *Greek Testament* is not at hand just now. On looking into Greenfield's pocket edition, published by Bagster, it appears that Griesbach has removed *δντως* to the foot of the page, and instead of it has inserted *ὁλίγως*. The Syriac version probably assisted to confirm Griesbach in his view.

The question is certainly not of much importance, for even if *δντως* could be accepted as the true reading, the Syriac version would still give a correct interpretation, though not a literal translation. Can any of your correspondents say if the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament in the British Museum generally present the above reading?

AN INQUIRER.

NICODEMUS.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature,"

SIR,—If we follow what appears to be the chronological order of the narrative of the evangelist John, we shall think that our Lord, on the occasion of his first visit to Jerusalem after his baptism, deemed it right to commence his ministry in the "Holy City" by entering the temple, and expelling thence the changers of money and those who sold sheep and oxen. Certain of the Jews who witnessed, doubtless not without amazement, this unusual transaction, asked him—"What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?" Such a question at such a time is of course very favourable to the idea that our Lord, though he had already changed water into wine at the marriage-feast in Cana, had not yet seen fit to do any marvellous work in the city of his father David. We may be disposed, at first sight, to regard it as too abrupt a procedure that our Lord should commence his career in Jerusalem, as Messiah, after his baptism, with the whip of cords and the menacing and forcible expulsion of the dealers from the temple. But it is not for us to sit in judgment upon the Son of God, and decide according to our own narrow and imperfect views how it behoved him to act in the discharge of his high and holy ministry. The evangelist's narrative is doubtless thoroughly in accordance with the idea that Jesus began as the Son, as well as the servant of God, by indignantly cleansing the temple from an unseemly traffic. When, however, he had thus authoritatively purified the sacred edifice, though the desecration would speedily be resumed, he at once proceeded to the passover to attest his divine commission by the performance of wonders beyond the power of man, so that "many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did." The expression, "believed in his name," implies that some at least of these believers were disposed to regard Jesus not only as a messenger from God, but also as the long-promised and expected Messiah. And if we may suppose that the extraordinary and unexpected transactions in the temple stirred up a spirit of lively curiosity and inquiry which resulted in the discovery of the fact that John the Baptist had publicly and humbly acknowledged his own vast inferiority to Jesus, we need not be surprised if some who honoured John as a specially commissioned servant of the Most High, should, in consequence of the Baptist's previous testimony^j and our Lord's subsequent miracles, receive the latter as the true Christ. Among those who were very strongly impressed by the sight and report of the superhuman works of Jesus—and we should remember that the son of Zacharias wrought no miracles—was "a man of the Pharisees named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews," of whom we read that "he came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God, for no man can do these miracles which thou doest, except God be with him."

^j That the testimony borne by John to Jesus was well known to many, is evident from John x. 41. Jesus having taken up his temporary abode near the Jordan, where John had first baptized, many went to him and said, "John did no miracle; but all things that John spake of this man were true."

Not a few may feel inclined to censure somewhat severely the apparent inconsistency between the timid caution of this ruler and his plain and distinct verbal confession. How is it, such persons may ask, that this man who, so far as we can judge from the record, was sincere and upright in character, and thoroughly convinced of the divine mission of Jesus, should shrink from openly acknowledging Him by day, and under the influence of unworthy fear or false shame, or both, seek instruction from the heavenly teacher by night, and as it were by stealth? Believing him to have been culpably timorous and cautious, we do not for a moment attempt to defend him as if he were innocent; yet surely we may venture to offer a word of counsel, and say, "Study well the facts of the case before you pass sentence on the offender, and look also a little more closely into your own heart; you will then perhaps, while constrained in your conscience to condemn the conduct of Nicodemus, feel also compelled to concede that, in his position and circumstances, you would probably have been quite as faulty as he was." It is easy, indeed, for us to ask, "Why did he go to Jesus by night? Why should even a Pharisee and ruler of the Jews hesitate to apply openly, and in the day, for instruction to one whose wondrous miracles put it beyond all question that his high commission was immediately from God?" The sudden and forcible expulsion of the traffickers,—the language of Jesus, "Make not *MY FATHER'S* house an house of merchandise,"—the instantaneous assumption of an authority in and over the temple, independent of, not to say far superior to, that of the high-priest himself,—the public rebuke, by such a decisive act, of the negligence or ignorance of the ecclesiastical rulers in sanctioning within the precincts of the sacred building a traffick which our Lord deemed so scandalous that, in his judgment, it was not too severe a measure to put it down by the voice of menace and the display of the whip of cords,—all this would at once arouse in the breasts of chief-priests and rulers, of Scribes and Pharisees, bitter feelings towards Jesus of jealousy and suspicion, ill-will and anger, which would too surely extend themselves to such of their own number as should be found to enlist themselves among his disciples. Yet, although Nicodemus came to him secretly under the shelter of the night, our Lord neither refused to receive him, nor sternly rebuked his unworthy fear of man, and want of faith in God. They who are familiar with the Saviour's perfect character as revealed to us in the four gospel-histories, and who are also not strangers to the infirmities of their fallen nature, will be surprised neither at the patient and solemn graciousness of the Lord, nor at the inconsistency between the profession and practice of the timid and inquiring ruler, especially if we believe that inquirer to have been at the time, not in the fervour of youth or courage of early manhood, but rather under the influence of the caution and hesitation natural to declining years (John iii. 4).

But we must say a few words on the interview between our Lord and this sincere and devout, though cautious Pharisee. Convinced of the divine mission of Jesus, Nicodemus determined to seek him, in order to obtain further light and instruction upon a subject then much in his thoughts. It is scarcely necessary to ask what this subject was. For

can we read such passages as that in which the evangelist Luke, describing the impression made upon the Jewish nation by the preaching of the Baptist, tells us that "the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not" (Luke iii. 15) — can we read such language, and doubt whether or not such thoughtful men as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea had submitted themselves to the baptism of John, though he did no miracle, and were of the number of those serious Jewish inquirers who meditated upon the possibly near approach of that kingdom of heaven, which the son of Zacharias had proclaimed as already at hand? And if so, we shall also scarcely doubt that the object of the visit of Nicodemus was to question Jesus concerning this kingdom, to which the Jewish ruler doubtless regarded the water baptism of John as the proper door of introduction.

We suppose, then, Nicodemus to have been one of those who had devoutly accepted John as a messenger from God, and reverently submitted to his baptism. Different individuals may draw different inferences from this hypothesis according as they may be biassed by their own peculiar subjective views. In the opinion of the writer of this letter, the inquiring ruler, being imperfectly enlightened, was probably laying too great stress on the efficacy of water-baptism, on the outward emblem of internal and spiritual purification. It would thus be not only unnecessary, but even morally injurious, to exalt to such an inquirer the value and importance in the rite of baptism of the application of the symbolical water by the agency of a holy man directly commissioned from God. Already disposed in his own mind to over-estimate rather than underrate the necessity and worth of the visible symbol and instrumentality, Nicodemus would rather need to have his views raised higher than John, the divinely-commissioned human agent, and the water of the Jordan, to a great and inestimable spiritual reality. Accordingly, our Lord, who, as the evangelist had just before stated, "knew what was in man," and was therefore well aware of the purpose which had brought the ruler into his presence that night, proceeds at once to meet the defective and erroneous views of the enquiring Pharisee, by coming to the grand point without a moment's hesitation or delay. He faithfully sets before his visitor a momentous and vital truth with its necessary result. The vital truth is this — "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." And the necessary inference from this vital truth is, "Except a man be born from above* (*ἀνωθεν*), he cannot see the kingdom of God." Thus, without in the least degree denying the value and importance of John's mission and baptism, our Lord sought to elevate the mind of the ruler far above both John and the baptismal water of the Jordan.

Nicodemus may have had something of Naaman's pride in his soul, for we know that even the afflicted Syrian leper could be proud. He was not fully aware that he was now in the presence of one who was no weak and partial respecter of persons. He may, therefore, have expected, as a

* Our version is, "Except a man be born again." But surely it is better to render *ἀνωθεν* here, as it is translated in ver. 31, "He that cometh from above (*ἀνωθεν*) is above all."

matter of course, that the new teacher would not treat an elderly Pharisee and ruler as a child who almost needed alphabetical instruction, or as one of the ignorant multitude. Somewhat surprised, and perhaps a little mortified, at the manner of his reception, and at an authoritative announcement which seemed to declare him to be as yet unfit or unable to enter the kingdom of God, he hastily puts a stumbling-block in his own path, and affixing a literal physical interpretation to the term "born," replies rather in the spirit of a somewhat impatient objector, than in that of a self-distrustful and humble inquirer,—“How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?” In his answer to this question, our Lord more fully explains what he had already asserted; and, perhaps, partly to meet the language of Nicodemus, who had spoken of “entering a second time into his mother's womb,” he changes the phraseology from “seeing” to “entering,”—“Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”

How are we to interpret these words? Some would offer what appears to be something very like violence to the natural and obvious meaning of the sentence, and treat the particle “and,” not as a conjunction uniting two distinct things, “water” and “spirit,” but merely as an explanatory term, viz., “of water, *even* of the spirit,” as if our Lord were not asserting the necessity of the use of material¹ water in baptism. This method of interpretation seems well-nigh equivalent to the supposition that our Lord wished to say to the inquiring disciple of the son of Zacharias, “Thou hast been baptized with the water of Jordan by thy master John: my disciples are not to have the outward baptism of water, but only the inward baptism of the spirit.” Yet this view would be marvellously inconsistent with what we learn from the Acts and the Epistles to have been the authoritative and infallible apostolic interpretation (so far as the employment of material water is concerned), of our Lord's command “to baptize” those who should acknowledge him to be Lord and Christ. Indeed, if any believers, from the day of Pentecost onwards, could have been justified in declining to submit to baptism by water, they were the centurion Cornelius and his Gentile friends at Cæsarea, upon whom, while yet unbaptized, as Peter was preaching of Christ to them, “the gift of the Holy Ghost was poured,” so that the apostle and his Jewish companions “heard them speak with tongues and magnify God.” Peter in astonishment ceased from preaching, and soon asked, “Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord.” Which of the apostles was more jealous than St. Paul of unlawfully or unnecessarily connecting the material with the spiritual? Yet having been himself baptized by Ananias at Damascus,

¹ We know from John iv. 1, 2, that the disciples of Jesus baptized in his name many persons. This was done when they were near the Jordan; we have no reason to suppose, however, that this practice was pursued by them, when at a distance from that river. As John's office seems to have been essentially connected with the administration of the rite of baptism, he appears to have exercised his ministry generally in the vicinity of the Jordan.

he afterwards baptized the Macedonian jailor and his family at Philippi, and also Crispus and Gaius, with the household of Stephanas, at Corinth. The whole tenor of the New-Testament history would seem peremptorily to forbid our putting what most readers of the evangelist will be disposed to regard as a somewhat harsh and forced interpretation upon our Lord's plain words, ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, and then inferring from this forced interpretation the propriety, not to say the duty, of abolishing the sacramental ordinance of water-baptism.

But to return to the case of Nicodemus. We have supposed him to have been one of those Jews who devoutly regarded John as a messenger from God, and submitted to his baptism. On this supposition, it may be considered as thoroughly admissible to think that, although the son of Zacharias had himself spoken of a mightier one, who was to baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, Nicodemus had very inadequate conceptions on the subject of a spiritual baptism when he sought instruction from Jesus. My own view of the probably defective state of knowledge in which Nicodemus approached our Lord, inclines me to interpret the words of the latter to mean, "Except a man be born of water and (also) of the spirit," or rather, "Except a man be born (not only) of water, but also of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Hence, the words of our Lord to Nicodemus (and my remarks are strictly confined to these), though asserting the absolute necessity of being born from above (ἀνωθεν), in order to enter into the kingdom of God, do not appear to me as in themselves designed to assert a divinely-established necessary connexion between the sacramental ordinance of baptism and the birth from above. Some, indeed, are inclined to believe that what Christ said to the Jewish ruler had no relation to Christian baptism. Yet it seems difficult to admit this view, when we bear in mind that our Lord, who knew all things, must have been well aware at the time, that, after his death and resurrection he was to establish in his church that which we call the Christian sacrament of baptism.

While enlarging into the present letter some observations made elsewhere, the writer has endeavoured carefully to avoid all approach to that spirit of controversy and dogmatism, which, unseemly at all times, would be peculiarly so in any attempt to discuss such a subject as the interview between our Lord and Nicodemus.

G.

THE DIVINE NAME JEHOVAH.

SIR,—As it is possible that the article in your last number on "the Exegesis of Gen. vi. 1—4" may have recalled to the remembrance of some of your readers my paper, entitled, "The Antediluvian Theocracy," inserted in the *J. S. L.*, Jan., 1854, you will perhaps allow me space for a few words on a subject connected with that paper.

Some time since my attention was directed to an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan., 1857, by Mr. Alexander Mac Whorter, on "Jehovah

considered as a memorial name," and to a work by the same author, entitled, *Yahveh Christ, or the Memorial Name*. On examination of these productions, I found that the author had availed himself of the view of the divine name proposed in my paper, without, however, any proper expression of his obligation. But though Mr. Mac Whorter has adopted the theory I had suggested, to account for the origin of the word Jehovah or Yahve, and for the time and manner of its becoming a divine name, he has reproduced it with a modification which seems to me likely to render it somewhat less acceptable. Jehovah is with him not simply the name of God viewed as the Redeemer of men, but "is the great Messianic name of the Old Testament, and there represents the same Divine Person who afterwards appeared in the world's history under the name of Christ" (Preface). To this it has been replied (*Evangelical Magazine*, March, 1858) that there are passages in the Old Testament in which Jehovah is "distinguished from the Son or Messiah." Psalm cx., and Isaiah liii. 6, 10, are adduced in support of this assertion. And certainly it would seem difficult, if not altogether impossible, to bring these passages into harmony with the position that Jehovah is the Old-Testament name of Christ. But this difficulty disappears if Jehovah is taken simply as denoting God viewed as the Redeemer of men; if it is admitted that it is because God is Jehovah, that he unfolds the plan of salvation; that the Messiah is bruised, put to grief, and bears away the sins and sorrows of men; that he is constituted a priest after the order of Melchizedec; that he ascends his mediatorial throne to await the period when his foes shall be trodden beneath his feet.

At the time that I wrote the paper to which I have referred, I was not acquainted with the views which had been expressed by Baumgarten and Delitzsch with respect to the significance of the Divine name. Otherwise I might have referred to them in support of the position that *Jehovah* looks forward to the future. But the view of the name Jehovah, which regards it as pointing to the successive manifestations of the Deity in historical revelation, and consequently to God as the Redeemer, is altogether distinct from that which sees in this name the expression of the hope of a deliverer as entertained in the earliest ages. To the objection of Hengstenberg, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, as urged against Delitzsch, it is sufficient to reply, with respect to Rev. i. 4, 6, that it is not asserted that "He who is, and who was, and who is to come," is equivalent to Jehovah; and that this expression may be used merely as a customary designation of God the Father. With Hengstenberg's objection to the position that Jehovah denotes *becoming*, rather than *being*, I am not concerned.

T. T.

December 14th, 1858.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Homilies on the former part of the Acts of the Apostles. Chap. I.—X.
By HENRY ALFORD, B.D., Dean of Canterbury. London: Rivingtons. 1858. pp. 339.

THESE expository lectures, the author tells us, are called "Homilies after the example of our great master of expository preaching, John Chrysostom." They contain the substance of expositions delivered at Quebec Chapel during the years 1856-7. They were preached from notes, and taken down in short-hand; on which account, the Dean observes, their style is different from that of written discourses. But as they are published by the author they are doubtless a faithful representation of his views as delivered to his hearers.

Dean Alford has special qualifications for pulpit exegesis; a deep acquaintance with his subject, the enthusiastic interest in it which, in the case of a firm believer in the divine origin of revelation, is the sure result of studies like those which have long occupied him; and the faculty of presenting, in a popular form, the most important results of his researches. The mention of St. Chrysostom reminds us how Christianity and Christian teaching may be at the same time catholic and Biblical. No modern Bible eulogist could speak more strongly than that Catholic Father did on the degree in which the life of Christianity depends on a constant intercourse with the Divine Word.

"The reading of the Holy Scriptures," says he, "is communion with God. Let us, then, heed the reading of the Holy Scriptures, *not only during these two hours*, but constantly, for the mere listening here will not be sufficient to secure the salvation of our souls. Let each man when he returneth home, take the Bible in his hand, and if he desire to derive a full and enduring advantage from the Holy Scripture, let him ponder therein upon the things spoken in the church. For the tree which groweth beside the stream mingleth not with its waters for two or three hours only, but during the whole day and the whole night, therefore is the plant rich in leaves: therefore is it laden with fruit, although no man water it; because, standing upon the bank of the river, it draweth up moisture through its roots, and through them imparteth strength to the whole stem."^a

There is much more to shew that it was a paramount object in the teaching of St. Chrysostom to interest his people in the Scriptures, and to get them to draw from them that delight and profit which he himself so eminently enjoyed. It is not too much to say that the fashion of our own time, at least till lately, has been too much the reverse of this. The oratory which has been demanded from the pulpit on the part of a large class of hearers has been, as nearly as possible, independent of Scripture; it has seldom thrown a true and abiding light even on individual texts; still less has it made the hearts of the

^a Neander's *Chrysostom*. Stapelton, pp. 261.

hearers to "burn within them" while it "opened up the Scriptures." And the sort of exercise which has gone under the name of "Exposition," has too often been a mere idle occupation of the time devoted to it, requiring no previous study on the part of the lecturer, and imparting no information to the hearer; resulting, in fact, in a distaste to expository preaching. The ministers and stewards of the divine mysteries have, much too extensively, themselves neglected such a study of the Scriptures as was necessary to qualify them for giving precise information as to their contents.

There are some, indeed, at one extremity of the Church, whose notions of catholicity are to shew, from those of St. Chrysostom, that they practically suppress the Divine oracles lest they should be guilty of leading their hearers to suppose that an acquaintance with the Divine Word is necessary for them; they have cultivated a personal ignorance of its contents, refusing to receive its light except as that light has been polarized by some mediæval medium. To them, and those of their hearers who drink into their doctrine, the Bible is a book to be sealed and avoided.

But there are, we fear, far too many at another extremity who have been abundantly zealous in giving people the Bible, without a corresponding care to give them the Word of God. Many who have talked most about the Bible, who have been loudest in its praise, and most forward in its dispersion, have been too often content with the most superficial acquaintance with its real meaning. Benevolent distributors of the Sacred Volume have thus recommended a work, the contents of which, to say the least, they have never studied. Dean Alford remarks:—

"The knowledge of the Bible in our own days is by no means proportionate to the abundance of copies of the Book itself distributed amongst us. And this is particularly the case among the educated classes. . . . It is very common indeed to meet with a person among the higher classes knowing much of civil matters, much, very likely, of the religious acts of life, who has hardly any acquaintance with the matter of the Bible. Indeed, I do not see how, in fashionable society, it is possible for children to know anything of it; for the life of the family is led in contradiction to the Bible. The Bible is not made use of, nor recognized at all, except for certain perfunctory observances which are soon over, and the termination of which no one regrets. In Christian families the case might be different, and ought to be different; but even there we very often find (and I speak as one whose daily business is with the text of Scripture, labouring and working over it) phenomena of ignorance of the Bible which are positively astounding. We find that persons do not know the difference between one gospel and another, as to order, or as to contents; and we very often see that they have not an intelligent idea of even the most frequently quoted texts."

Dean Alford gives this among his reasons for continuing the course of expository Lectures in which he had been already engaged. After having concluded his expositions of the gospel of St. John, he gives good reasons for advancing in the account of the history of the Christian Church instead of passing under review another of the gospels. He believes, too, that there are several reasons belonging to the Book of the Acts of the Apostles itself, why it is very important

to consider and explain it, *especially at the present time*. There is, he remarks, no subject about which people's minds are so much divided as the constitution, and regulation, and doctrine of the Church of Christ; while he firmly believes that a thorough study of this Book would tend greatly to harmonize men's views on these points. Every word of this Book, too, belongs to the same spiritual dispensation under which we are now living. In the gospels, the teaching of our Lord referred to a state of things which has been greatly modified by the events subsequent to his death, and all difficulty thence arising is removed in the Acts of the Apostles.

"Another reason for choosing this Book is, that we live in a day of considerable danger in one direction, and that direction, strange to say, after all that has passed over the Church of Christ, after the Reformation three hundred years ago, the direction of defalcation to the Church of Rome. Now, of all the books of Scripture antagonistic to any such view of Christian doctrine or practice as that Church entertains, there is none so pointedly antagonistic as the Acts of the Apostles; . . . I therefore trust that these expository Lectures may, in their place, in some measure stop what I cannot but call (and I call it so in consideration of that ignorance of Scripture which I have been speaking of) the senseless tendency of our present day in the direction which I have mentioned; senseless, because God has informed us better. He has given us his Word to study, and now we are backsliding again almost into the times before we had that Word opened to us."

Dean Alford takes the same view of what is implied in the word *ἡρξάτο*, in the passage, "Of all which Jesus began both to do and to teach," as that which Dr. Wordsworth has maintained; viz., that the former treatise gave an account of the *opening* only of the work of Jesus, while he was upon earth; the Acts of the Apostles declares what the same Jesus *continued* to do and to teach from heaven. We do not believe that the word *ἡρξάτο* is itself a sufficient basis for this view; but the proofs which Dr. Wordsworth has supplied that St. Luke intended to exhibit the risen Saviour as the source of the developments of his Church and doctrine, described in the Acts, are clear and sufficient; and, as there is no reason for bounding the working and the teaching of Christ at the period where St. Luke's narrative so abruptly ends, or even at the latest period indicated by other documents of the New Testament, we have an equal right to say that the Church, in its constitution and doctrine as manifested in sub-apostolic times, is no less the work of the same Jesus. The plant of God's right-hand-planting, which, by Divine power, had put forth its *cotyledons* only in the Acts, had, in after times, assumed its developed form and foliage; developed, not by human tendencies more or less obvious from the intended type, but by the original source of its growth.

We are as much inclined as Dean Alford is to apprehend the danger to which he refers in the direction of Rome. We feel chagrined that Englishmen, educated Englishmen in the nineteenth century, official members of a church like ours, should have manifested the intellectual and moral imbecility of which he complains, and we believe with him that it is partly owing to the neglect of Scripture in which our clergy and others have allowed themselves; but we are convinced

that the most effective way of meeting this danger, on the part of those who have influence like that which Dean Alford has in the Church of England, would be to adhere to the spirit of our own Reformation; and to shew how strong the demand of the Church of England is on the reason and the affection of Evangelical Christians. And this would tend to ward off a danger in an opposite direction, which, whatever Dean Alford may think, is still more to be apprehended. It is the prevalence of that spirit of *dissolution*, which, under the plea of the "liberty of private judgment," resolves the Church into a mere mass of independent subjectivities; a spirit by which a notion is *recommended* by its non-conformity to whatever has been most firmly believed from the earliest ages of Christianity, and which abhors the idea of any sort of *authority*, not merely of persons but of office, as in any way or in any age of the Church derived from divine appointment.

Dean Alford has gone in these Lectures to the utmost extreme in this assertion of religious democracy. In order to cut away the uncatholic claims of a false hierarchical absolution, he strikes at the root of principles which have been more or less held by all who have not abandoned the faith in the divine origin of Christianity and of its documents. The manner in which he speaks about the apostles and their office is new to English, and we may say to evangelical theology. It is, in fact, part of a system of foreign speculation which he could not consistently adopt without importing the whole. According to Dean Alford, the apostles, *i.e.*, the twelve, so far from having been endowed with power from on high, and being anything like "foundations" on which the Church was built, were considerably inferior to the rest of the believers in their character and their work. In remarking on the words: "They were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria except the apostles," he says:—

"Now certainly this does seem remarkable enough, that the apostles themselves, who no doubt would have the head and front of the persecution at Jerusalem, should have remained there. This is strange. It is strange, again, that these same apostles, who were to be the founders of the Church throughout the world, should not have gone forth on the first missionary journey; that they should have left it to others to break ground and to preach the Word, as by and by we find they did."

Among the reasons for "this remarkable tarrying of the apostles at Jerusalem," Dean Alford gives the following:—

"We may well trace (and it has been traced by most of those who have gone at all deeply into the spirit of the narrative) that the Lord here was pleased to keep the apostles at Jerusalem, and to send forth private individuals to preach the gospel elsewhere, to shew that he was not dependent upon ecclesiastical office, or the power and dignity given to certain men for the dispersion of his gospel, but that he had made every Christian to be a declarer of and missionary for his gospel at his own proper time and in his own way. 'They that were dispersed' (there is no distinction you see between them) 'went everywhere preaching the Word.'"

We do not exactly know to whom the Dean refers, as having gone thus deeply into the spirit of the narrative, but our own feeling is, that they have come up with a sentiment which was utterly unworthy of

repetition. That the twelve apostles who had been elaborately instructed by our Lord during his ministry on earth, who had frequently been indoctrinated by him into the comprehensive nature of his kingdom, who had been emphatically commanded, in his last words, to go forth and make disciples in all nations, with the express promise of his presence, and who were specially called Apostles, as being specially sent forth; these men, Peter, John, and the rest, were divinely retained at Jerusalem, just to shew that they were not wanted, or even for the purpose of throwing discredit upon anything like the exercise of that authority with which the Lord himself had invested them! Dean Alford has, in fact, ascribed to the Lord Jesus the low polemical prejudice of modern ecclesiastical republicanism; and for the sake of repudiating all idea of authority as derived from the apostles, has reduced to zero the holy college itself!

It was "now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, that the Gentiles should be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel;" to them were committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven that it might be "opened to all believers;" and yet of all God's chosen people these men were the least qualified and the least disposed to act upon what had been revealed to them! Such is Dean Alford's verdict with regard to the apostles.

"If we search among that body of the twelve, little as we know respecting them personally and individually, except in one or two cases, we shall not I think find, humanly speaking, those elements of which we are in search. They were all Jews. Although some of their names, and some few incidents which I have mentioned to you on one or two occasions, seem to point at a certain kind of connexion with Gentiles or with Grecian Jews, they were all, we may well say, strict Jews. They had been brought up in Judaism. They were continually dwelling, in their thoughts and in their questions to the Lord Jesus, upon the restoration of the kingdom to *Israel*. These were the matters with which their thoughts were occupied."

We interrupt Dean Alford here to remind him of a remark of his own, in his first *Homily*, which he appears to have forgotten.

"It is commonly said, that they misunderstood our Lord's words when they asked this question (wilt thou at this time restore? etc.) But I would rather regard the question as the best possible proof that they understood what our Lord meant; that they *had profited by his instruction* during these forty days. They connected in their minds with the immediate promise of the descent of the Spirit, *exactly that very thing which God had ever connected with it.*"

Now, it is too bad, that after having thus corrected the vulgar notion on this subject, the Dean should revert to this notion and endorse it in order to shew the narrow Judaism of the apostles. But we will go on with our quotation.

"By and by we shall come to speak more at length respecting the work which had to be done, when we speak of the wonderful person who was raised up to do it; but I will only shortly say now, that we do not find among the apostles elements fitted for the carrying on of that work, always humanly speaking. If we look at their subsequent conduct with regard to it, though we find that doubtless they yielded when the manifestation of God's will by his

Spirit was put before them, yet we do not find, I think, in the subsequent history of the Acts of the Apostles, this book itself, that they took any active part in the dispersion of the Gospel of Christ to the Gentiles, down to the period when the history of that book ends. We find, on the contrary, that the chief of them, even St. Peter himself, although he had been by a heavenly vision let into the truth that the Gentiles were to be, as Gentiles, partakers of the blessings of Christ's Gospel, yet even so late as some years after that time, vacillated *upon that point*. There was a difficulty to persuade him, although revelation persuaded, although the facts which manifested God's will persuaded, when they were brought before him, yet still in his own thoughts, his own feelings, there was a difficulty and a reluctance in this matter which extended far on in his course: and although we may believe, and are bound to believe, that in the inspiration of the Spirit itself this was never found, yet it is a remarkable fact that those epistles of St. Peter and St. James, addressed as they are in spirit to all Christians, are nevertheless really and actually addressed to Jewish Christians, and that the things said in them seem to belong more immediately, and in their primary meaning, to those Christians than others. I think we may very well say, then, especially in the light which God has been pleased to reveal to us, that it was not his pleasure that the world should be evangelized by means of those twelve apostles, and that in them were not found the elements of the workmen for doing that work."

We again remind Dean Alford of what he himself had said. He remarks in his first *Homily*, that this book "does not represent the acts of the apostles in any clear terms. The acts of many of the apostles are not so much as even once mentioned, their names only once, and nothing else respecting them." Yet he chooses, in the citation we have given, to speak of this book as containing "the subsequent history of the acts of the apostles," and to argue from its silence respecting them, that they did nothing but what is here related. We know from other sources that there were circumstances of immense importance in the ministerial life of St. Paul himself which are not mentioned by St. Luke. We know that St. Peter and St. John had a history in connexion with the spread of the Gospel and the management of the Church which is not alluded to, and could not be in this memoir; and we have abundant right to conclude that the twelve, as a body,—those of them who survived their *divinely appointed occupancy of the especial post of danger*, had a history which was sufficient to justify the exalted terms in which the apostolate is spoken of throughout the New Testament, and in other undoubted monuments of antiquity. If, however, history has not recorded the doings of the "Twelve Apostles of the Lamb," the great Master Builder has engraven their names on the "twelve foundations" on which he has built his Church.

But Dean Alford, we maintain, has done extreme injustice to the Christian character of St. Peter for the sake of giving reasons why the whole apostolate were to be shelved at Jerusalem as not the men by whom it pleased God that the Gospel should be preached to the world. He has injuriously compared the conduct of the apostles with that of the "private Christians" of whom he speaks, who left Jerusalem when driven thence by persecution, and preached the Gospel, as though these men had at once abandoned their Judaism, while the apostles could not be cured of it by the fire of persecution. But what were the

facts? "They which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but to the Jews only." Whereas, we know that after Peter and John had accomplished their apostolic work at Samaria, where the spiritual power of their office had been divinely attested, they "preached the Gospel in many villages of the Samaritans" on their return to Jerusalem. And during the subsequent temporary quiet of the Church, St. Peter is found passing throughout all quarters in his apostolic and missionary work; and Dean Alford himself remarks, "He is again made an actor in introducing multitudes of Gentiles, as he had done multitudes of Jews, into the Church of Christ;" though from that time it appears, according to the Dean, "*he is no more pre-eminent in his work.*" St. Peter, it seems, "the chief of the apostles," was still *oscillating on the point* as to whether the Gentiles, as Gentiles, were to be partakers of the blessings of Christ's Gospel! "There was a difficulty to persuade him, although revelation persuaded, although the facts which manifested God's will persuaded, when they were brought before him, yet still in his own thoughts, his own feelings, there was a difficulty and a reluctance in this matter which extended far on in his course."

But the Dean has not given the least show of reason for these assertions as to the personal views and feelings of St. Peter. Certainly none are found either mentioned or implied in the Acts; the only reflection on the conduct of St. Peter is that contained in the epistle to the Galatians. But what, after all, does that amount to? St. Peter had broken through a custom rooted in Judaism, which forbade the *eating with Gentiles*; and he, doubtless, was "to be blamed," *though we are not bound to believe that St. Paul's rebuke was not too severe* when he allowed himself to yield to the prejudice of his Jewish brethren *on this point*. But did this carry with it any opinion or feeling on the part of St. Peter, or that of the brethren from Jerusalem, that the Gentiles were not as Gentiles to be partakers of the blessings of the Gospel? He who had said, "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him;" they who had exultingly "glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life," did they imply any doubt and reluctance *on this point* because they were not yet prepared to give up a national custom? In short Dean Alford's impeachment of the character of St. Peter, and through him of that of the rest of the apostles, has no foundation in any accounts which we have of them; it is contradicted by the whole tenor of what we really know or may certainly gather, and we are sorry that the Dean should have lent himself to speculations which are so one-sided in their origin, and, we think, dangerous in their tendency.

The authority of the Dean in his own congregation was no doubt, and deservedly, considerable; but if there were any of them who had for themselves searched the Scriptures as he recommends, they must,

we think, have felt that on this subject, as on several others, the Dean was bringing strange things to their ears, and things quite contrary to the convictions which the Scripture and its sober interpreters have left on their minds, the result of which would be a want of confidence in their instructor rather than a participation in his paradoxical views.

We are quite sure, too, that the tendency to extreme views, which according to Dean Alford this book is adapted to arrest, and which it is his constant aim to oppose in these homilies, will rather be strengthened than otherwise by Dean Alford's method. A solid demonstrative appeal to Scripture could not logically have been rejected, especially in the face of his refutation; a candid regard to the claims of catholic truth in which that of Scripture is reflected; a loyal recognition, in short, on the part of a dignitary of the Church of England, of the principles of the Anglican Reformation, might have done something towards establishing wavering minds; but when such minds perceive that, not only is genuine catholic tradition treated as a thing of naught, but the common sense of Christendom as to Scripture itself, the things in it which have always been most surely believed, are made to give way to modern subjectivity, they will, as far as such influence goes, be confirmed in their doubts, and endeavour to escape from what they regard as the shifting sands of Protestantism to the apparently firmer ground offered them by the mirage of Popery.

Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles and on the Epistles. By JOHN DAVID MACBRIDE, D.C.L., Principal of Magdeline Hall. Oxford and London: Parker. 1858. pp. 401.

DR. MACBRIDE'S short preface will give the best account of the origin and object of these lectures.

"My work explanatory of the Gospels has been long before the world, and I now complete my observations on the New Testament with the *Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles*. They were prepared for the purpose of qualifying the students entrusted to my care for an intelligent and beneficial study of commentaries and treatises on theology; and as it appeared to me desirable to keep them within moderate limits, I have abstained from critical discussions, and have in general been content to state my opinion without a reference to the reason on which it has been formed. They are committed to the press in the persuasion that those who have received their education in Magdeline Hall during the many years in which I have been principal, will value them as an acceptable memorial of their University residence, and with the desire that they may promote the edification of all who read them, by leading them to a more diligent and prayerful perusal of this portion of the Word of God."

Dr. Macbride has furnished in these lectures an admirable digest of the account which the New Testament contains of the progress of Christianity from the time at which St. Luke's narrative in the Acts begins to the period when the canon closes. His plan is to introduce the epistles in the progress of the history in the order of their occurrence, and thus, by a lucid analysis of their contents, to exhibit the coincidences they present as to facts with St. Luke's account, as well as their development of Christian doctrine. Dr. Macbride has, we

think, given more importance to the objection of Dr. Hales to Paley's argument, derived from these coincidences, than they really possess; the assumption of that writer, able as he is in his own department, would not in the slightest degree diminish the force of Paley's reasoning. Supposing it true, as Dr. Hales assumes, that St. Paul kept and carried about with him copies of his own epistles, and that St. Luke had the opportunity of consulting them; it is most unlikely that the author of the *Acts* should, with St. Paul by his side, consult these documents for facts, and still more unlikely that he should have *so studied* them as to be able to conceal, so completely as he has, his obligations to them. The coincidences are manifestly *undesigned*; they often have the appearance of discrepancies to a degree which nothing can logically account for, but the assumption that St. Luke's account was derived from other sources than the Epistles.

It will be obvious to those who are acquainted with the best and soundest literature which has appeared on the subject of these lectures, that Dr. Macbride has condensed the result of a large amount of reading. He refers but little to modern speculations; and of this we are far from complaining. His conclusions are, in the main, those of the soundest of our own theological writers; though on some points, especially those which relate to the outward constitution of the Church, he leans to the opinions of some of the continental reformers, rather than to the convictions of those who laid down their lives in restoring the Gospel and the apostolic constitution of the Church for our own country.

He maintains that neither the service nor the ministry of the Christian Church rested in any degree on the divinely appointed order of the Hebrew Church.

"The Christian special worship did not originate with the apostles, for the model was already extant, *though not in the temple*, but in the synagogue. The true God had selected a single spot for the sacrificial worship which he had himself ordained, but it was a duty in every place to render him the homage of prayer and praise The synagogue and the temple had no connexion with each other, though the Jews worshipped in both, and the service of the former was conducted, not by the priests but by the rulers, and they delegated at their discretion the office of reading and exhorting to whom they pleased."

As, according to the plan of the venerable principal, he has merely stated his opinions on this subject and on others relating to the constitution of the primitive church, we are not furnished with the means of perceiving where, in the worship of the synagogue, some of the most important features of the government of the church, even in the *provisional* form of it which we find in the *Acts*, are to be found. The independent Jewish congregations, called synagogues, appear to have rested on no divine appointment, and as Dr. Macbride appears to intimate, were under no clerical government, and this is the main point of analogy which Dr. Macbride seems to refer to. We can only say, that we have not so read the accounts which have come down to us of the way in which the Saviour began and continued to build His Church, as to be otherwise than convinced that Dr. Macbride's account of it is

utterly inadequate. The so-called Great Synagogue might, perhaps, have furnished some analogy to the apostolic church, but we do not believe that either the one or the other was the model after which a structure was raised under the immediate inspiration of the Spirit, destined and adapted in its outward constitution, as well as its religious principles, to prevail against the outward assaults as well as the spiritual wickedness of the world.

Except on such points as these, we admire and cordially sympathize with the spirit which pervades these *Lectures*. They are excellently adapted to furnish the student with the means of a general survey of the New Testament revelation, adapted to build him up in his most holy faith.

The following is the closing testimony of the venerable principal.

"A volume which has God for its Author, teaches us what we are to believe, supplies us with principles to direct our conduct, and opens to us the only view we can have of the unseen world, is a treasure that may well be called more precious than *thousands of gold and silver*, as with its value nothing can be compared. Man is too apt to underrate a blessing which he has always enjoyed, and the only way in which we can in any degree realize its excellence, is to imagine what would be our condition without it. Our university education has the advantage of enabling us to form, in some degree, an estimate of the extent, and strength, and weakness of the human intellect, when left to its own sagacity; and modern history shews how much the standard of morality has been raised through the reflected light of Christianity shining upon those who are little influenced by its doctrines, while those who have received the truth in the love of it, have set their seal to its excellence by shewing its effect upon themselves in enlarging the understanding and opening and sanctifying the heart. Each successive age, under the modifications of society, by barbarism and refinement, illustrates the enlightening and transforming efficacy of the Word of the living God; and if misgiving should arise in any mind by the scepticism of some, or the perverse ingenuity of others, in denying or explaining away essential articles of our religion, their doubts may be dispelled, and their faith strengthened, by a perusal of the reports of our Missionary Societies, which prove that the Gospel is now, as of old, alike to the ignorant idolator and to the argumentative apologist of Polytheism, the *power of God unto salvation*. This Word, then, to which we owe our superior civilization and morality, has the strongest claim upon our study; but far be it from me to recommend such an exclusive attention to any one study, even of this best of books, being persuaded of its tendency to narrow the mind; and believing, as our Lord says of the Scribe, who, instructed to the kingdom of God, *brings out of his treasure things both new and old*, that he who takes the widest range of reading will best appreciate the surpassing excellence of the Bible."

History of the Apostolic Period to the Destruction of Jerusalem. By HENRY EWALD. Göttingen: Dieterisch. London: Nutt. 1858. pp. x, 753. ("Geschichte der Apostolischen Zeitalters.")

THIS is the second edition of the sixth volume of Professor Ewald's *History of the People of Israel*. He had expected to arrive at the end of his work in this volume, but found it necessary to extend it to another volume, which, besides completing the history, is to contain the alphabetical index to the whole work, and we are led to hope for its speedy appearance. We intimated, in our notice of the last volume

two years ago, that however we might regret the philosophic principles of Ewald, we could not but feel deeply interested in the account he gave of the greatest subject which the world's history has ever presented; and we are sure that whoever has shared in this feeling will do so in a still greater degree in perusing and studying this volume.

The history of the true religion has, in his view, constituted the main interest of the history of Israel; and, however the facts with which he deals may appear to us to demonstrate the presence of a Power which his system does not acknowledge, he does not shun to declare in general the full value of these divine phenomena.

"As regards the matters here treated of," says he, "no reader should forget that to me their genuine historic importance, as a whole, and in every important particular, has for more than thirty years, and as the result of every fresh inquiry, constantly appeared the same as I have here fully represented it."

The character of Christ, so strikingly and lovingly drawn in the last volume, regarded as it is by Ewald as the embodiment of the divine ideal, towards which the religious history of the chosen people was continually striving, is placed by him immeasurably above that of any mere child of human nature, though he does not in words acknowledge his supreme divinity.

In the same spirit of general obedience to the documents of sacred history—and, we may add, of respect for other ancient documents which some Bible Christians of our own day ignore—Ewald here exhibits the divine phenomena of the birth of the Christian Church; and if his object had been to shew the opposite of what his philosophy supposes, viz., that these phenomena were utterly unaccountable as mere natural sequences, he could scarcely have more strikingly represented them. The apparent destruction of the Messiah himself, and the ruin of his cause, the helplessness and despair of the only remnants of the religious life of the ancient people, are finely described by Ewald as the concentration of a power which was to become mighty in proportion to the pressure to which it had been subjected.

"It is as though the incomprehensible divine power of such a work, unaffected by all human oppression, as well as by all human despondency, must force its way just at that point where it is most inevitably driven back; and as though it then, flashing forth, asserted its whole inherent power on any apparent occurrence of an outward kind which comes in its way at that particular point of its history. What appears weakest among sensible phenomena will then become the instrument of a power which nothing can stand against.

"This is most clearly apparent in the present case; a truth in itself the mightiest imaginable, already inwardly given, is forced back to the utmost before the hostility of the great world, as well as by the terror and despondency of its own friends; yet it so breaks forth as that now, even without the visible Christ, it produces an entirely new race of men on the earth, fully imbued with Christianity.

"There are now gathered in the immoveable faith and the consequent marvellous conduct of his disciples as the pillars of the new Church, all the purest and mightiest powers which could lie in the spirit of the ancient people for an entirely new work; and once more there proceed from the inmost recesses of that people the most wonderful heroes; in far other forms, indeed, than the

ancient heroes of Israel, yet in nothing inferior to them as to their influence upon the world."

In treating of the Resurrection of Christ, however, Ewald has not been faithful to the history. According to him, their Divine Master did manifest himself to the faith of his disciples as living and gloriously triumphant, and this faith became the impulsive power by which they were transformed to spiritual heroism; but the phenomenon was purely spiritual, and compared with this it was a matter of no importance what became of the body of Jesus.

There are many points of great interest, both in the history of the church and the contemporary history of the people of Israel, which are discussed with all the earnestness and ability of this now veteran historian of Scripture. We hope the promise of the speedy completion of the work will be fulfilled; and as we formerly intimated, we shall hope then to give a more copious account of the last and crowning portions of the professor's labours.

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia. Being a Condensed Translation of Herzog's *Real Encyclopædia*, with additions from other sources. By the Rev. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D.D. Part VII. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Royal 8vo. pp. 130.

WE have been well pleased to observe the steady progress of this very valuable publication; and are happy now to inform our readers, that one volume having been completed, the above is the first part of the second volume. The present number is by no means inferior to its predecessors, in respect either of the general interest of the subjects treated in it, or of the mode of treatment, but well maintains the character which this great work of Dr. Bomberger's has already established. It extends from *Concordat* to *Dogmatics*; and among the articles we may mention specially that on Constantine and his sons, Cranmer, Crusades, and a long article on the ecclesiastical history of Denmark: From the first of these we extract the following on the character of Constantine.

"His great merit consists not only in his elevating Christianity out of persecution and distress, but also in inaugurating a Christian state. That the Church was injured by the sudden transition to public favour and worldly distinction, cannot be laid to his blame; but he is to be blamed for forsaking the way of freedom, and taking the first step towards the pernicious assumption of ecclesiastical dominion. Heathen authors, like Victor and Zosimus, call him greedy of praise, vain and unreliable; and that they do not err is shewn by his whole court-life, his public conduct, and his intercourse with the clergy. Even Eusebius (iv. 16) is a witness to this, if it is true that Constantine had coins struck in which he was represented as engaged in prayer. The emperor recognized himself as an instrument of Providence, which recognition raised his natural selfishness to despotic self-love, and his surroundings confirmed him in it, especially as he no longer had enemies to contend with. He possessed religious excitability, but lacked moral firmness entirely, and he continued to serve himself, even in taking care of the Church."

Our general praise of this *Encyclopædia* is, of course, subject to

considerable qualification in respect of particulars, and in a work of such a miscellaneous character we and our readers must expect a good deal of which we cannot entirely approve. Of this the above extract affords a specimen. Without, however, entering upon the question, too extensive for our limits, of the character of Constantine, we may ask, in what respect is the fact, if it be a fact, of Constantine being represented on his coins in the attitude of prayer, illustrative of his vanity or greediness of praise? For a Roman emperor, whose predecessors had frequently claimed and received divine honours, thus to present himself constantly before the eyes of his subjects in an attitude of recognition of a superior and overruling Being, cannot, we think, be by any means so construed. We would further ask, in reference to the latter part of this extract, whether Constantine was not, in reality, and eminently, an instrument of Providence; and if so, whether we are justified in inferring such evil results from his recognition of the fact? We would also remark that, in our opinion, the expression "*his surroundings*," is scarcely English.

We conclude this notice with the following character of *Cranmer*.

"Cranmer's character combined high excellencies and great infirmities. He was mild, peaceable, and conciliatory. By nature timid, undecided, and compliant, he often shewed inflexible firmness and courage. His gentleness towards foes became proverbial; but he was backward in defending his friends. His generosity and hospitality won many friends, whilst his vacillation and indecision repelled others. He was conscientious, and yet pliant and easily impressed. Above all, he lacked that central living principle, *justification by faith*, which animated Luther, and a clear perception of other Gospel truths. And yet he seemed best suited to influence a man like Henry. Often his conviction of duty may have yielded to what seemed the necessities of the case. In literature, as in other matters, Cranmer possessed no originality. Though his writings exhibit extensive reading and drill in the use of material, they present nothing new; display no independent research. He gained by slow steps the theological position he held under Edward. Besides contending with outward opponents, he had to wrestle with his natural weakness, which often overcame him. But his last and deepest fall was only the transition to that final victory which secures to him a place among the great men of the Reformation."

INTELLIGENCE,

BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

THE VATICAN MS.—THE CURETONIAN SYRIAC GOSPELS.

HAVING freely expressed our opinion as to the merits of this first edition of the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus*, we proceed to make some observations as to the value of the Ms. itself. Now that it is no longer hidden within the recesses of the Vatican, now that it is once fairly before the world, it must necessarily be exposed to the ordeal of public opinion. No prescriptive rights, no mere love of antiquity, will suffice to shield it from the attacks of hostile criticism. The Ms. will be thoroughly sifted, its faults unceremoniously exposed, its deficiencies clearly pointed out. Hitherto the *Codex Vaticanus* has verified the maxim of Tacitus—*Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*. Wrapped up in the obscurity of the Papal Library, this ancient Ms. has been looked up to with an almost idolatrous veneration, and its text, even when disfigured by blunders, has been made, too frequently, the standard by which to judge of all other readings. We venture to predict that the publication of the Ms. will have the effect of lessening to a very considerable extent this excessive deference; and that henceforth the text of the Vatican codex will no longer possess that prescriptive authority which it has so long enjoyed.

Those of our readers who have been aware of the extraordinary estimation in which this ancient Ms. has been held by the most famous critics of the day, will hear with some surprise that it contains a vast number of egregious blunders. We at least, in our simplicity, have been accustomed to think of this *codex antiquissimus*—written, whilst the Christian religion was still a *religio illicita*—as almost an immaculate copy, far removed from the vulgar herd of cursive and modern Mss. On this ground it was, we fondly supposed, that it was continually appealed to as an authoritative witness of the true text; a standard according to which the readings of the *Textus Receptus* were to be pronounced true or false. Judge of our amazement, gentle reader, when we discovered, for the first time, that this famous Ms. of antiquity abounds with deficiencies and mistakes; and that its text can no more be trusted apart from the evidence of other witnesses, than the despised cursives of the tenth and following centuries.

What has most of all struck us, whilst turning over the pages of this magnificent work, has been the very numerous cases in which the copyist has dropped one or more words out of the text. To what this tendency is to be attributed, it is impossible to say; but so frequently is it manifested, that it may safely be pronounced as one of the characteristic peculiarities of the codex. Many of these omissions have been corrected either at the time, or shortly afterwards, by the same hand, but very many more have evidently been overlooked, and still disfigure the pages of this most ancient of copies of the Greek Testament.

It may occur to some of our readers, that possibly these numerous omissions of the Vatican Ms. are various readings of the text, which the copyist found in his exemplar, rather than blunders with which he himself stands chargeable. This certainly may be true of some of these innumerable omissions; but with regard to the vast majority, this supposition must be pronounced highly improbable. In proof of this, we would, in the first place, refer to the fact already mentioned, viz., that a great many of these original omissions have been supplied by the same hand. In some cases, the missing word or words are inserted in the margin; in other cases, they are found between the lines, right over the place where they should have been placed. In such cases, there can, of course, be no doubt that the words dropped out of the text by the carelessness of the scribe. Secondly, in many other cases the readings thus resulting, derive no

support from any other witnesses, either Mss. or versions. In all such instances we are again fully justified in concluding that the omissions are accidental mistakes of the copyist, which he failed to notice, or else neglected to remedy. Lastly, there are numerous passages in which some word or words belonging to the text in common use are wanting, in consequence of which *the passage makes absolute nonsense as it stands*. It was our intention to have given several instances of the innumerable omissions of the Vatican codex. But as these would be of little interest to the general reader, we must refer those who have the opportunity of consulting Cardinal Mai's edition to the note at the foot of the page.^a We ought to add, that none of these omissions can be attributed to errors of the press. In every instance they are proved to belong to the codex itself, either from the notes of the editor, or the published collations of the Ms.

It is true, that much may be said by way of extenuating these very numerous omissions of the transcriber. It is well known that, at the very early date to which the Vatican codex is assigned, it was the custom to write Mss. continuously—without any break between the words—without even any stop between one sentence and another. Hence, nothing was easier than for a copyist, after tracing one word and looking up again at his copy, to fix his eye on the wrong word. This was especially likely to happen, where two words near one another had the same ending, or where the same word occurred twice in one sentence. For if the transcriber, on finishing the former, chanced to see the latter of these two words on looking up from his copy, he would naturally imagine it was the word he had just copied, and proceed onwards from that, omitting all that lay between. Instead of wondering that mistakes of omission are so frequent in these ancient Greek codices, the only wonder is—considering the style in which the exemplars were written—the only wonder is that copyists were not more frequently guilty of errors of this kind.

But whilst we are disposed to make every allowance for the copyist, to whose labours we are indebted for this invaluable relic of antiquity, we are not blind to the fact that these faults very seriously detract from the authority of the Ms., *in all cases where omissions are concerned*. We would go a step farther, and extend the rule to all Mss. whatever. For since all scribes must be more or less exposed to this danger of overlooking, sometimes, what lies before them in the copy, it can never be safe to rely on the reading of an individual Ms. uncial or cursive, where omissions occur, unless it be well supported by other evidence. Instead of entering upon this wide field of discussion at present, however, we will confine our attention to the Ms. before us.

To say the least, then, the acknowledged deficiencies of this celebrated codex, in such passages as we have just referred to, should make us very cautious how we expunge one or more words out of the common text of the Greek Testament, because they happen to be wanting in the Vatican Ms. If we have discovered a number of passages where the copyist has fallen into such errors of omission as to make absolute nonsense of the passages as they at present stand, the laws of probability require us to expect that there will be a very much larger number of omissions in the same Ms. of such a kind as to make good sense. As an illustration of our meaning, let us look a little at one or two instances of omission in the Vatican Ms. In Ephes. i. 15, the word *ἀγαπῶ* (love) is omitted, but it so happens that the careless scribe has inserted the article belonging to it. All critics therefore agree that it is a blunder, and there is an end of it. But suppose, instead of the word "love," he had overlooked the word "wherefore," or "also," or "Lord," or "Jesus," or "all," or

^a The following are some of the very numerous omissions of the Ms.—Matt. xii. 47, a whole verse omitted, which, the context proves, must have been there originally; Matt. xiv. 2; xix. 11; xxi. 12; xxv. 22; Mark vi. 17; x. 29; xv. 4; Luke xix. 25; xx. 13; xxiv. 52; John i. 1, also ver. 13; iii. 34; iv. 3; v. 44; Acts vii. 42; xxiii. 28; xxiv. 6, 7, 8; James v. 14; 1 Pet. i. 1; v. 3; 1 Cor. iv. 6; Ephes. i. 15; Col. ii. 2; iv. 16; 1 Thes. ii. 16; Heb. vii. 12.

"saints," there would be no clue by which to detect the blunder, and it might have been set down as a variation of the text of high authority.

Similarly in 1 Thess. ii. 16, the Vatican codex omits the words *τας διαμαρτίας* (sins). But here again the means of detection are supplied, for not only does the passage require some noun to follow the transitive verb (*αναπληρωσαι*), but the personal pronoun belonging to the missing noun is inserted (*αυτων*). Accordingly there is no question amongst critics about this reading. It is admitted on all sides to be a pure error. But had the copyist omitted some other words in the verse; had he left out, for instance, "us," or "the Gentiles," or the two words translated "that they might be saved" (*να σωθωσιν*), or "their," or "always," or "is come," or "to the uttermost," it would be impossible to prove either of these omissions to be a blunder, and in that case the great antiquity of the codex in which such a reading was found, would have sufficed to establish it as, in all probability, the original reading of the verse.

The same remarks apply to most of the other omissions of this famous Ms., and, generally speaking, it will be found that in any verse of the New Testament, where only one word can be left out so as to be missed, half a dozen may be left out, separately, without exciting any suspicion. An adjective or adverb, in most instances, would never be missed. Where two or more nouns, verbs, or participles occur together, one or more may be omitted without detection; and so often with a conjunction or preposition. The same remark applies frequently to qualifying clauses, and even a whole verse. So that it may safely be admitted, as a general canon, that in any ancient Ms., in which omissions have been discovered, the imperceptible errors, so to speak, will exceed, by many times, those which are plain and palpable.

The question then arises, have our critical editors of the Greek Testament recognised this general rule? So far from this, they have proceeded in direct opposition to it. The obvious omissions of the Vatican Ms., in which the passages make no sense as they stand, are of course passed by, but in almost every other instance, such has been hitherto the *prestige* of this *codex antiquissimus*, that the words missing in the Vatican Ms. have been—as a matter of course—expunged from the received text, unless it has so happened that not a single *uncial* besides agreed with it. About two hundred instances might easily be adduced, in which one or more words have been omitted in the texts of our modern critical editions of the Greek Testament, chiefly on the ground that they were not found in the *Codex Vaticanus*.

We would respectfully submit, then, to the consideration of those who may be engaged in the formation of a critical text of that inspired volume, the foregoing remarks on the omissions of the Vatican Ms. Now that this famous codex is fairly published to the world; now that its very numerous deficiencies can be ascertained by a mere perusal of the printed edition, it will not do to set up its readings as the standard according to which the received text is to be moulded. It is beyond dispute, that there are several passages in which words have been dropped by the copyist, which are absolutely necessary to complete the sense. It is beyond dispute, that there are a great many more passages in which words have been omitted by the copyist, and afterwards placed in the margin by the same, or a contemporary hand.^b It is beyond dispute, that there are many other instances in which omissions are found, but not a single other Ms., either *uncial* or *cursive*, affords any support for such readings. Lastly, it is impossible to deny that, according to every law of probability, it is reasonable to expect that a vast number of other mistakes of omission must exist in such a

^b The critical reader is referred to the following instances. Matt. xiv. 2, *δια τουτο*; xxv. 40, *των αδελφων μου*; Mark vi. 17, *την γυναικα*; x. 29, *ενεκεν*; xv. 4, *ουδεν*; Luke xix. 25, *κυριε*; xx. 13, *τι ποιησω*; xxiv. 52, *μεγαλης*; John i. 1, *των ανθρωπων*; ver. 13, *εκ θεληματος ανδρος*; iii. 34, *το πνευμα*; iv. 3, *παλιν*; Acts vii. 42, *τη ερημω*; xi. 24, *τω κυριω*; xxiii. 28, *κατηγογον αυτον εις το συνεδρον αυτων*. In all these, as well as in other less important places, the missing words are inserted in the margin *a primâ manu*, apparently.

Ms., which cannot be *proved* to be blunders by the above or any other means. Accordingly, there *are* some hundreds of such omissions discovered in this celebrated codex, omissions which we cannot *prove* to be errors of the copyist, but which are at variance with almost all other *Mss.* of the Greek Testament, and the great majority of versions; yet, strange to say, the editors of our critical Greek Testaments, instead of passing by these various readings as simple blunders of the transcriber, have, in almost every instance, adopted them as true readings, according to which the text of the Greek Testament is henceforth to be conformed. In proof of this the reader is referred to the various editions of Tischendorf's Greek Testament, and the critical Greek Testament of Dr. Samuel P. Tregelles, of which the Gospels of Matthew and Mark have already appeared.

It may be urged in favour of many of these omissions of the Vatican codex, that the same omissions are found in one or two other *uncial codices*, and therefore on this ground they may be assumed to be true readings. That it is hardly likely that two or three transcribers should happen to omit just the same word or words by oversight and neglect, hence it is reasonable to suppose that the missing words form no part of the original text. But, on the other hand, it may be asked—Which is the more likely, that two or three copyists of ancient *uncial Mss.*, should happen now and then to overlook the same word; or, that ten or twelve copyists of other ancient *uncial Mss.*, and the transcribers of a countless number of more modern *curtives*, should agree in inserting just the same corruption? Yet, this is the only alternative.

This famous copy of the Greek Testament contains also a vast number of other errors. In numerous instances the transcriber has written the wrong word. We had intended to enter at some length into this subject in the present paper, but we fear we have already exhausted the reader's patience. A very few remarks, therefore, respecting this accidental substitution of one word for another is all that we shall trouble him with.

In many respects, the same observations which are recorded as to the *omissions* of this famous *Ms.* apply to the *mistakes*, properly so called. That is to say, whilst many of them are so gross and obvious that it is impossible to deny them,^c the majority are such as *may*, some of them, possibly be various readings. All that we would stipulate for is, that extreme caution should be used in the adoption of any, where the reading is not well supported by other evidence, both of *Mss.* and versions. The extraordinary blunders of the copyist in some cases should certainly make us very jealous how we attach much authority to any variation of this *codex antiquissimus*.

And now, before laying down the pen, we must say a word or two on the probable results of this work on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.

We think, then, that most of our readers will agree in one thing, viz., that the publication of this famous codex is calculated greatly to lessen our confidence in the value of very ancient *Mss.* as individual witnesses of the original text of the Greek Testament.

It is well known that the early editors of the Greek Testament employed codices of comparatively modern date in their important work. Erasmus, Beza, Stephens, and the Elzevirs possessed hardly any of those ancient copies of the New Testament written in *uncial* letters which later editors can boast of; and the consequence was, they used what they did possess. The *Textus Receptus*—from which our authorised English version is substantially a translation—is that found in what are called *curtive Mss.*, written from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries.

On this account, we need not inform our critical readers, the text in common use has fallen under the condemnation of the modern editors of the Greek Testament. In their opinion, it is unmistakably corrupt and interpolated. And the

^c The critical reader who has the opportunity of consulting Cardinal Mai's edition, is referred to the following examples. Matt. vi. 25; xvii. 14; xxii. 43; Mark i. 24; xiii. 13; Luke xvi. 12; xxiv. 39; John i. 15; Acts iv. 25; 1 Pet. ii. 1; 2 Pet. ii. 13; 1 John ii. 14; 3 John 3; Rom. xiv. 18; 1 Cor. i. 2; 1 Cor. xiii. 3; 2 Cor. viii. 2; Galat. vi. 10; Phil. ii. 1.

only means of restoring it to anything like its primitive purity, is to conform it to the readings of those few most ancient Mss. which have happily escaped the ravages of time.

It must be confessed that there is a good deal of plausibility in this theory. All intelligent persons will agree in the opinion that, all other things being equal, the older Ms. is the better. A copy of the Greek Scriptures of the New Testament written in the time of Augustine, in all human probability contains fewer blunders of the scribe than one written in the age of Luther. In many instances, at least, it may be inferred with tolerable certainty that the text of a cursive Ms. of the twelfth or fourteenth century has been copied again and again, while each transcription has exposed it to fresh blunders. Our very ancient Mss., on the contrary, may possibly have had only very few copies intervene between them and the original autographs. None can call in question, then, the truth of the principle—viewed as a general fact—that an ancient Ms., *ceteris paribus*, has immensely stronger claims to be followed as an exemplar—as a standard of the text—than one of modern date.

But although antiquity is unquestionably valuable as affording a presumption in favour of a text's purity, there are a great many other considerations which must never be overlooked. This is so admirably stated by Mr. Scrivener, the laborious collator of the cursive Mss. of the Gospels, that we cannot do better than quote a few sentences from the introduction to his valuable work.

"There is a tone and manner," says he, "often observable when Mss. of the Greek Testament are spoken of, as if it were taken for granted, that their value is in direct proportion to their date; as though the testimony of a document of the twelfth or fourteenth century were of necessity, and, as a matter of course, far inferior in weight and probability to that of an uncial copy some five hundred years older. Now, I wish not to deny the existence of a certain amount of presumption in favour of the more ancient authority. The nearer we approach to apostolic times, the fewer stages that have intervened between the inspired autographs and the Mss. before us, the less chance is there of error or wilful alteration on the part of the copyists. But what I complain of is this, that instead of looking upon the case as one of mere *presumption*, of *primâ facie* likelihood, such as other circumstances may limit, or correct, or remove, it is regarded from the first as a settled point, that, unless a monument be upwards of a thousand years old, it is hardly worth the trouble of collating. 'Ante omnia,' says Lachmann, 'antiquissimorum rationem habebimus, . . . fine certo constituto recentiores, item leves, et corruptos recusabimus.'—Pref., p. 6. And to what cause shall we attribute it, that the oldest Mss. are necessarily the best, while the more recent ought to be despised 'as corrupt, and of little consequence?' Will Lachmann undertake to assert that our modern Byzantine documents are but bad copies of the Alexandrian, the Vatican, or Beza's Ms? Yet no supposition short of this will answer the purpose of his argument. The remark is so trite, one is tired of repeating it, that many codices of the tenth and following centuries were very probably transcribed from *others of a more early date than any that now exist*, the incessant wear of the older copies, in the service of the church, rendering a further supply indispensable."^a

We think all candid persons, unbiassed by prejudice, will admit the force of the above remarks in favour of the despised cursive Mss. of the Greek Testament. And when the vast number of these cursive copies is taken into account, and the extreme paucity of the uncial or ancient copies, the argument of Mr. Scrivener is immensely strengthened. The very limited area embraced by the *codices antiquissimi* is unfavourable to their claims to be accepted as of supreme authority in settling the text. "For almost an entire fourth of the New Testament," says Tischendorf, "only one witness can be interrogated: and in the remaining portions, commonly only two, or at the most three; and these often differ from each other."^a

^a A full and exact collation of about twenty Greek Mss., etc., by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, A.M. 8vo., Cambridge, 1853.

^a Bibel-text des N. T., in Herzog's Real Encyclop., etc.

The testimony of Tischendorf is beyond all suspicion of undue bias on this point, and proves how utterly futile must prove the attempt to construct a text solely from the most ancient copies. There is another fact too in connexion with this question highly deserving of our consideration, and that is, the numerous discrepancies and serious corruptions which disfigure some of these *codices antiquissimi*. The foregoing pages afford ample proof with respect to one of these, and that the most highly venerated of the whole—the *Codex Vaticanus*. In the case of another, the *Codex Cantabrigiensis* (D), we are informed, that it abounds throughout in grammatical and other blunders, glosses, and interpolations. It is thought that the ignorant scribe introduced into the text readings from various copies, some of which make perfect nonsense of the passages where they are found. "The text of this Ms." says Davidson, "is peculiar. Its interpolations are numerous and considerable. It is full of arbitrary glosses and mistakes, especially in the Acts. In this respect no other Ms. can compare with it. Its singularly corrupt text in connexion with its great antiquity is a curious problem which cannot easily be solved." And yet these are precisely the two codices of the New Testament on which critical editors in the present day lay most stress. Whoever will take the pains to look into the critical editions of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles will find no Mss. so repeatedly quoted as the ground on which passage after passage is left out of the text as the *Codex Vaticanus* (B) and the *Codex Cantabrigiensis* (D).

It is not merely the two very ancient Mss. we have just described which contain such numerous errors as seriously to detract from their authority as individual witnesses of the text. It may be safely asserted that the ancient uncial Mss., taken as a whole, are far more carelessly written, than the neglected cursives of the tenth and following centuries. We do not wish the reader to receive this on our word, but proceed to give the judgment of a profound modern critic on the subject. In his valuable *Lucubratio Critica*, the learned German Rinck gives us the result of a laborious investigation instituted by himself into the respective merits of the uncial Mss. and those written in cursive letters. From this it appeared that out of A B C D E F G, in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, in those readings in which they agreed in opposition to all or most of the cursive copies, thirty-two readings were deserving of adoption, forty-six decidedly bad. On the other hand, it was found that in almost all the uncial Mss., only thirteen readings absent from the modern copies should be adopted as preferable, and no less than one hundred and three should be rejected as manifest corruptions! Surely, after this testimony it becomes every man who entertains any due reverence for the inspired writings of the evangelists and the apostles to pause before he rejects one clause after another out of his Greek Testament, on the ground that B, D, and L omits them; and still more to hesitate before he adopts as the nearest approach to the *ipsissima verba* of Revelation, a Critical Text "founded exclusively on ancient authority."

Let it not, for one moment, be supposed that we are arguing in favour of the text in common use. No man can be more fully aware than ourselves, that the *Textus Receptus* abounds with errors. All we contend for is, that the hundreds of cursive Mss. in the public libraries of Europe should be consulted equally with the ancient uncials; instead of being, as a matter of course, cast on one side as "corrupt and of little consequence."

Astronomy can boast of a Newton, Botany of a Linnæus, and Physiology of an Owen. Were some such individual to arise in the field of textual criticism, we should not despair of obtaining a really genuine text of the Greek Testament—that is to say, so far as existing sources of information are capable of affording it.

There exist in certain Museums of Europe, a few precious fragments of a Greek Ms., the text of which is of such high value that Tischendorf has published the whole of it in his well-known *Monumenta Sacra*. Both our principal collators of ancient Mss., Drs. Tischendorf and Tregelles, think that this codex

^f *Biblical Criticism*, ii., p. 288.

^g See Rinck's *Lucubratio Critica*, p. 13.

may be assigned to the sixth century. It is called the *Codex Purpureus* :—having been originally written on purple vellum, in silver letters. The words *ἰησοῦς*, *θεός*, *κύριος*, *υἱός* and *σῶτης* are distinguished by gold letters, which still retain their brilliancy, whilst the silver letters have turned black from age. Four leaves of this fragment are deposited in the British Museum, six are in the Vatican Library, and two are in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

But the most extraordinary fact, in connexion with this venerable relic, remains to be stated. Although a fragment of the *most ancient* class of uncial copies, it contains the text of the *modern* and despised cursive copies. The readings which are expunged from the New Testament by Tischendorf and Tregelles, on the ground that they are modern, are here found, so far as the fragments extend, beautifully written in letters of gold and silver, by a scribe who lived in all probability in the days of Gregory the Great. So that the arguments by which our modern critical texts are supported—that of their being the *ancient* text current in the sixth century, are dissipated into thin air; the very ground on which the editors rest is taken from under their feet. It turns out that the text in common use, as represented in the splendid *Codex Purpureus*, is of substantially the same age; and all that can be asserted with any degree of truth in favour of the new readings is simply this, that in common with those found in the *Textus Receptus*, they existed at a very early date.

The following are a few of the instances in which the famous *Codex Purpureus* confirms the Received Text in chap. xix. and xx. of Matthew; in opposition to the majority of certain ancient, but corrupt, uncial codices. In Matt. xix. 7, it supports the *αὐτήν*, whilst D, Z, and L omit it. In the ninth verse of the same, it retains the *οὐ*, which is wanting in B, D, and Z. A clause *καὶ ὁ εὐδαιμον*, which has been accidentally dropped (at Matt. xx. 7), in B, D, and Z, occurs in this ancient Ms. just as in our own received text; as it does also in C, X, Δ, E, F, G, etc. In the 15th verse, another omission of B, D, and Z, is found here as in the received text—supported, too, by many later uncials. At the 16th verse of the same chapter, a whole clause *πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν κλητοὶ, κ. τ. λ.* omitted by Tischendorf and others on the ground of its absence from B and Z, occurs in the *Codex Purpureus*. We will only add further, that in one reading, in the 31st verse, and two in the 33rd verse of the 20th chapter of Matthew, this most ancient copy again agrees with the *Textus Receptus*, in opposition to B, D, Z, and in the following verse a clause, omitted by those three Mss., occurs in this fragment, as it does in our common editions.

It would be easy to add to the above; but it is unnecessary. We have given enough instances to establish the important fact, that the text of these fragments of the sixth century, agrees with the modern cursives in opposition to the uncial Mss. B, D, and L. It requires no sagacity to see that if we possessed the whole of that *Codex Purpureus*, it would, in all probability, accord with the common text throughout the Greek Testament. It thus appears that there was, at that early age, a text agreeing with the *Textus Receptus*, as well as one agreeing with the opposite text of B, D, and L, and the only question we have to ask is, which of the two is the genuine one? We reply by asking another question—Which is most likely to be the true text? That which the vast mass of copies written during the following centuries have followed, or that which is chiefly, if not exclusively found in such Mss. as B, C, D, and Z?—of which two are *codices rescripti*—i. e., codices the text of which had been erased in consequence, probably, of their numerous faults; and one, D, a Ms. abounding in omissions, corruptions, and interpolations.

There is one consideration, not yet noticed, which Dr. Tregelles has urged with considerable effect, against the received text and the whole mass of modern Mss. which support it, and that is the striking conformity between the "*very ancient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac*," lately published by Dr. Cureton, and the ancient uncial copies of the Greek Testament. The venerable *Peshito* Syriac, it is well known, decidedly favours the common text; but here was a Syriac translation of still higher antiquity, and that supported almost all the characteristic readings of the most ancient Greek codices.

This important copy of the Gospels in Syriac, was brought a few years since, with a vast number of other Syriac Mss., from the Nitrian monasteries, and deposited in the library of the British Museum. Dr. Tregelles regards it as containing "an older form of the Syriac text" than that found in the Peschito, and speaks of "the translator of the Syriac Gospels," as "taking much that would suit his purpose from it." He thinks "Biblical students are under great obligations to Mr. Cureton for having directed their attention to this version; for it shews that a Syriac translation did exist, of very great antiquity, in which the readings were in far greater accordance with the oldest authorities than is the case in the Peschito."^a

Accordingly, Dr. Tregelles has made most extensive use of this very ancient Syriac version, both in his *Printed Text 'of the Greek Testament*, and his *Critical edition of the Greek Testament*, now in course of publication.

Fortunately for the interests of truth, however, Dr. Cureton is not the only Syriac scholar in Europe, and two or three very learned and elaborate papers on the subject have lately appeared in contemporary publications, which prove beyond all question that the pretended "very ancient recension" is *utterly worthless!* Not only has the Syriac translator "licentiously interpolated the text, left out many important portions, and taken other unwarrantable liberties with it;" but the most convincing proof is brought forward that the Ms. is no more nor less than a copy of the *Peschito*, revised so as to take away any pretence for heresy, and accommodated in its phraseology to the wants of some simple congregation to whom that ancient version may have seemed somewhat antiquated! Thus, in chap. i. 16, we have "Joseph to whom was betrothed Mary;" chap. i. 19, "Because he was a righteous man," instead of "Joseph *her husband* being righteous;" chap. i. 21, "He shall save the *world* from its sins," instead of "his people;" chap. i. 24, "and he brought home Mary and *dwelt purely* with her."

But worse remains behind. Dr. Land, of the National Reformed Church in Holland, who is now employed, we understand, by the Dutch Government, on the Syriac Mss. in the British Museum, has just published a masterly disquisition on Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels, from which it appears that the very title-page of the codex states that it is a mere revision of the text, undertaken with a view to render the Gospel history more intelligible. "Had Dr. Cureton," says he, "not been blinded by his unhappy hypothesis, he would have read so much quite clearly in the inscription of the first gospel.—*Evangelistā DAMPARSHO dē Mathai*, THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW EXPLAINED, or revised to render it easier, more intelligible!"^b In confirmation of this, we may add, that a writer in the *Literary Churchman*, amongst a vast number of other interpolations, gives no less than thirty-five from a single chapter! (Luke viii.)—*Eclectic Review* for November, 1858.

Cardinal Mai's Edition of the Codex Vaticanus.—To the Editor of the *Record*.—Sir,—In the *Record* of last Friday I have just seen the letter of "C. T. D." respecting Cardinal Mai's edition of the New Testament of the Vatican Ms., in which suspicions are thrown out, which are strengthened by a quotation from Signor Gavazzi.

Now I may be able to inform those of your readers who are interested in the subject, how far and in what respect I believe that Mai's printed edition cannot be used with absolute confidence, as giving precisely the text of the Ms. itself.

I do not find the smallest reason for regarding the publication as intentionally falsified; the portions not contained in the Ms., but inserted in the edition, are distinctly specified as such: but it is certain that it departs from the Ms. itself in many places, and that from the absence of anything like proper editorship.

This edition will thus mislead all who rely on it implicitly; but those who know *how* to use it will find it a valuable addition to the collections previously available of the Ms. itself. I regret much that I was not able to use it as an

^a Horne's *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, vol. iv., pp. 267, 268.

^b *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct., 1858, p. 160.

authority for the text of my Greek New Testament from the beginning ; as it is, it will furnish me with an important list of corrigenda for St. Matthew and St. Mark,—the parts of my Greek Testament already issued.

To use Mai's text properly, it must be compared with the collations formerly executed ; these are,—

1st. That made for Bentley, published in 1799 by Ford.

2nd. That made and published by Birch.

3rd. That existing in Ms. in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. This was made nearly two centuries ago by Bartolucci. I transcribed it some years ago when at Paris. It is often valuable as confirming one or the other of the previously-mentioned collations where they differ from one another.

Besides this Ms. collation, there are also means of testing an edition of the Vatican Ms. still unprinted. I felt so *certain* that the collation made for Bentley had been incorrectly published by Ford, that I made inquiry of some of my friends at Cambridge ; and when part of this collation, as edited by Ford, had been compared with it as sent to Bentley, as it remains amongst his papers in the library of Trinity College, the fact was established. This was kindly executed for me by the Rev. Joseph Lightfoot, Fellow of Trinity College, and in part by the Rev. John E. B. Mayor, Fellow of St. John's. But as it was too much to expect from the kindness of friends that they would complete so laborious a re-comparison, I went to Cambridge (a place where every facility has always been afforded me for purposes of critical study), and completed the examination myself.

Besides this collation, there is a paper drawn up by Rulotta for Bentley, containing a list of all the corrections and changes from different hands that he could observe in the Ms. This, too, I have copied, and its value is considerable. These materials, printed and manuscript, furnish me with the means of checking the Cardinal's edition, and the latter at times adds to what was previously known, and confirms some collation against the others. Too often, however, it is clear that Mai (or rather his printer and corrector, for it was very little of it *his own work*) followed inadvertently the common Greek text in places in which we know, from united testimony, that the Ms. has a different reading.

I do not, however, suppose that the means of rightly checking Mai are to be found anywhere, except where the collations (Ms. and printed) of which I have spoken are to be met with *together*. I could not do this unless I had made transcripts in Paris and Cambridge. I ought to add, that some observations which I made on the Ms. itself at Rome, have aided me.

In my Greek Testament I give the *results* ; so that it is there seen what the authorities are which report the readings of the Vatican Ms. This is of importance where they differ.

To some it may seem strange that there should be discrepancies in collations : but it is not a very easy thing to collate uncial Mss. with no divisions between the words, and written in faded ink, without making some oversights : those who are best acquainted with such ancient documents will know this with the fullest certainty.

Many of the discrepancies of the collations of the Vatican Ms. are in places in which a correction has been made by a later hand : it is not always easy to notice such alterations when the later ink has faded. Indeed, it is not the easiest task to collate *exactly* any ancient document ; and all collations require re-examination.

I hope that I have said enough to shew the *kind* of doubt which must attach to the Cardinal's edition : the preface to the whole work by Vercellone shews *how* it was prepared : and, indeed, Vercellone himself seems to be singularly unfitted for giving to the world the work which the Cardinal had printed with so little care.

I do not wonder that suspicions should be felt about such an edition : the authorities at the Vatican make such a mystery about the use of the Ms. (so utterly unlike what I found at other Roman libraries,—that of the Augustines for instance, who afforded me *every facility*), and it was so well known that I John v. 7 (not in the Ms.) was to be inserted in the edition,—that the feeling arose

that whatever was allowed to appear would not be a true copy : but I do wonder that now the edition is actually issued, suspicions were not *tested* before they were expressed; the edition would then have neither received undue praises, as though it superseded past collations, nor would it have been condemned as though it were an intentional falsification. No doubt that the prohibition to use the Vatican Ms. itself, and the absurd treatment which critical scholars have received, has greatly increased the feeling of distrust.

I hope that the discussion of such subjects may be a token for good amongst us, and that those who really value the Word of God may not continue so much to neglect Biblical criticism of the text.

Some of your readers may be glad to be informed of a curious and valuable palimpsest hitherto unused : it contains portions of the first eleven chapters of St. Luke's Gospel. I received information recently from Dr. Paul de Lagarde, of Berlin, that this Ms. is in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Its use has been kindly conceded to me; its readings are of the best character; but it is peculiarly difficult to read the ancient and defaced writing. I suppose that the original Ms. belongs to the eighth century; the more recent writing is a lectionary from the Gospels of no particular importance, of about the thirteenth.

This palimpsest of St. Luke contains the same notation of chapters that is found in the Vatican Ms.; these are the earliest divisions known. I have examined almost every ancient Ms. of the Greek New Testament, and I have never found these divisions in any other document.

I remain, yours very truly,

S. P. TREGELLES.

Plymouth, October 27, 1858.

To the Editor of the *Record*.—Sir,—I hope that I may succeed in explaining to Dr. Dobbin why I attribute any inaccuracies in Mai's editions of the New Testament, from the *Codex Vaticanus*, to inadvertence and not to design; I will also shew how I believe that this might have been easily tested.

Although the materials for *fully checking* Mai's publication are not all of them printed, yet for the purpose of testing the *honesty* of the edition, either of the collations of Birch or Bentley (or any critical Greek Testament in which they are cited), would have been quite enough. It would thus have been seen that Mai differs from their testimony in such particulars and in such things as held out no inducement for fraudulent corruption of the text. If, therefore, there be anything which would cause design to be suspected, I have not yet observed the passages, and I cannot consider them till they are pointed out to me.

The places in which anything is added to the Vatican Testament are *specified*, and that I believe quite correctly; so that even though there was error of judgment in the matter, there was at least no fraud.

But had there been ill design, it must have been bounded by very narrow limits; for the published collations would prevent Mai from making any general corruption, even if such had been his wish; and the inedited extracts of Bartolucci and Rulotta, to neither of which Mai had access, would render such an attempt futile.

The mistakes that I have mentioned are simple *oversights*. Vercellone states in his preface that he had many leaves *cancelled*: other misprints have been altered by *erasure* and correction; but all this has been done very partially; and even the table which Vercellone gives of the places in which Mai's text thus put forth by him differs from the collection of Birch is very inaccurate.

There is no reason for doubting that it was (as Vercellone says) a matter in the hands of a compositor and press corrector; and how incompetent they were may be seen from their even dividing diphthongs at the end of a line.

Let Protestants take care not to weaken their cause by bringing charges based on mere surmises: the doctrines of Rome and her actual workings are sufficiently opposed to the Word of God: let us take care not to give a seeming victory to Rome by letting anything rest on a false issue.

Had Cardinal Mai desired to falsify documents, would he not have done it in the case of the *Commentaries of Victorinus*, that remarkable doctrinal monument

of the *fourth* century, which he first edited from Mss. in the Vatican? Instead of falsifying the text he expressed his dislike to the *doctrines* in his notes. It is well that *Victorinus* was edited by *Romish* authority, for all suspicion of *Protestant* fraud was excluded.

I see no more reason for supposing (as Dr. Dobbin says) "that pains were taken to be wrong," than I do in the case of English Bibles; some of which omitted the negative in the Seventh Commandment, and in 1 Cor. vi. 9. All I see in the matter is great carelessness. Those who are acquainted with Mai's publications (of which I possess more than *forty large vols.*) know that the *oversights* are frequent: *design*, however, is out of the question; for his own credit he would have preferred to be right.

I hope I have said enough on the point.

Yours very truly,

S. P. TREGELLES.

Plymouth, 1858, Birthday of Martin Luther.

Dr. Cureton's Edition of the Syriac Gospels.—Having in our previous notices disposed of the earlier parts of Dr. Cureton's prefatory matter, we are desirous, in closing our remarks on his work, to advert to that portion of his editorial labours commencing at p. lxiv., which contains a few pages of general observations on the text of these Syriac Remains, followed by a series of statements, arguments, and theories on the Gospel of St. Matthew in particular, and with special reference to the question which Dr. Cureton considers to be herein involved, viz., as to the original Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew.

I. The "general observations" commence by an endeavour to explain the differences which are found to subsist between the Nitrian text and that of our received Greek Gospels. Instead of admitting the natural conclusion as to the origin of the Recension contained in these Mss., which might be deduced (1) from the title of St. Matthew's Gospel, and (2) from the character of the variations found both in that and the other Gospels, the learned editor has recourse to the following theory:—A comparison of the text of these Syriac Remains with that of the received Greek, has, he thinks, established such facts as go to shew that "these fragments belong to an edition or Recension of the Gospels which must be assigned to those very early times of the Christian religion when the spirit was felt to be of greater importance than the letter, and when the substance of what the Evangelists had written was more heeded than the very words themselves in which it was expressed."

On this we have to remark:—

1. That we have already suggested, from the meaning of the superscription inscribed over the first Gospel, that there is no necessity for this theory to explain the state of the Syriac text of St. Matthew, at all events.

2. That Dr. Cureton here makes use of language which plainly contradicts what he says (p. xciii.) respecting the coincidence between the Syriac text of St. Matthew, which he elsewhere declares to retain, to a great extent, *the identical terms and expressions* which the Apostle himself employed: adding that "we have here, in our Lord's discourses, to a great extent, *the very same words* as the Divine Author of our holy religion himself uttered in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, in the Hebrew dialect, to those who were listening to him, and, through them, to all the world." Surely, we cannot have much respect for a theory which in one page deprecates the idea of our possessing anything more than the general substance of what the Evangelists wrote, and, in another, claims for this Nitrian text the credit of presenting us, to a great extent, with the *ipsissima verba*, the identical terms and expressions, and the very same words, as those which were actually employed by our Blessed Lord in that Syro-Chaldee dialect in which he is presumed to have preached and taught.

3. The assertion on which Dr. Cureton attempts to found his defence of, or

¹ It is not *universally* admitted that Christ spoke in the Hebrew of Palestine—i. e., Aramaic or Syro-Chaldee. See Diodati's Essay, *De Christo Grace loquente*.

apology for, the variations of this Syriac text, may be admitted to be true, in some degree, as regards *quotations* from the Gospels by individual writers of the early ages (e. g., St. Justin); but assuredly not as regards the principle on which copies of those Gospels were multiplied for ecclesiastical and religious uses. And it is only in reference to this private citation from the Gospels, and not to actual copies of the sacred writings, that Dr. Cureton's illustration from one of the Fathers is in any degree applicable, as we shall proceed to shew.

4. "As a special instance of this [e. g., his assertion that in the very early times of the Christian religion, the spirit was felt to be of far greater importance than the letter], I would refer to Justin Martyr, in the second century, whose quotations often vary, in words, considerably from the text of the Gospels, although they accurately represent its substance." We submit that the reference is not applicable to the purpose for which the editor has cited it. For Justin's quotations (made probably from memory), for the purpose of discussion, are widely different in their object, and must be estimated by a very different criterion of accuracy from the formal representation of any Gospel in a document professing to be an authentic copy and reproduction of that Gospel. All that Justin appears desirous of effecting, in making his quotations, is simply to exhibit the drift and scope of what had been stated in the authorized books of the Christians—in the *Memorabilia of the Apostles*, as he frequently calls them. In fact, the very form in which he introduces his quotations is sufficient to shew that he is merely desirous of citing them as a connected part of his defence, or of his argument. That he should not always quote the Gospels *verbatim et literatim* is not to be wondered at, when, even in this age, educated English clergymen cannot always quote the New Testament correctly, and even allow themselves perpetually to build false doctrine upon erroneous quotations. Who can feel surprised, therefore, that, in earlier and less "enlightened" days, slight verbal differences, with occasional changes of the *order* of the sentences, together with a species of dovetailed mingling of the Evangelistic narratives, should be found in the writings of the early Fathers; especially if (as we may well believe) the copy of the Gospels was not always before the writer when he wanted its assistance to verify the precise syllables in which his citation should be clothed. Our space will not permit us to illustrate our position by citing several passages of St. Justin, which we had drawn up, in parallel columns, with the actual passages of the Gospels quoted by him. We must confine ourselves to two remarks—(1.) That in his second apology (p. 98 B., edit. Paris, 1636), in referring to St. Luke xxii. 19, 20, St. Justin is evidently not so much attempting critically to record a text, as to narrate generally what our Blessed Lord did and said in instituting the Eucharist. St. Justin's immediate object being to defend the Christian system and mode of worship, he is writing rather for heathens than for Christians; and therefore a general statement, correct in the main, is sufficient without verbal identity. (2.) That if such of our readers as choose to pursue this subject will take the trouble to compare St. Justin's quotation from St. Luke ix. 22, and I. 35, 38, in his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 327, they will see, upon consulting the various readings in the margin of their Greek text, that this Father's quotations are, in reality, much more accurate than they might on first inspection appear to be.

In p. lxx. Dr. Cureton observes, that where the text of his Recension and that of the Peschito differ from each other, in almost all cases, he thinks that "the Peschito has been brought into closer conformity with the text of the Greek." Why not admit the more reasonable and natural view, as it seems to us, that the Peschito was *originally* made more closely conformable to the Greek text than the Nitrian Recension, the latter having, in reality, been "brought into closer conformity" with what appeared, at the time when it was written, to be the most suitable modes of expression, calculated to avoid heretical or other offensive statements and tendencies, and likely to prove edifying in certain localities and among certain congregations.

If, as Dr. Cureton considers, these Mss. were transcribed about the middle of the fifth century, this very fact would give peculiar point and emphasis to our

suggestion as to the care with which *heretical* tendencies would be provided against; the "explanatory" insertions and omissions which especially characterize the first Gospel having, according to this view, been evidently made for the purpose both of quietly protesting against, and of counteracting the influence of, that rampant Nestorianism which was then troubling the Church.

II. In his special remarks on the Gospel of St. Matthew (p. xiii., *seq.*), Dr. Cureton assumes as the basis of his theory respecting the source of this Nitrian copy these three propositions:—(1st.) That St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in the Hebrew dialect then used in Palestine, *i. e.*, Aramaic, or Syro-Chaldee, as it is variously styled; (2nd.) That the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" represents (with the exception of a few Ebionite interpolations) the original Gospel of St. Matthew as written in Aramaic; and (3rdly.) As a consequence from these premises, that the affinity presumed by Dr. Cureton to exist between the Nitrian Recension and the Gospel according to the Hebrews renders it most probable that the Syriac text now published contains as nearly as possible the original text of St. Matthew's own writings. We have some remarks to offer upon each of these points.

A. That St. Matthew did write a Gospel in Hebrew, as well as that Greek one which constitutes our present Canonical Book of the New Testament inscribed with the Apostle's name, is exceedingly probable, and the tradition on this subject is well known to us all.¹ But to assume this traditional story as a fact so unhesitatingly as Dr. Cureton does, to form the first link in a chain of reasoning, of which the next step is the almost perfect identity of the Gospel according to the Hebrews with the original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew himself, is to make too great a demand either on the faith or the accurate information of his readers. We would note the following circumstances respecting the nature of the testimony adduced by Dr. Cureton to establish his first proposition; and when our readers have weighed them, we are disposed to think that though they may well believe it most probable that St. Matthew *did* write a Hebrew Gospel, they would scarcely like to build their belief of that opinion entirely on the testimony here referred to.

The first witness cited is Papias, as quoted by Eusebius. All that Papias alleges is this:—"Matthew composed (or compiled) the oracles [*i. e.*, the account of Christ's sayings and doings] in the Hebrew dialect, and each person interpreted them as he could." Now we observe (a) there is no evidence that Papias ever *saw* these *λογια* as written by St. Matthew; (b) Is it certain that, even if he had seen them, he was competent to decide whether the document before him was St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, or an apocryphal work circulated under the Apostle's name? (c) According to Eusebius' quotation of Papias' words, it is implied that there could have been at that time no Greek original edition of St. Matthew's Gospel, or no authentic Greek version of it approved by the Apostles and used by the Church. If there had then been either a Greek original issued by the Evangelist himself, or an authentic Greek version sanctioned by the Church, it is plain that Papias knew nothing of either. Can Dr. Cureton be satisfied to believe this? or will he not, on consideration, accept the other alternative which the testimony of Eusebius himself enables us to urge against such a story? For Eusebius, in the very chapter in which he alleges these words of Papias, also says of him *καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα παρατίθεται μυθώτερα*: some of which fabulous and mythical fancies are related by St. Irenæus. Is such a writer, then, a credible witness?

2. Dr. Cureton's next witness, Irenæus, does not say that St. Matthew *wrote* his Gospel *originally* in Hebrew, but that he "put forth" his Gospel amongst the Hebrews in their own dialect and character; no doubt meaning that he had written it, in the first instance, in Greek for the world at large, and subsequently published and put forth an edition of it in the language of the Palestine Jews for their more especial convenience. (We may notice, *en passant*, that the passage of Irenæus, as cited by Eusebius, is slightly corrupt; we would read *γραφὴν* and *εὐαγγέλιον* instead of *γραφὴν* and *εὐαγγέλιον*.)

With respect to the next witness, Pantænus, we have only to observe that

from the liberal use of the terms *λέγεται* and *λόγος* in this extract, it is evident that the story about Pantenus is no other than mere hearsay. But even granting the truth of the anecdote, all that Pantenus' testimony would go to prove is, not that St. Matthew himself wrote his Gospel *originally* in Hebrew, or indeed in Hebrew at all, but that it was *reported* that Pantenus printed a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel which St. Bartholomew had seen in India written in Hebrew letters. And yet Dr. Cureton affirms (p. lxxviii.), upon such evidence as this, that "we have positive testimony to its [*i. e.*, the original Hebrew Aramaic Gospel of St. Matthew] being in existence in the days of Pantenus, about the last quarter of the second century!"

In a similar manner we might go through all Dr. Cureton's witnesses in succession. The length to which our remarks have already run, however, compels us to make this brief reply to the apparently formidable amount of evidence which he accumulates (but the character of which may be judged of by our previous remarks), viz., that in addition to the acknowledged doubtfulness of the quotation from St. Athanasius, not one of these writers ever *saw* the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew; they are the mere recorders of a tradition; and the most we can conclude on the subject is to say, as St. Augustine does, that it was so reported: "*Matthæus Hebræa lingua perhibetur Evangelium conscripsisse.*" (De Consensu Evangel.)

Even St. Jerome, who says most, ^{as} appears to speak most strongly upon this subject, does not, in reality, help forward Dr. Cureton's hypothesis at all. For that document which *he* saw and translated (unfortunately it has not come down to us) was not the Gospel of St. Matthew in its authentic Hebrew form, but a copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews or the Nazarenes. He seems to affirm, indeed, in one place, that St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel itself still existed, in his own day, in the library of Cæsarea; but both Fabricius and Dr. Cureton are obliged to admit that St. Jerome does not state that he *saw* it there. That St. Jerome was *told* that such a MS. was preserved at Cæsarea we can readily believe; but is it not more than probable, after all, that it was merely what was *called* a Hebrew Gospel? If the original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, or even an authentic copy of it, had existed in the library of Cæsarea, and if it was not a mere copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews or Nazarenes, should we not have had some more definite account of so interesting and valuable a relic of Apostolic days? We would venture to ask how is St. Jerome's reference to a supposed original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew to be reconciled with the following facts:—(1.) That it existed (if at all) in the library of a city of which Eusebius was Bishop, and which library had been collected by Eusebius' choicest friend, the martyr Pamphilus; and yet (2.) Eusebius himself, in all the passages in which he has occasion to mention the subject of this Hebrew Gospel, never once says that he saw such a document in the library of his own See, where it must have been during his occupation of that post, if St. Jerome's words are to be relied on?^{*}

B. We now come to examine the value of that argument which Dr. Cureton has derived from the supposed affinity between his Recension and the Gospel

^{*} This reference to Cæsarea is peculiarly unfortunate for another reason, which we have not space to enter into here, but must simply refer to—viz., that there was a very famous school of Rabbins which flourished at Cæsarea. These Rabbins are mentioned very frequently in both the Talmuds, especially in that of Jerusalem. And yet amongst them the Greek was used as the mother tongue, even in reciting their phylacteries, "which you may well think (says Lightfoot), above all other things in Judea, were to be said in Hebrew." Now, had a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew found its way into the library of Cæsarea, where even the Rabbins spoke Hellenistic Greek, should we not have heard something of so wonderful a phenomenon from some of the doctors or scholars of these Hebrew schools? The complete silence both of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, and of the Cæsarean school of Rabbins, is a remarkable fact worth notice in the discussion of this question.

according to the Hebrews. This, which ought to have proved one of the strongest links in his reasoning, is, we have no hesitation in saying, one of the weakest and least satisfactory portions of the Preface. But we will give his own words as the best introduction to prepare our readers for the form which one would expect the subsequent argument to assume:—

“Taking, therefore, for granted, from the arguments which have preceded, that this Syriac copy now before us is a more ancient recension of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in use among the Syriac churches, than the Peschito published by Widmanstad, and that the variations between the two have arisen chiefly from the fact of the latter being a revised text, which, from collation with the Greek, has not only undergone some change in its modes and terms of expression, but also has been brought into closer conformity with the Greek text; assuming, likewise, that the original work of the Evangelist, being in the Syro-Chaldaic language or the vernacular Hebrew of the Jews in Palestine at that time, and written in Hebrew characters, was adopted, with, perhaps, some slight dialectical modifications, into the Syriac canon from the first, and not re-translated from any Greek version previously made; admitting, moreover, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in the form in which it was used both by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, was no other than the original Aramaic document of St. Matthew, modified by additions and interpolations, with, perhaps, some omissions, let us now compare this Syriac text before us with such fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews as have been preserved to us, in order to see how far the resemblance between them will tend to confirm these admissions, and consequently to bear out the pretensions of this Syriac copy to be considered as more nearly representing the exact words of St. Matthew himself than any other yet discovered.” (p. lxxxi.)

Seeing that the preliminary steps in this process are thus based upon so many assumptions and weak grounds (the untenable nature of some of which we have already pointed out), it is only natural that we should expect the *strong* part of the argument, if it exists anywhere, would be found in a series of remarkable coincidences between this Syriac text and all such remains of the Gospel according to the Hebrews as have in any way been preserved. What is the fact, then? Are we overwhelmed with convincing evidence upon this point? The first passage marshalled for the purpose of this important demonstration is a sentence from St. Ignatius (Ep. ad Smyrn.), which, though stated by St. Jerome to be taken from the Nazarene Gospel, Dr. Cureton feels he cannot lay much stress upon, as it is, he says, “evidently an *interpolation* into the original Gospel of St. Matthew from St. Luke.” (This line of explanation our readers will find a most serviceable aid to Dr. Cureton in this part of his demonstration.) Such imitation, then, is of no use in this discussion: and we must, therefore, proceed to look for something more decisive. The next passage from Hegeippus we have already dealt with in our remarks on ch. xiii. 16. Then follow two quotations by St. Clemens Alexandrinus, which, he admits, “do not afford any means for direct comparison.” The first of these, although distinctly stated by St. Clemens to be taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, has nothing whatever resembling it, however remotely, in this Syriac text. The second, though “the name of the Gospel is not mentioned, is probably from the same source;” all that Dr. Cureton can find in this is a mere similarity of expression in the phrase “sons of his house.” He is, therefore, reduced to conclude of these two witnesses, “both seem to be from the *interpolated* parts.” Of the two passages quoted by Origen, the first (Dr. Cureton says) “seems to be an interpolation,” and, therefore, “does not afford anything for the purpose of comparison.” The next, in which the Holy Spirit is called our Lord’s mother, is clearly a mere apocryphal addition to the narrative, arising from the circumstances (1) that a Divine voice was heard at the time of the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus, at His baptism; and (2) that the word *Rucho*, “Spirit,” in the Aramaic, is of the *feminine* gender.

The last ancient writer whom it is important to notice on this subject is St.

Jerome, whose presumed citations present nothing requiring any remark until we come to his Commentary on St. Matthew vi. 11, where, after our disappointment at the number of interpolations by which our actual grasp of the desired identity has been withheld from us, we do seem at last to be approaching something like the "close quarters" of distinct *verbal* comparison. But alas! even this hope is destined to elude us, and with it falls the famous superstructure which Dr. Cureton has built upon the baseless foundation at which we have at last arrived. Here is St. Jerome with the Gospel according to the Hebrews in his hand, prepared to give his testimony respecting its actual reading of this portion of St. Matthew. Now, therefore, if ever, we must hope to light upon the *ipsissima verba* of St. Matthew, according to the editor's theory. The passage is important, and therefore we give it in St. Jerome's words, with the exception of the Aramaic word, which we must represent in italics:—"In Evangelio quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, pro supersubstantiali pane reperi *Machar*, quod dicitur crastinum, ut sit sensus, Panem nostrum crastinum, id est futurum da nobis hodie." Is not this, then, a decisive passage? But let us hear what Dr. Cureton says now of the affinity or coincidence of his text with this. "*This VARIES from the Syriac text.*" A notable and important fact, in our judgment tolerably decisive of the question as to the presumed identity of these two texts. For all the previous supposed citations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews are so little pertinent to the question; any likeness between them and this Syriac Recension is so far-fetched; they admit of such very slight grounds of comparison even in the opinion which Dr. Cureton has felt himself obliged to express in the case of many of them, that these are incompetent witnesses in the present discussion. Whereas this last passage quoted by St. Jerome, the only one (be it observed) which contains the *actual word* of the original language in which the Gospel according to the Hebrews or Nazarenes was written, is, after all, found NOT to coincide with the Curetonian text at all!

We consider this a very striking, and (we repeat) a *decisive* fact. Here is St. Jerome's distinct and unmistakeable quotation of the original word, which he himself found in the Hebrew or Nazarene Gospel at Beraa, only a century before these Nitrian Mss. were transcribed—a word which, if Dr. Cureton's theory and arguments were worth anything, *is the identical Aramaic term that we ought to find in this Syriac text.* We turn to that text, and instead of discovering the language cited by St. Jerome (which would have proved a most interesting fact), we merely find in it such an ordinary version of the Greek text as clearly implies that the Nitrian text was based on the Greek version (or edition) of St. Matthew, and not in any way on a Hebrew or Nazarene Gospel of Aramaic origin. The only escape from the inevitable consequences of this remarkable variation, to which Dr. Cureton can have recourse, is one so very palpably invented for the nonce as to be utterly inadmissible, and demonstrates the shifts to which he has been driven in order to support his original hypothesis. "It is not improbable that this passage might have undergone some change *after* the Greek translation had been made [?], and the word *Machar* have been *substituted, or added!*"

Is not the conclusion which follows from this unsuccessful train of reasoning plain enough to ordinary minds not biased by a favourite theory—viz., that Dr. Cureton's Syriac text does *not* coincide with that of the Gospel according to the Hebrews? Whether, even if it did so coincide, we should be disposed to congratulate Dr. Cureton upon having thereby secured the aid of a very creditable ally, is another question altogether, the discussion of which is effectually precluded by the simple facts we have already pointed out, and by the utter want of the agreement and affinity alleged between this Syriac text and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in any one important particular.

In concluding our review of Dr. Cureton's work, we beg to thank him very sincerely for the clearness, care, and correctness with which the Syriac text has been printed. We cannot speak so favourably of the Greek and German quotations, neither can we compliment him upon the style of his translation, which in its singular uncouthness, in many places, unpleasantly reminds us of the Rhemish version of the Roman Church. We hope to meet him again in the

field of Syriac study, as soon as he is able to fulfil the promise, of which we are glad to find an intimation in p. liii. (note), that he will very shortly give to the public the original Syriac of Mar Yakub, better known as Jacob, Bishop of Nisibis, who was contemporary with the Nicene fathers, and present at the Councils of Nicea and Laodicea.

Meanwhile, we cannot part from the learned editor of this work without an expression of our regret, in differing so widely as, with all deference to Dr. Cureton's mature and established character as an Oriental scholar, we have ventured to do, in our views both of his theory respecting the origin and source of this Recension, and of his arguments in support of that theory. That he has very much over-estimated the critical value of this text is a conclusion which, we think, cannot be resisted by any impartial student who fairly weighs all that the editor has been able to bring forward. With his enthusiasm in behalf of so interesting a discovery as a set of Syriac Mss. of the Gospels, we can most thoroughly sympathize; and we are only sorry, for Dr. Cureton's sake, as well as for our own, that, notwithstanding the interest which has been awakened by the publication of these Syriac remains, the Christian world is likely to be kept as far as ever from seeing even any *approximate* claim established to that reward of 5000 ducats which Pope Nicholas V. promised to any one who should produce a Ms. of St. Matthew in Hebrew.

We hope Dr. Cureton will not think that we are moved by that ruthless malice which, by some fatal perversion of the public mind, is supposed to dwell in the bosoms of critics, if we add that, had his Syriac text only contained that single Aramaic word which St. Jerome quotes from the Hebrew Gospel, so striking an identity as this would at least have possessed a claim for some such recognition of Dr. Cureton's services, at the hands of Nicholas V.'s successor, as his previous labours in Syriac literature have so deservedly received from the King of Prussia.—*English Churchman.*

Romish Edition of the Scriptures.—To the Editor of the *Record*.—Sir,—While the Vatican Ms. is on the *tapis*, you will perhaps insert a rather curious extract from an Italian publication, illustrative of how far we may depend upon the trustworthiness of Romish bishops and cardinals, *where the interests of the Church of Rome* are involved. It is probable that the great majority of your readers are unacquainted with the quotation I am about to make.

The extract I have to make is from a note on 1 John v. 7, in the Italian version of the Scriptures by Archbishop Martini, where it is affirmed that the disputed clause is found in *all the most ancient* and most accredited Mss. "Tutti i piu antichi, e piu accreditati Mss. e tutti l'edizioni del Nuovo Testamento hanno questo versetto qual egli sta nella Volgata e nel Greco comune."

This is from the edition of Martini, printed at Rome, 1784—88, in 23 vols. octavo, of which the Old Testament and Apocrypha occupy 17 vols. A copy of this edition is in the British Museum, but mutilated by wanting the Apocryphal Book of Baruch. There is a very beautiful Florentine edition in 3 vols. crown 8vo, but each volume being in two parts, and each part bound separately in boards, it makes, in fact, six large volumes. Martini died in 1809. This Florentine edition bears date 1842—6; and not only is a similar note found on the same passage, but Martini's editors have thought fit to make the assertion stronger than he made it, by declaring that "all the most ancient and accredited *Greek and Latin Mss.* have it; the words "*Greci e Latini*," which are not in the Roman edition, being added.

Now, as it is a well-known fact that the disputed clause is not in *any ancient Greek Ms.*, we can imagine no reason for this extraordinary assertion except that of supporting the authority of the "*Summa et infallibilis*" Latin Vulgate. The passage is only found, I believe, in a very few of the later Greek Mss. of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries; and of these I think the best known is that styled the *Codex Montfortianus*, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, called by Erasmus the *Codex Britannicus*, and on the strength of which he inserted the clause in one of the later editions of his Greek Testament, and from whence it

has flowed into the *Textus Receptus*. The above Ms. is assigned by Mr. Hartwell Horne to about the close of the fifteenth century, though Dr. A. Clarke is inclined to date it as early as the thirteenth. "The influence of the Church of Rome," says Mr. Horne, "in the composition of this Ms. is most conspicuous in its text, which is a servile imitation of the Latin Vulgate." Before I close I may just mention that in the beginning of the preface of the Roman edition of Martini's *New Testament* there is so remarkable a statement respecting the then corruption of morals in Italy, and hope expressed that its torrent *might perhaps* in some degree be stemmed by having the New Testament at least translated into the vulgar tongue, that a few years ago I extracted the passage and inserted it in the magazine of the Protestant Association.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

M.

Valera's Spanish Bible.—To the Editor of the *Record*.—Sir,—In the month of March last I called attention, through the columns of the *Record*, to the need there was of revising Valera's Spanish translation of the Scriptures, as well as the advisableness of the two great publishing Bible Societies, the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, acting in concert in this important matter. A short time after that letter appeared, it was made manifest that the latter was impossible, as the British and Foreign Bible Society had just issued their first edition of Valera's translation of the New Testament. An examination of it will, however, convince every one of the *real* need of, not merely *reprinting*, but carefully *revising*, this old translation. I trust that the importance of the subject will be deemed sufficient apology for the length of this communication.

I hope, in the following lines, to shew clearly that the reprint of Valera is not all that was wanted, inasmuch as he, and those by whose labours he profited, had, in certain places, completely misapprehended the original.

Before Valera commenced his labours, a Spanish version existed, made by Capiodore de Reyna, commonly known as the *Bear Bible*, from the representation of two bears on the title-page. Valera made great use of this version; he revised it, and published the revision, with his own name on the title-page. His revision has been the origin of the edition just published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as of that issued last year by the Trinitarian Bible Society. It is also his work on which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are now engaged.

The title-page of the edition issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society tells us, that it is a version "revised and compared with the Greek text, and with divers translations by Apriano de Valera." We might have hoped that, ere the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society had issued this reprint, it would have been carefully examined; but, what is the fact? It is, indeed, a *faithful* reprint, and so *faithfully* executed that typographical errors of two hundred years back are faithfully reproduced in 1858!! But these are not all the faults.

First, then, there are typographical errors now reprinted which exist in Capiodore de Reyna's Bible of two hundred years ago. In Matthew xxi. 10, we find "*el alabanya*," for "*la alabanya*," a feminine noun with a masculine article. A similar mistake is found in Luke viii. 14, 15, where "*lo*," referring to "*simiente*," should have been "*la*." And in John xvi. 21, we find "*del apietura*," instead of "*de la apietura*." In Acts xvii. 18, we have the nominative case, "*el pueblo*," where it should have been "*al pueblo*." In xxviii. 4 of the same book, the present tense, "*venimos*," is printed for the past, "*vinimos*." In Acts x. 30 we find "*cien tanto*," and "*caza*," where the plural is required, "*tantos*," and "*casas*."

Secondly, there are errors in punctuation, affecting somewhat the sense, which, like the preceding, date as far back as Capiodore de Reyna's edition. Luke iv. 18 reads thus: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has anointed me; to give good news to the poor He has sent me; to heal the broken in heart; to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind," etc. Ac-

cording to the punctuation of the Greek, the *anointing* is connected with *preaching*, and the *sending* with *healing*. Acts vii. 55 thus reads: "But he being full of the Holy Ghost, having placed his eyes on heaven, saw the glory of God; and Jesus who was standing on the right hand of God." Surely the stop after "God" should have been a *comma*, and not a *semicolon*. Acts x. 31: "Were edified walking in the fear of the Lord; and with the counsel of the Holy Spirit were multiplied." The stop after "Lord," as in the former instance, should have been a *comma*, and not a *semicolon*.

These instances may be thought too trivial for notice, for typographical errors are not always to be guarded against. Of this I am well aware. But surely, in a reprint, a little care would prevent the perpetuation of such blunders as these.

Thirdly, there are several *curious* translations which cannot be supported by the Greek. In Matt. xix. 24, and in the parallel places, we find *camel* put for *camel*. Matt. xxvii. 56 tells us that there stood by the cross "Mary Magdalene, and Mary, the mother of Jacob, and the mother of Jesus, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee." Most readers would conclude from this, that there were *four* Marys at the cross instead of three, and who would gather from Valera that the mother of James and Joses was the same individual? Acts vii. 16 informs us what, I suppose, none of us knew before, that Hamor, Shechem's father, according to Genesis, was Shechem's son! In Luke iv. 34 we find Valera mistook the Greek "Ea, a verb, for the interjection Ah—this is not the only Greek word he had not understood; for, in Acts xix. 9, we have Tyrannus, a proper name, translated, and are told that Paul disputed daily in the school of a *lord* (un Senor).

But, *fourthly*, there are more important mistakes in translation which should be corrected. In Matt. xi. 21, xii. 41; Mark ii. 17, vi. 12; Luke v. 32, x. 13, xi. 32; Acts ii. 38, xiii. 24, xix. 4, we find "penitencia" and "hacer penitencia," whereas, in other places, Valera uses "arrepentir," and its substantive "arrepentimiento." In Mark and Acts, where the objectionable words occur, notes are appended, which supply us with words free from all ambiguity. In Luke, however, the notes are wanting. Now, if it be necessary to put a foot-note to explain these words, why not substitute for them the words used in the note? And if notes are requisite in Mark and Acts, are they not equally requisite in Luke? But perhaps it will be said that, since Valera used these words no objection can be taken to them. He, indeed, employed them, and probably considered that "arrepentir" and "hacer penitencia" were synonymous terms. But they are not considered as such now, as the insertion of notes to explain "penitencia" and "hacer penitencia" abundantly prove. I am not finding fault with Valera or Reyna for using these words, but object to their being retained now, because Protestantism having become extinct in the Peninsula for so many years, these words have been appropriated exclusively to express the peculiar view of the Church of Rome on this doctrine. Some may point to Luther's version, and his use of "Thun Busse," as a justification of "hacer penitencia." It must, however, be borne in mind, that the Lutherans in the Augsburg Confession have a truly Scriptural definition of Busse; but Spaniards have not.

Gal. v. 17 supplies us with another important passage which needs corrections. "So that ye cannot do all that ye would." The insertion of *all* implies that you may do *some* of what you would. But the apostle surely intended a very different lesson. 1 Tim. iii. 16—the error of the Vulgate is here perpetuated. 1 Pet. iii. 19, "which were in prison." Reyna in his Bible has a marginal note to explain this passage. The translation is retained, but the note omitted. The verb should be left out.

With these examples, sufficient, I think, to prove my point, I conclude, only asking, is there not cause to complain of this edition of Valera, and is there not need to revise that Spanish translation ere it is ushered into the world with the approval and imprimatur of British Protestants and Christians?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Bideford, Aug. 26, 1858.

C. E. STUART.

Asserted Ancient Ms. of the Bible.—The *American Publishers' Circular* has a wonderful tale of a very ancient Ms. copy of the Bible. This is a volume of six hundred pages, containing the whole Bible in the Latin language. It belongs to the Rev. Dr. Duffield of Detroit. The book is made entirely of vellum, and the printing is all done by hand with a pen and ink. Every letter is perfect in its shape, and cannot be distinguished by any imperfections in form from the printed letters of the present day. The date is A.D. 930, five hundred and sixty years before printing was invented. The vellum upon which it is printed is of the finest kind, and is made of the skin of young lambs and kids, dressed and rubbed with pumice stone until it is very thin. This American relic was presented to Dr. Duffield by Lewis Cass, jun., Minister at Rome. He procured it of a Greek monk, who brought it from the Greek convent of St. Catherine, at the foot of Mount Sinai. The first question which suggests itself on hearing of this Ms. is, as to its being genuine, and for this we should require better warrant than even Dr. Duffield. The *Boston Transcript* says: "This is not the oldest book on the continent. There is in the library of Harvard College a Greek manuscript of a portion of the Scriptures that is older, by one or two centuries, than Dr. Duffield's Bible. And in a private library in Cambridge there are several monkish manuscripts of the entire Bible, similar in every respect to that described. There is also in the same library an evangelistarium, or selections from the Gospels for the use of the Church, a folio volume of over 300 pages, written on parchment in the eighth century, i.e., 1100 years ago, and 700 years before the invention of printing. This book is, of course, older by about 200 years than the Detroit Bible, and we have no account of any other book in this country of equal antiquity. We find an account of this and other bibliographical rarities in Rev. Luther Farnham's interesting little work, *A Glance at Private Libraries*. Really our American cousins do not seem to be very far advanced in the science of Palæography.—*Critic*.

LIST OF PLATES IN MR. SOTHEY'S WORK ON BLOCK-BOOKS.

Block-books of Holland and the low countries.

Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis, five editions, 9 plates, one of which is coloured. —Biblia Pauperum, seu Figuræ typicæ vet. et novi Testamenti: three editions, 4 plates. —Ars Moriendi, first edition, and plate of Xylographic Text; 2 plates. —Cantica Canticorum, or Historia seu Providentia Virginis Mariæ; two editions, 7 plates. —Liber Regum, the only edition, 2 plates. —Temptationes Dæmonis, a unique broadside of Block-Text—Alphabet of initial Letters, from an unique Block-Book, 1 plate.

Books printed in Holland and the low countries with moveable types.

Donatuses, Doctrinale, Catonis Disticha, Speculum, Horarium, Facetie Morales, 5 plates. —Speculum Humanæ Salvationis, four editions, 13 plates. —Pontanus de Roma, Pii Secundi Opuscula, Saliceto de Salute Corporis, Pii Secundi Laudationes Homerice, Speculum Humanæ Salvationis (1483), Der Bien Boeck (1488), Jacobi de Therramo Consolatio Peccatorum (1484), Bartolomeus van de Proprietaten der Dinghen (1485), 4 plates. —The Annunciation; an early specimen of wood engraving, executed in the Low Countries; and Seals and Coins of Holland during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, 2 plates.

Block-Books of Germany.

Ars Memorandi Notabilis per Figuras Evangelistarum; two editions, 6 plates. —Ars Moriendi, seu de Tentationibus Morientium; five editions, 9 plates. —Enndkrist, or Life of Antichrist; the only edition, 1 plate. —Quindecim Signa Extremi Judicii Diem præcedentia; the only edition, 1 plate. —Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis, two editions (one hitherto undescribed); 2 plates. —Biblia Pauperum, four editions, 6 plates. —De Generatione Christi, two editions, (one containing name of printer and date); 5 plates. —Mirabilia Romæ, only edition; 1 plate. —Speculum Humanæ Salvationis; an undescribed edition; 1 plate. —Die Kunst Ciromantia (the only copy in this country); 1 plate. —Confessionale, only

edition; one of the designs and specimen of the text from the unique copy; 1 plate.—*Symbolum Apostolicum*, only edition; one of the pages from the unique copy; 1 plate.—*Der Todtentanz*, only edition; one of the designs from the unique copy.—*Die Fabel von Kranken Lowen*, only edition; one of the designs from the unique copy; 1 plate.—*Die Zehn Gebote*, only edition; two pages from the unique copy; 1 plate.—*Propaganda, seu Turris Sapientie*, a Broadside.—*Xylographic Donatuses*, 2 plates.

Books printed in Germany with moveable type.

Donatus, various early editions, one in a similar type to Gutenberg's Bible (1455), 2 plates.—*Historia Josephi, Danielis*, etc., Germanice; printed at Bamberg, by Pfister, 1462, 1 plate.—*Biblia Pauperum*, Germanice; printed at Bamberg, by Pfister, about 1462, 1 plate.—*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, Germanice; printed at Basle, by Richel, 1476—*Idem*, from the press of Gunther Zainer; one of the wood engravings and the colophon; 1 plate.—*Donatus*, printed by Gunther Zainer—*Specimens of type used by John Zainer at Ulm*, etc., 1 plate.—*Literæ Indulgentiarum*, dated 1454 and 1455; portions of each; 1 plate.—*Exhortatio contra Turcos*, 1455; and *Calendarium*, 1457, both in the type of Pfister; 1 plate.

Paper Marks in the Block-Books executed in Holland and the low countries, 13 plates.

Paper Marks in Books printed by Caxton, 3 plates.

Specimens of the various Types used by Caxton, Machlinia, Lettoun, etc., 3 plates.

Paper Marks in the Block-Books executed in Germany, 5 plates.

Royal Society of Literature.—The annual report of this Society for 1858 contains much interesting matter; more, indeed, than ordinary; and as it probably is seen by but few of our readers, we will quote some of the most interesting portions.

"To Mr. Hogg the Society is indebted for a paper, 'On the supposed Scriptural Names of Baalbak, the Syrian Heliopolis,' in which he demonstrated, that many names in the Bible, which had at different times been given to this celebrated place, had been in fact assigned to it with very little reason, and that it was impossible to shew with any certainty that it had any Biblical title at an early period of history. After reviewing in succession all the names whereby it had gone, Mr. Hogg gave his opinion, that the *Bikath-Aven* of Amos, on the the whole, corresponded best with its position.

"The President of the Society (the Bishop of St. Davids) has contributed a paper, 'On the alleged connection between the early History of Greece and Assyria;' in which he has drawn the attention of the Society to an attempt recently made in Germany to connect the early history of Greece with that of Assyria, and to establish the strictly historical character of some events which have been generally considered by modern critics to be purely mythical. The chief writer on this subject has been Jacob Kruger, who has published a history of the Assyrians and Iranians from the thirteenth to the fifth century before Christ. Her Kruger belongs to a school of historical criticism, which maintains that an intercourse between Greece and Asia may be traced through authentic records to the period in which his history begins; in his preface, he speaks with some asperity of those who take a different view, as deficient either in knowledge or judgment, while he is especially severe upon Karl Ottfried Müller, as guilty of what he calls the 'colossal folly' of attempting to enclose Greece with a 'Chinese Wall,' so as to exclude the influence of Eastern civilization on the early development of the Hellenic mind. Herr Kruger, after giving an outline of the chief events of the Shah Namah, proceeds to claim for Firdusi's hero, Minutcheher, an identity with the founder of that Assyrian dynasty which, according to Herodotus, bore sway in Upper Asia 520 years before the revolt of the Medes. This personage he supposes to be the Greek Ninus and the Assyrian Ashar-da-pal-il, the founder of Calah or Nineveh. Herr Kruger further supposes that the victorious arms of Minutcheher overran the kingdom of Tautalus, in Asia Minor and Syria, and that the result of this was the establishment

in Greece of the family of the Pelopidæ. He has also advanced some new and most improbable conjectures with regard to the siege of Troy, which he imagines to have been built by the Assyrians. The Bishop of St. David's pointed out that the whole of these suppositions really repose on a very slender foundation,—that the language of Firdusi in no way suggests the strained interpretation which has been put upon it, and that it is clear enough, from the general character of his poem, that the poet had no intention of troubling himself about the precise geographical limits within which his story moves. Nor, indeed, are the views of Herr Kruger borne out by those who have most carefully studied this subject. For instance, the Baron von Hammer-Purgstall, in a very able article in the Vienna '*Jahrbücher*,' vol. ix. 1820, conceives that the line of sovereigns mentioned in the *Shahnamah* accords remarkably with the list of Median Kings preserved by Ctesias and, in some degree, by Herodotus.

"The Bishop then proceeded to shew that, even if the synchronism, which Herr Kruger fancies he has found between Minutoheher and the founder or restorer of the Assyrian monarchy, be admitted, the hypothesis does not throw any new light on the extent of the Assyrian empire, or warrant the belief that Assyrian arms were at that early period carried to the extreme verge of Western Asia. Though Firdusi states that Roum was included in the portion of Selm, one of the three sons of Feridun, it can scarcely be maintained that any portion of Greece itself could have been within the dominions of that prince; while, at the same time, it should be remembered, that different translators have assigned very different interpretations to the solitary passage on which Herr Kruger relies. On the other hand, as the Bishop remarked, there are some omissions which seem fatal to the views of the German scholar; while it is, to say the least, a suspicious circumstance that his evidences become more definite and explicit in proportion as they are removed from the time to which they relate. Again, it is very remarkable that among Herr Kruger's authorities the name of Homer does not occur: yet the *Iliad* distinctly recognizes Pelops as the ancestor of Agamemnon; and though it is quite possible that the name of Pelops may have been first carried from Greece to Asia by Greek colonists, it is far more consistent with probability, and with existing legends, to believe that Pelops belonged to the Asiatic Sipylus as much as Tantalus or Niobe.

"The Bishop, in conclusion, demonstrated that though Homer is silent as to their mutual relations, the last book of the *Iliad* alludes to one part of the legend, in a passage on which a very unexpected light has been thrown by recent discoveries. The stone Niobe on Mount Sipylus, which Achilles describes to Priam, has been now proved to be a real sculpture, as visible now as when it was seen seventeen hundred years ago by Pausanias. Mr. J. R. Stuart, in his travels in Asia Minor, examined the spot; and describes how Niobe still sits, enthroned in a niche hewn out of the rocky side of Sipylus, one hand folded over the other in the lap, and her head leaning on her right shoulder. This Niobe is still 'all tears;' for the water trickles, as of old, over the face of the rock, from the springs of Achelous, by the couches of the Nymphs. Hence, there is less reason for doubting the parallel antiquity of the other local monuments connected with the story, and seen by Pausanias—the sepulchre of Tantalus, which he emphatically terms 'worth beholding,' and the throne of Pelops on mountain-top."

We have before referred to the tests applied to the interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions by the Asiatic Society; but this Report gives such a lucid account of the matter that we shall make no apology for transcribing it.

"A most important work has been undertaken, and the results of it made known to the world, by the Asiatic Society, whereby the question, whether or not any true key to the interpretation of these recondite inscriptions has been discovered, must, we think, be set at rest in the minds of any fair students capable of judging of ordinary evidence. We may be permitted to remark here that, up to the time of the trial which took place last summer before the Asiatic Society, and which we are about to describe, there had been no satisfactory means of testing how far the interpretations which had from time to time been

published of those monuments were accurate or imaginative; considerable diversities of reading the same inscription had from time to time been published by different scholars—nay more, the same students had not unfrequently on further researches varied much from their earlier interpretations, in some instances, too, changing the view they had given of the meaning of an individual inscription, within a short time after they had published their earlier translations. Hence it was that, though the best informed on the subject steadily maintained the general truth of the process which had been adopted, many there were, including probably the great bulk of the public, who doubted, not without some reason, whether any of even the simplest and most historical inscriptions had been correctly deciphered.

“With a view of testing the accuracy as well as the coincidence of the translations, it was suggested by Mr. Fox Talbot, and readily assented to by the Council of the Asiatic Society, that copies of the same inscription, which had been already lithographed for the Museum, should be transmitted to the four scholars who had made the most advance in the supposed interpretation of these writings, namely, Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Rev. Dr. Hincks, Mr. Fox Talbot, and M. Oppert, accompanied with a request, that they would return their several translations by a fixed day, in sealed packets, to the Asiatic Society: and that then a committee should assemble and open them, and having compared the results, should publish them to the world. These four gentlemen having agreed to furnish the required translations, some lithographed columns of an inscription from a cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I. were forwarded to them, and on the return of the several translations to the Society, a committee, consisting of the Dean of St. Paul’s, Professor Whewell, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Grote, Rev. Mr. Cureton, and Professor H. H. Wilson, the President of the Asiatic Society, were nominated to compare them together, and to state the agreements or differences which they found in the several papers. It should be added that M. Oppert preferred translating from a copy of the cylinder he had himself made while in London, and that as he wrote his translation in English, some difficulties were found in comparing his version with those of the other scholars, which would not probably have existed, had he made his translation in French, with which he would naturally have been more familiar than he was with English.

“On the day appointed, those of the Committee who were in London attended at the opening of the sealed packets, and the separate reports of Messrs. Milman, Grote, Wilkinson, and Professor Wilson have been since published by order of the Asiatic Society. I can only here notice briefly the essential points of their several statements: thus Dr. Milman and Mr. Grote state, that “having gone through this comparison, the examiners certify that the coincidences between the translations, both as to the general sense and as to the verbal rendering, were very remarkable. In most parts, there is a strong correspondence in the meaning assigned, and, occasionally, a curious identity of expression as to particular words. Where the versions differed materially, each translator had, in many cases, marked the passage as one of doubtful or unascertained signification. In the interpretation of numbers there was throughout a singular correspondence. By all the translators the inscriptions were understood to relate to King Tiglath-Pileser, to his campaigns, the building and consecration of temples, and other royal acts; campaigns against nations bearing names mostly analogous to those known from the Sacred Writings, and from other ancient authorities; temples to deities with appellations bearing a close resemblance to those found in other quarters. There was a constant recurrence of these words, names, and titles; yet a sufficient variety of words to test, to a certain degree, the extent of the knowledge claimed by the translators of the sound of the words, and of the language to which the words are supposed to belong. It is right, perhaps, to add that the closest coincidence was found between the versions of Colonel Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks, who are understood to have prosecuted this study for the longest time and with the greatest assiduity. Mr. Fox Talbot, who was later in the field, though on the whole mostly arriving at the same conclusions, was less positive and precise.”

“Sir Gardner Wilkinson states:—‘My impression from a comparison of the

several passages in the different translations is: I. That the resemblance (very often exactly the same, word for word) is so great as to render it unreasonable to suppose the interpretation could be arbitrary or based on uncertain grounds. II. That the fact of certain passages, which were doubtful (either from the imperfection of the inscription in those places, or from the difficulty of ascertaining the meaning), being marked doubtful in the different translations or left blank, accounts for some uncertainty or variation occurring in those parts. III. That some words, and names of persons, animals, objects, etc., being uncertain, could only be expected in any language not thoroughly known, especially in one where symbolic signs are often employed instead of phonetic words; and the occasional differences in the mode of interpreting some words and sentences may be considered as a guarantee of the fairness of the translators, especially when we find that the differences are uniform, the words and sentences so differing having the same meaning attached to them whenever they occur. IV. That the exact agreement of numbers in the translations is highly satisfactory, though it is true that these are written in the original by signs and not phonetically. V. That the similarity in the several translations is quite equal to what it would be in the translation of an ordinary historical inscription, written in Egyptian hieroglyphics, made by a number of persons who, in this case, gave it quite independently of, and without any communication with, each other; and this comparison I am disposed to make, as it is the most analogous case that I can suggest.

"Professor H. H. Wilson (the President of the Asiatic Society) states that: 'Of the four translations submitted, those of Mr. Fox Talbot and Sir Henry Rawlinson are entire; that of Dr. Hincks comprises twenty-eight of the fifty-four paragraphs into which the inscription may be divided, the copy in his possession having been received rather too late to allow of a more extended version. Dr. Oppert's contains twenty-one paragraphs, being translated from an imperfect copy, taken by himself from a single cylinder, and that apparently defective. In both instances, however, although the translation of the whole has not been effected, yet there is quite enough to enable a conclusion to be drawn as to the amount of agreement or disagreement between the several translators, and the result is, upon the whole, a very remarkable coincidence. That they are all agreed, or nearly so, as to the powers of the characters, is established by their concurrent readings of the proper names, which they almost always express in as nearly the same manner as can be expected, when we consider the different values attached by different persons to the letters of our own alphabet. There is a remarkable instance of this in the readings of three of the translators (Hincks has not given the passage) of a series of thirty-nine names of countries in paragraph xxi. They are all rendered by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Talbot, and Dr. Oppert in the same manner exactly, with one or two doubtful exceptions, as Elama, Amadana, Shiribili, and so forth; at the same time, however, it is to be observed, that this agreement is no doubt, in part at least, owing to their adoption of the values proposed previously by Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks.

"The agreement as regards the letters being established, it follows that the significant terms will be also similarly read, and this may be assumed to be the case from the frequent correspondence in the passages of the translations. It may be stated, generally, that with few exceptions, the main purport of each paragraph agrees. In some instances, the verbal expression of that purport is as close as can be reasonably expected from different translators, who may very safely express the same meaning in a somewhat different form of words; but in others it differs. The translators often admit that a particular passage is obscure, and it is obvious that the value of many common words has yet to be determined. As, for instance, where Tiglath-Pileser enumerates his exploits as a mighty hunter, Rawlinson makes his game 'wild buffaloes'; Talbot retains the original word, *amai*; and Hincks makes them 'wild elephants.' In the general sense of either killing or taking alive wild animals of some description or other, they are agreed. A fair example of agreement and disagreement will be found in the several translations of paragraphs LII. and LIII., in which imprecations

are denounced upon any future princes, who may in any way deface the records, or tablets, or cylinders, of Tiglath-Pileser.

"Upon the whole, the result of this experiment,—than which a fairer test could scarcely be devised,—may be considered as establishing, almost definitively, the correctness of the valuation of the *characters* of these inscriptions. It is possible that further investigations may find something to alter or to add; but a great portion, if not the whole, may be read with confidence. It is somewhat different with respect to the words of the language. The almost invariable concurrence of the translators in the general sense of the several paragraphs shows that they are agreed to give the same interpretation to a very considerable portion, if not the larger portion, of the vocabulary. At the same time the differences prove, that much remains to be effected before the sense of every term can be confidently rendered. Where so much, however, has been accomplished, under such extraordinary difficulties, there is every reason to hope that the uncertainties which remain will be ultimately overcome."

"*Domine, quo Vadis?*"—In a legend made use of by the early fathers, rather perhaps as a parable than as a history, we are told that when the Neronian persecution was at its height, St. Peter was besought by the disciples not to expose himself to almost certain death by remaining in the city, but to take refuge in flight. He consented, but as he passed along the Appian way, about two miles from the city, he perceived an image of our Lord, apparently travelling in an opposite direction. "*Domine, quo Vadis?*"—Lord, whither goest thou?—was the Apostle's exclamation. "I go to Rome," was the sad answer, "to be crucified a second time." The image then vanished, but the lesson sank deeply into Peter's heart. He gravely turned round and re-entered the city, feeling that to desert his post was to crucify his Master a second time among men. Michael Angelo has commemorated this legend in one of his finest statues. But the truth it embodies has a commemoration far more permanent and universal, for it is embodied in the experience of every Christian heart. "*Domine, quo Vadis?*" "*whither goest thou, Lord?*" is the utterance which arises from us when flying from some duty; the eye is turned back, and sees on the way the pathetic face of our crucified Lord. For so it is, that as flinching from our post puts our Master to open shame—as the scandal incurred by his disciples is imputed by the world to him—so it is he whom we leave to undergo the crucifixion which we ourselves would avoid. When, therefore, we would turn aside from any cross, let us recollect, before it is too late, to turn round and see who it is who once again is ascending the road that leads towards Calvary. "*Domine, quo Vadis?*" and when we hear the reply, be it ours to exclaim, "Lord, let me go to trial and even to death, so I may shew my love to thee, and wear thy cross among men."—*Episcopal Recorder.*

Christian Burial.—But the most characteristic feature in the *Canterbury Chronicle* is the history of the contest between the Augustinians and the monks of Christchurch respecting the right of sepulture, upon which all the wealth and power of the monastery were founded. The idea that formed the corner-stone of this spiritual edifice is not yet extinct in Christendom. The abbey and its lands were universally admitted to belong to heaven, and by a very intelligible process of reasoning, that which so evidently belonged to heaven soon came to be regarded as a part of heaven itself. Hence, in a superstitious age, the belief grew up that by being interred in so holy a soil men really obtained admission among the blessed. To what extent the abbots and monks laboured in establishing such a belief in the public mind, it is not easy to determine; but we may infer, without any breach of charity, that they did their utmost to bring men into this way of thinking. When the notion had been firmly rooted, riches flowed in upon the monastery in a perpetual stream. The monks died and were buried there,—and as they were supposed to be holy men, the worthy Jutes of Kent, having deposited their idols and taken to the new faith, hoped to obtain some share of their holiness by getting into posthumous contact with them. It must be obvious that among fierce and ignorant sinners repentance when it

came, generally towards the close of life, would produce an inclination to part with terrestrial wealth, especially when they could no longer enjoy it, in order to secure for themselves a place among the saints in Paradise. Another feeling also contributed its influence: if Hope keeps us company through life, and refuses to quit us even when we die, so also does Vanity. People love to be buried near kings and conquerors of the earth who have made secret places for themselves; and so the good folks of Kent were eager to have their remains deposited in the same sacred dust with Bertha and Liudhard, Ethelbert and Augustine, and all the other kings and archbishops who should ever wield the sceptre and crozier in that kingdom. Every year added to the melancholy beauty of the place. Sepulchre and cenotaph, urn and column, glowing in the light of painted windows, or gleaming afar through silent cloisters and shadowy archways, imparted to the whole scene a venerable aspect, over which breathed the poetry of death. Accordingly, the fame of the monastery speedily overpassed the limits of Ethelbert's realm, and inspired kings and nobles throughout England with the wish to purchase a resting-place for their bones somewhere in its consecrated grounds.—*Athenæum*.

Jesting with Scripture.—There is a practice which is fearfully common even among professors of religion, and from which, alas! ministers of the Gospel are not always free, which cannot be too severely condemned, as offensive to God, and injurious to the best interests of man. We allude to the practice of connecting ludicrous anecdotes with passages of scripture. We know by sad experience, and we appeal to the experience of others for the confirmation of the remark, that, so lively is the impression which is often produced on the mind by the association of something grotesque with certain texts of the Bible, that such passages can hardly be read in the most serious moments, without bringing up to the mind some idea which it requires a strong effort to prevent it producing a smile. This is one abuse of sacred things not less displeasing to God, than under the Old Testament it would have been to desecrate from a holy to a common use, the sacred implements of the temple, the holy anointing oil, or the hallowed fire of the altar. If to put new wine into old bottles, or to sew a new patch on an old garment be unwise, incongruous, how much more so, to prostitute the sacred words of inspiration to point a jest for the amusement of a social circle! To do so, in the presence of the young, is peculiarly injudicious. Here the maxim of the Roman satirist is especially applicable, *Maxima debetur puero reverentia*. Jeremy Taylor forcibly remarks on this subject: "Some men used to read Scripture on their knees and many with their heads uncovered, and all good men with fear and trembling, with reverence and grave attention. For all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is fit for instruction, for reproof, for exhortation, for doctrine, not for jesting; but he that makes that use of it, had better part with his eyes in jest, and give his heart to make a tennis-ball; and that I may speak the worst thing in the world of it, it is as like the material part of the sin against the Holy Ghost, as jeering of a man is to abusing him; and no man can use it, but he that wants wit and manners, as much as he wants religion."—*New York Churchman*.

The Crossing of the Red Sea.—Professor Schleiden, at Jena, perhaps the most renowned among living botanists, has just published a highly interesting book on the Isthmus of Suez, and the Biblical tradition regarding the intermediate regions separating Egypt from Palestine. The learned professor, though anything but a believer in the Bible, freely avows, as the necessary conclusion of his researches, that the evidence of facts perfectly corresponds with the statements of Holy Writ. He is of opinion that the Jews, on their way from Egypt, did not pass what is to-day called the Red Sea, but laid their course through one of the Suez lakes formerly connected with the ocean. By this explanation the difficulties disappear which have been hitherto experienced in tracing the route of the Israelites from the Red Sea down to the borders of the Mediterranean. According to Professor Schleiden's opinion, the way of the Jews, before passing the inland lake, lay a great deal more to the North than

generally conjectured, and afterwards was very naturally continued in the direction of the seven rivers.—*Berlin Correspondent of the Telegraph.*

Monastic Orders and Liberty.—Many modern historians imagine they discover in the monastic orders more sympathy with liberty than in the secular clergy. This appears to us a very fallacious theory. By mere accident, the monks may have favoured the growth of independence; but, as a rule, the secular clergy, cultivating more habits and enjoying more rights in common with the nation, were far better disposed to promote its welfare. The monks were the Pope's body-guard at Rome, and the chief instruments of his power abroad; and it was by them principally that Hildebrand and his successors forged those spiritual chains by which they held for ages the mind of all Europe in subjection. The transition from the immensity of the result to the littleness of the means is startling. On the grand field of history, we find kings and emperors kneeling submissively at the Pontiff's footstool. When we blow away the dust, and peer between the leaves of monastic annals, we find that the weapons by which triumphs so mighty were achieved, consisted of purple and gilded manuscripts, silken copes, silver crucifixes, palliums glittering with gems, bags of saints' bones, chips from Aaron's rod, fragments of the true cross, phials of Virgin's milk, and green feathers from the wings of the Angel Gabriel.—*Athenæum.*

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

FOREIGN.

Baessler (Ferd.)—Auswahl altchristlicher Lieder, vom zweiten bis funfzehnten Jahrhundert. Im Urtext und in deutschen Uebersetzungen. Mit lebensgeschichtlichen Skizzen und erläuternden Anmerkungen. (Selection of Ancient Christian Hymns, from the Second to the Fifteenth Century. In the Original and in German Translations. With Biographical Notices and Explanatory Remarks). Berlin: R. Decker. 8vo, pp. viii. 256.

Bunsen (C. C. J.)—Vollständiges Bibelwerk für d. Gemeinde. (Bible for the People). 2 ter. Halbband Stuttgart: Halbband.

Floss (H. I.)—Leonis P. VIII. Privilegium de Investituris Ottoni I. Imperatori concessum; nec non Ludovici Germanorum regis, summorum pontificum, archiepiscoporum Colonienisium, aliorum, sæculi ix., x., xi., epistolæ. Ex codice Treverensi nunc primum edit et recensuit H. I. Floss. Præmittitur de ecclesiæ periculis imperatore Ottone I. disputatio. (The Privilege of Pope Leo VIII. concerning investiture, conceded to the Emperor Otho I.; with epistles of Louis, King of Germany, of Popes, of Archbishops of Cologne, and others, of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries. Now first edited and revised from the MS. at Treves, by Henry Joseph Floss, D.D., etc. Preceded by a discourse upon the perils of the Church under the Emperor Otho I.) Friburg in Brésgau: Herder. 8vo, pp. lxiv., 176.

Franke (Ludw. Aug.)—Nach Jerusalem! (Jerusalem Ho!) 2 vols. Leipzig: Baumgärtner. 1858. 8vo, pp. 442, 516.

Franz de Champagny (Count.)—Rome et la Judée au temps de la chute de Néron (Ans 66-72 après Jésus-Christ). [Rome and Judea at the time of the Fall of Nero (A.D. 66-72).] Paris. 8vo, pp. viii., 648.

Grein (C. W. M.)—Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie in kritisch bearbeiteten Texten, und mit vollständigem Glossar. (Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Critical Texts, and a complete Glossary). Vol. II., with a *fac-simile*. Göttingen: Wigand. 8vo, pp. 416.

Hecht (Dr. Emanuel.)—Die Pentateuch, grammatisch zergliedert, nebst sprachlichen Erläuterungen von Raschi und vollständigen Biegungstabellen. (The Pentateuch grammatically analysed, with verbal explanations from Raschi, and complete tables of inflexions). Brunswick. 8vo, pp. viii., 422.

Hupfeld (Dr. H.)—Die Psalmen, uebersetzt und ausgelegt. (Translation of the Psalms.) Gotha: Perthes.

Lange (J. P.)—Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk in Verbindung, etc. (Homiletical Commentary on the New Testament, etc.) 2 ter Theil. Bielefeld: Velhagen.

Neumann (W.)—Jeremias von Anathoth, nach d. Masoreth. (Commentary on Jeremiah). Leipzig: Dörffling.

Ribbeck (F.)—Donatus und Augustinus: oder der erste entscheidende Kampf zwischen Separatismus und Kirche. Ein kirchenhistorischer Versuch. (Donatus and Augustine: or, the First Decisive Struggle between Separatism and the Church). Second Part. Eiberfeld: Bädeler. 8vo, pp. 280.

Schleider (Dr. M. J.)—Die Landenge von Sués. Zur Beurtheilung des Canal-projects, und des Anzugs der Israeliten aus Ägypten. Nach den Alteren und neueren, Quellen dargestellt. Tafeln und einer Karte des nordöstlichen Ägypten. (The Isthmus of Suez. On the project for a Canal, and the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. From ancient and modern sources. With 6 Plans and a Map of North-Eastern Egypt). Leipzig: Engelmann. 1858. 8vo, pp. xiv., 202.

Smith (Robertus Payne), Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ Hypo-Bibliothecarius.) —St. Cyrilli Alexandriæ Archiepiscopi Commentarii in Lucas Evangelium quæ supersunt Syriacæ e Manuscriptis apud Museum Britannicum. Oxonii: E Typographeo Academico.

Zimmermann (Dr. W.)—Lebens-geschichte d. Kirche Jesu Christi. (History of the Life of the Church of Christ). Stuttgart: Belser.

ENGLISH.

- Bachelor (Rev. H.)—*The Logic of Atheism. Three Lectures.* London : Judd and Glass. 12mo, pp. 230.
- Barth (Henry, Ph. D., D.C.L.)—*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa : being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the Auspices of H.B.M.'s Government in the Years 1849—55. Vol. V.* London : Longmans. 8vo, pp. 684.
- Beveridge (William, D.D., late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.)—*Private Thoughts upon Religion, and upon Christian Life : to which is added, The Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion. A New Edition, carefully revised, with a Sketch of his Life and Character.* London : Washbourne. 12mo, pp. 446.
- Bible (The) *History of Satan. Is He a Fallen Angel ?* By a Cambridge M.A. Hatchard. 8vo.
- Bresslau (M. H.)—"The Sabbaths of the Lord ;" being Sabbath Meditations on the Pentateuch and Haphtorahs, each Meditation concluding with an appropriate Prayer. London : printed for the Author, 18 Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields. 8vo, pp. 382.
- Bridges (Rev. G. W.)—*Palestine as it is : in a Series of Photographic Views, illustrating the Bible. The Work will be completed in Twenty Monthly Parts, four Plates in each.* London : J. Hogarth.
- Commentary wholly Biblical ; an Exposition of the Old and New Testaments, in the very words of Scripture. 3 Vols. 4to. London : Bagster.
- Fiji and the Fijians.—Vol. I. *The Islands and their Inhabitants.* By Thomas Williams, late Missionary in Fiji. Vol. II. *Mission History.* By James Calvert, late Missionary in Fiji. Edited by George Stringer Home. London : Heylin. 12mo, pp. 278, 460.
- Flint (John).—*Notes, Questions and Answers on the Gospels for the Christian Year.* National Society's Repository.
- Gloag (Rev. Paton J.)—*The Primeval World : a Treatise on the Relations of Geology to Theology.* Edinburgh : Clark. 12mo, pp. 202.
- Heurtley (Charles A., D.D.)—*Harmonia Symbolica ; a Collection of Creeds belonging to the Ancient Western Church, and to the Mediæval English Church, arranged in Chronological Order and after the manner of a Harmony.* Oxford : at the University Press. 8vo, pp. 180.
- Hiller (Rev. O. Prescott.)—*God Manifest : a Treatise on the Goodness, Wisdom, and Power of God, as manifested in His Works, Words, and Personal Attributes ; shewing also how the Permission of Moral and Physical Evil is reconcilable with the Divine Attributes.* London : Hodson and Son. 1858. 12mo, pp. 466.
- History of the Christian Church from the Thirteenth Century to the Present Day, including the History of the Reformation.* By the Rev. Alfred Lyall, M.A., the Right Rev. R. D. Hampden, D.D., Bishop of Hereford, the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A., the Rev. J. C. Crosswaite, M.A., the Rev. J. G. Dowling, M.A., and the Rev. Henry J. Rose, B.D. London and Glasgow : Griffin and Co. 8vo, pp. 464.
- Hoare (Venerable J., Archdeacon of Surrey.)—*The Holy Scriptures, their Nature, Authority, and Use. Three Essays.* Second edition. London : Wertheim and Co. 8vo, pp. 64.
- Hodges (Rev. William, A.M.)—*Baptism Tested by Scripture and History.* Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Philadelphia. 12mo, pp. 480.
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